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American History





American History

HOWARD E. WILSON Associate Director, Division of Education, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Formerly, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

WALLACE E. LAMB Supervising Principal, Schoharie Central School, Schoharie, New York

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E. P. 4
WILSON-LAMB: AMERICAN HISTORY
MADE IN U. S. A.

FOREWORD

How does it happen that 140,000,000 people now live in a part of North America called the United States? Or that the country has frontiers on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans? Why is the nation's capital Washington? Why is New York its largest city? Who were the great leaders—such men as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Lee, for example? How did our railroads and airways develop? What is “the American way” of living and thinking?

The answers to such questions are found in the story of United States history, a story that is fascinating, full of adventure, and inspiring. Every citizen should know that story, for knowing it will make him a better citizen of his own nation and of the world.

United States history begins in man's remotest past, for we inherit the civilization developed from primitive times. Egypt, Greece, Rome, medieval Europe, Great Britain, as well as India, China and the earlier civilizations of the Americas are in our background. The story in this book begins, however, with the discovery of America by Europeans in 1492. It tells how the United States came into being, how it grew into a powerful nation, how it has been influenced by other nations and in turn influences other nations. The story this book tells is only a part of our great heritage, but is an important aid in explaining why we are as we are today.

There are several unusual features about this book. First, it tells about many *persons*—not only great political leaders but also the builders of railroads, inventors, writers, painters,

scientists, businessmen, athletes, and others. You will not need to remember them all, but knowing about them will help you to understand that it is people who have made the United States what it is today.

Another emphasis in this book is on what is called *social* history. Many sections are devoted to how people lived, the foods they ate, the churches they attended, the jobs they had, the schools they built, the newspapers they read, the kinds of homes and games and shows they had, the stores where they bought things. History is not all politics, or dates, or events. It is a living story of actual people. This social history is essential to the understanding of the background of our own ways of living.

A third feature of this book is the story it tells of our relations with other nations. The United States has always been in close contact with other nations; many of the developments within our own country have come from other lands, or have influenced other lands. The history of other nations in America, and our relations with Canada, with Mexico and the other Latin-American nations, and with our European and our Asiatic neighbors, are a vital part of our story. This book tells a great deal about those international relations. Study of them will help us to understand world affairs today, and to guide the United States wisely in her international relations during our times.

This book is written simply, with many incidents and anecdotes and adventures from American history. It tells a human story in human terms. The authors believe that history is not

a dull, dry record of dead facts. The printed words in the book and the pictures and other pictorial aids try to show that history is fascinating because it is real and because it is the story of our own background.

The story of our country as told in this book is divided into eight parts or units; each unit presents an important part of our country's story. In the Table of Contents on pages ix-xii are the titles of the units and chapters, along with the subdivisions of the chapters, showing the main ideas in each chapter.

At the beginning of each chapter there is a time line which places great events told about in that chapter in their proper place in relation to the entire history of the United States. The chapter time lines should be referred to constantly during the study of our country's history. On many occasions it will be helpful to check them with the Chronological Outline on pages xv-xxi of the Appendix. The class will find it interesting to display in the classroom a large time line on which to place the most important events of our history. Throughout this book there are also many maps, pictures, charts, diagrams, and tables which help to explain where events happened and many of the changes that have taken place in our history. Besides using the maps in the book there should be appropriate large wall maps displayed in the room. On many occasions individual pupils or class committees will want to make large maps to show where and how important events or movements in our history occurred. This book is rich with pictures which have been selected to make real and vivid many phases of our history. The colored pictures by

Robert Doremus beautifully express some of the main ideas and events of our history.

On pages 546-547 there is an up-to-date map of the United States, and in the Appendix (pages xv-xxxix) there is much useful information for reference: (1) a Chronological Outline of some of the most important events in the history of the United States, (2) the Declaration of Independence, (3) the Constitution of the United States, (4) a list of the Presidents with brief information about their administrations, and (5) a list of the states and important data about them. There is also an Index for use when looking up specific items of information about the history of our country.

At the end of each chapter in this book there are study activities to increase the pupils' understanding of the rich history of the United States. Some of those activities will appeal to the varying interests and abilities of different pupils, and will make richer and more meaningful their individual experience with American history.

Some of the activities which you choose to do you will undertake by yourself. On many of the activities you select you should work with groups or committees of your classmates. Floor talks, book reports, writing themes, and making certain kinds of maps, charts, and models are individual enterprises which you can best do by yourself. However, making large class maps, dramatizing events, planning plays and broadcasts, making large drawings and class maps, and holding exhibitions and discussing topics are some of the kinds of activities in which the co-operation of small committees or of the whole class

is necessary. The teacher will no doubt suggest other study activities not included in this book, but which will help you to understand the growth of our country.

It would be wise for the entire class to discuss the projects or activities to be undertaken at the beginning of each unit or chapter of work. The class should examine the activities listed in the textbook or suggested by the teacher or class members and select those that seem most appropriate. Class planning of the assignments to be carried out is an efficient method of work. Perhaps it will be worth while for a Study Activities Committee of the class to help select and plan activities which individuals and committees are to undertake.

Among the study activities are listed titles of many books which you will enjoy reading, for they will make very real to you many of the people and events of our history. It would be useful and convenient for the class to have a Library Committee to work with the librarian in your town or county or school so that as many of the books as possible can be available at the time the topics to which they are related are being studied. The librarian and teacher will no doubt have additional books to add to those listed among the study activities.

As work on a new unit or a chapter starts, the Library Committee should make a class display of the appropriate library books whenever that is possible. The Library Committee should also set up and manage the arrangements for reserving books and loaning them. In that way as many pupils as possible may have the fun and opportunity of reading the books.

As has been pointed out, this book

itself has many maps, charts and pictures which help to explain and depict many of the movements, people, scenes, and events in our history. They should be very carefully studied in connection with the text which they explain or illustrate. There are many other sources of interesting pictures, for example *The Pageant of America* (Yale University Press) and *Building America* (Americana Division—The Grolier Society, Inc., 1935 to current year) which contain many pictures and other visual material. Whenever possible, a Picture Committee should arrange room displays of books and pictures suitable to the unit or chapter being studied. Magazines, newspapers, and current events papers often have excellent pictures and maps which should be displayed to the class. If your school or library owns sets of pictures and reprints, make certain that the appropriate ones are displayed at the time the topic with which they deal is being studied.

A very important responsibility of the Picture Committee in many schools will be the selection and presentation of slides and moving pictures which add color and life to the reading and other activities you are carrying out. The Picture Committee will, of course, work with the teacher and the person or persons in the school system responsible for the use of visual aids. After the showing of slides and moving pictures the class should discuss the ways in which they illustrate the material being studied by the class. A useful book which gives information about motion pictures suitable for school use is *Educational Film Guide* (H. W. Wilson Company), brought up to date periodically each year.

You cannot secure the full value from the study of history without understanding the relationship of history to the present. The study of history will help you to understand the important events which are occurring today. Many newspaper items, headlines, and magazine articles show the influence of the past events which you read about in this book. It is important that you keep in mind all the time the connection between the past, the present, and the future.

To help keep in mind the connection of the present with the past it will be worth while to set up a Current Events Committee for the class. This committee should report to the class frequently outstanding current events connected with American history. It should also be responsible for a bulletin board on which clippings about current affairs connected with the

topic you are studying could be displayed. Many schools have found it desirable to have a Current Events Committee whose members are changed every two or three weeks, so that every pupil of the class may have the experience of serving on it.

Knowledge of our country's history and its place among the nations and peoples of the world is necessary for all of us if we are to do our part as intelligent citizens in a great democracy. Our country can only be as fine as we its citizens make it, for we are so fortunate as to live in a country where all citizens share in making its government and its way of life. It is a great responsibility and a wonderful privilege to be a citizen of the United States. We must prepare ourselves to help make our land even a better place in which to live, to work, and to play.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to the preparation of this book. Chief among them is Florence H. Wilson, who edited proof and arranged study activities and visual aids. Miss Edna Jacobson, Librarian, State Library, Albany, New York, helped in locating many useful materials for the authors. Among those who read manuscript or proof and helped to improve the book are A. Imrie Dixon, Head of the Social Studies Department, High School, Melrose, Massachusetts; Donn V. Hart, Syracuse University; Frank Robinson, Central School, Schoharie, New York; Mary Vance Trent of the United States Foreign Service; and Miller R. Collings, Citizenship Education Study, Detroit, Michigan.

Appreciation is due also to members of the Harvard Workshop in Social Studies who have worked on problems of teaching United States history. Curriculum-making groups with which one of the authors has worked — in Baltimore County, Maryland; Cumberland

County, New Jersey; Hingham, Massachusetts; Great Neck, Long Island; Topeka, Kansas; and other localities — have refined and tested the curriculum principles upon which this book is based.

Indebtedness should also be expressed to certain researches and reports especially significant for teachers of United States history. Among the publications which the authors have found especially useful are: Edgar B. Wesley (editor), *American History in Schools and Colleges* (a report for the American Historical Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association); Richard Thursfield (editor), *The Study and Teaching of American History* (1946 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies); many articles in *Social Education*; and the published reports of the American Council on Education dealing with the revision and improvement of textbooks in the social studies.

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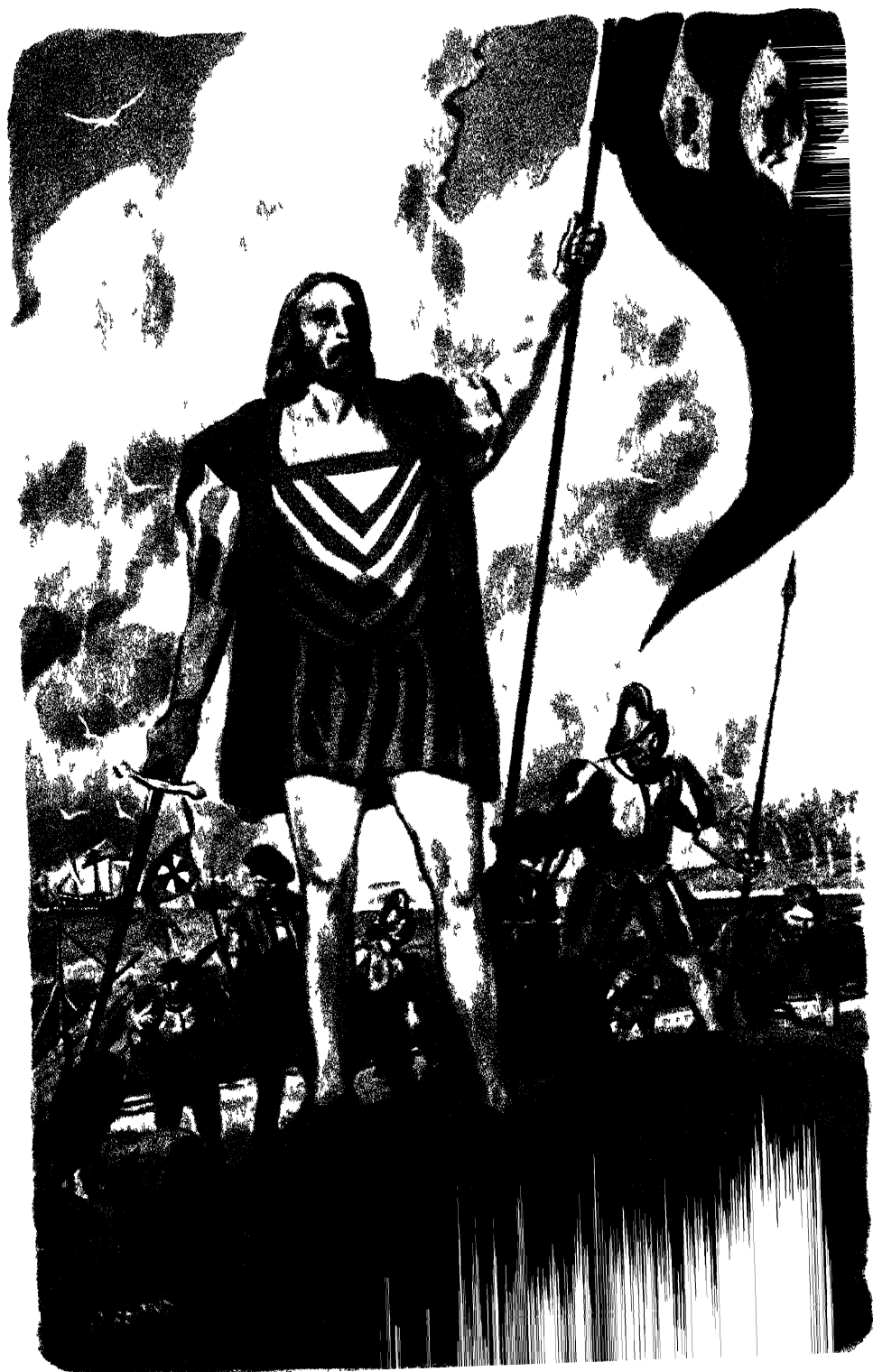
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MEN FROM EUROPE FIND A NEW HEMISPHERE

OVERVIEW

Before 1492 the continents of North America and South America were unknown to the people of Europe and Asia. They were occupied only by scattered Indian tribes. The Indians had towns and improved ways of living in Central America, Mexico, and Peru, but in most of the rest of the continents they roamed through forests and across plains where the soil had never been broken by a plow. There were great riches and few people for so vast a land. *Spice trade*

By the year 1492 the people of Europe knew quite a little about Asia. Such travelers as Marco Polo had described the riches of China and Japan. Spices from Asia were worth their weight in gold to Europeans. Trade between Asia and Europe had to be carried overland and was slow, costly, and uncertain, and by 1450 people were searching for better trade routes between the two continents. By 1492 Columbus had joined in the search. In that year he sailed westward from Spain to try to reach the land of spices and easy gold — and quite by accident he found the Americas. His accidental discovery turned out to be one of the great events in human history.

Following Columbus other explorers crossed the Atlantic. Their ships sailed along the American coast and crept into the mouths of strange rivers. Magellan (*má-jél'án*) fought his way around the tip of South America and crossed the Pacific; one of his ships came home to Europe from the East. In the Americas settlements of Europeans appeared — little outposts of European life in the American wilderness.

Spain was the first great exploring and colonizing country. She occupied Central America and pushed southward and northward in both continents. She conquered all of South America except Brazil, which was occupied by the Portuguese. The Dutch and the Swedes attempted to establish settlements on the Atlantic coast. The French pushed into what is now Canada and the vast Mississippi Valley. The Russians had outposts in Alaska. The English settled on the eastern coast of what is now the United States and pushed inland across the Appalachian (*áp-á-läch'y-án*) Mountains.

There were many quarrels and conflicts among these early explorers and settlers. They fought the Indians and one another. Each European



From "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. I.

Tiahuanacu (restored). South of Lake Titicaca, "near the top of the world," in Peru, were the ruins of the ancient Inca city of Tiahuanacu. This restoration gives some idea of the magnificent architecture of the Inca Indians (page 9).

country tried to extend its control over more and more territory. The Dutch and Swedish settlements in America were taken by the British. And in 1763 a long-drawn-out quarrel between the British and the French was ended by a French defeat. The British controlled Canada and North America east of the Mississippi. The Spaniards had the largest territory, but their settlements were more scattered.

Unit I in this book tells the story of the years in America between 1492 and 1763. *Discovery, exploration, settlement, and quarrels over who should control* — these are the four chief subjects of the story. In these years were laid the foundations of most of the nations now in the Americas. Without knowing the events of these

years one cannot know how the United States came into being.

Questions Answered in Unit I

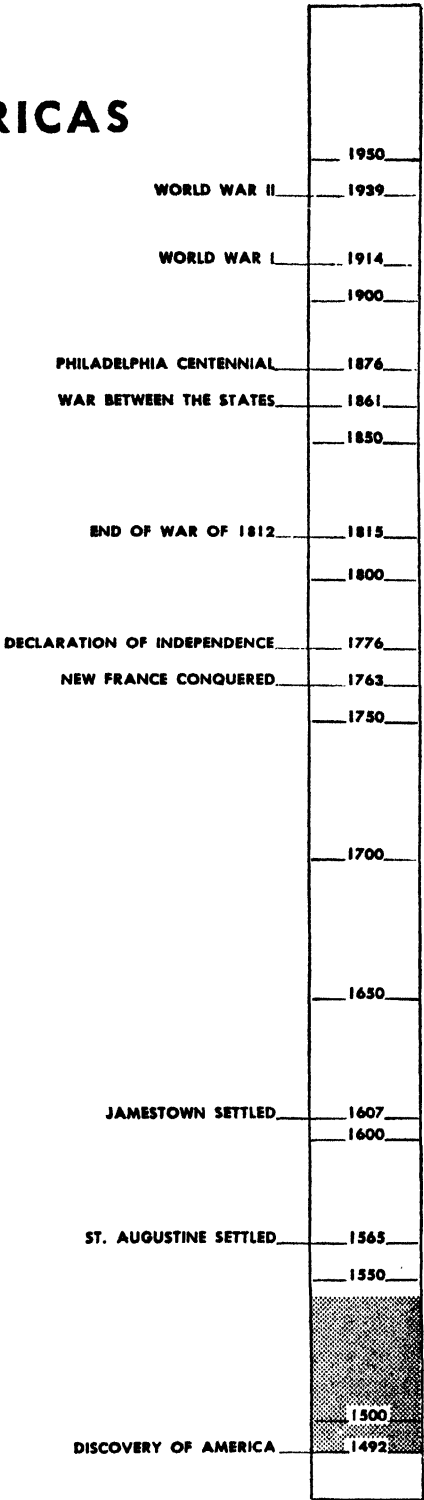
1. What were the Americas like in the year 1492?
2. Where were the chief centers of Indian civilization in the Americas?
3. Why and how did Europeans discover America?
4. Who were the chief explorers and what did each add to knowledge of the Americas?
5. What European countries tried to settle and control American territory?
6. Where were the chief settlements of the rival European nations in America?
7. What nations were dominant in the Americas in the year 1763?

CHAPTER 1

THE UNKNOWN AMERICAS

"The sea trembles before its conquerors."
Vasco Da Gama

- 1542 DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE MISSISSIPPI
- 1534 CARTIER EXPLORES THE ST. LAWRENCE
- 1531-33 PIZARRO CONQUERS PERU
- 1519-22 MAGELLAN'S SHIP GOES AROUND THE WORLD
- 1519-21 CORTEZ CONQUERS MEXICO
- 1513 BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC
- 1500 CABRAL EXPLORES SOUTH AMERICA
- 1497 JOHN CABOT EXPLORES NORTH AMERICA
- 1492 DISCOVERY OF AMERICA



IN THE AUTUMN OF 1492

As the sun went down beyond the horizon on the evening of October 11, 1492, three little ships were pushing slowly through the waters of the western Atlantic. They were not far from the islands now known as the West Indies, but no land could be seen from the ships. The sailors on board were fearful and disturbed and angry. For two months they had sailed westward from Spain on the mysterious ocean, searching for the Asiatic lands called Indies which their commander, Columbus, thought would be reached by their voyage to the west. The ocean had been rather calm; winds had blown them steadily westward; but the men were worried. Now another day was finished, and still there was only water in sight.

Slowly the ships moved on through the darkness. And then came the look-out's excited shout that he saw a light moving in the distance. Where there was a light there must be land! Sails were furled. The ships came to rest. The weary men on board were now eager and alert. What would the dawn reveal? What land was near? What people might be ahead in the darkness?

The New Continents

Slumbering quietly, unaware of the ships that waited in the night with Columbus and his crew, were two vast continents, unknown to Europeans. Just ahead of the ships were scattered islands later to be known as the West Indies. Beyond them was the sea we call the Carib-

bean (kăr-ĭ-bē'ăn), and then the narrow strip of land we call the Isthmus of Panama. At each end the isthmus widened into a vast continent. These two continents, north and south, were the unknown Americas. In 1492 they did not even have a name. Neither Columbus and his men nor the people back home in distant Europe knew that they existed.

In that October night of 1492 the continents, as now, were shaped like two huge triangles. Each continent was about twice as large as Europe; each was wide in the north and tapered toward the south. North America extended from the frozen wastes of the Arctic Ocean southward across the North Temperate zone and into the Tropical lands of Central America. Most of South America was in the Tropical zone, but the tapering southern part was in the South Temperate zone. Both continents were washed by the Atlantic Ocean on the east and by the Pacific Ocean on the west. On both coast lines, but especially on the east coast, were many harbors — unmapped and unnamed and unknown.

In North America the low east coast was backed by mountain ranges later named the Appalachians. Beyond the Appalachians was a magnificent valley over a thousand miles wide and a thousand miles long. Farther west were the towering Rocky Mountains, highlands, and then the Pacific coast. The eastern part of South America was also generally low and rolling. In the west the same high mountain chains

THE UNKNOWN AMERICAS

which began in Alaska and ran into the Isthmus of Panama continued south, like a huge backbone, to the southern tip of South America. North America's great central plain was drained to the south by the mighty Mississippi River. South America's great central plain was drained by the eastward-flowing Amazon (ăm^á-zõn).

The Land's Resources

In 1492 the coastlines and the mountain ranges and the plains and prairies and rivers of the Americas were very much as they are today. There was snow on what we now call Pikes Peak in Colorado while Columbus's ships waited off the far-away shore. Some of the giant redwood trees then standing on the Pacific coast are still standing today. Both North and South America had enormous stores of wealth. Mexico's storehouse of silver had scarcely been touched. Much gold had been mined in Peru, but more still remained in the ground. And the gold found later in Alaska and California was to be about as exciting to thousands of men as the sight of the light at dusk had been to Columbus and his companions. Iron ore and coal and oil were abundant in the Americas, although not even the Europeans would have recognized them as valuable in 1492.

On both North and South America were large areas of fertile land — the richest resource of the continents.

Although only very small parts of it were being farmed in 1492 by the red men who lived there, the red men were growing plants which are today of world-wide importance; among them were corn, potatoes, beans, squashes, tomatoes, and tobacco. In waters near American seashores there was found the oyster. There were then neither any horses nor any cattle in the Americas; but the llama was used as a beast of burden, and dogs and alpacas had been tamed. On the open plains of North America were uncouth thousands of bison (often called buffaloes); in the forests were turkeys; in the streams were beavers.

So dense were the forests in many parts of the eastern half of the continents in 1492 that a squirrel could have traveled from tree to tree for 1000 miles without ever being in the sunlight. More animals then lived in the forests, more fish in the streams and lakes, more birds in the air, than now. In 1492 the Amazon and the Mississippi were steadily carrying silt to the sea, but their deltas did not then extend nearly as far into the water as they do now. The great cataract of Niagara Falls was nearly a quarter of a mile farther downstream in 1492 than it is now. In general, however, the continents which lay beyond Columbus's sight on the night of October 11, 1492, were very much as they are now in shape and size, in climate, and in physical features.

ORIGINAL SETTLERS OF THE AMERICAS

At the time when Columbus and his men were waiting for the sunrise

that October night in 1492, there were only about forty million people



of the red race living in the unknown Americas. They and their descendants were soon to be called "Indians." Scientists tell us that the ancestors of these Indians came from Central Asia probably between ten and fifteen thousand years ago. At that time North America and Asia may have been connected by land where the Bering Strait now is. Expanding southward, the Indians spread over the two continents. They probably reached Mexico about ten or eleven thousand years ago, and began moving into South America a thousand years later.

The Indians brought little or no civilization with them from Asia. What they accomplished in the Americas was due to their own efforts and to the geography of the regions in which they settled. By 4000 B.C. farming and weaving and pottery-making had been developed in what is now Mexico. Before the birth of Christ a high stage of culture had been reached in Central America and, by about five hundred years later, in what is now Peru.

In 1492, the forty million Indians of the Americas were widely scattered. North America north of Mexico was very thinly settled; all the large centers of Indian population were in Mexico, Central America, and South America. In the Iroquois (Ir'ô-kwoi) region, including most of what is now New York state, there were not more than twenty-five thousand people. The entire pueblo region of Arizona and New Mexico, with adjacent parts of northern Mexico, had only about seventy-five thousand inhabitants. In central and southern Mexico the Aztecs and their close neighbors

numbered about eight million people. At least a hundred thousand people, and possibly as many as three hundred thousand, were living in the one city of Tenochtitlan (tă-nôch-tê-tlân'), where Mexico City now stands. Between the central plateau of Mexico and the region now known as Colombia, in South America, about three million people lived. In and near Peru, the Incas (Ing'kâz) ruled an empire of at least eight or ten million people. The rest of the Indians were scattered over the two continents, living in separate tribes and with customs and habits suited to their environments.

Mayas and Aztecs

Some of the Indians of the Americas had developed interesting civilizations long before 1492. One of the most remarkable of these centers of development was that of the Mayas (mä'yâz) in southern Mexico and the northern part of Central America. In fact, the Mayas developed one of the earliest centers of civilization in the entire world, beginning at about the same time as the civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, India, and China. There is much about the Mayas which we do not yet know, but we do know that they had figured out a good calendar a thousand years before our Christian calendar came into use. The Maya calendar divided the year into 365 days, arranged in eighteen months of twenty days each, with five days left over for religious ceremonials. The ancient Mayas also had a form of writing. They made beautiful jewelry and pottery, and built roads and palaces and large cities.

The Mayan civilization had de-



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The Aztec Senate, made up of the nobles of the land, met in the vast palace of Montezuma. From this painting, which hangs in Mexico City, what can you tell about the clothes and "interior decoration" of the Aztecs?

clined long before Europeans appeared; in fact, the Indians who were living in the region of the old Mayan civilization in the autumn of 1492 knew little or nothing of the ancient civilization that had flourished there many hundreds of years before their day.

In 1492 another very important center of Indian civilization was in the high central plateau of Mexico. That region was the home of a group of tribes, of which the Aztecs have become the most famous. These Indians had borrowed much from the early Mayas, but had also developed many things for themselves. Here stood the great white city of Tenochtitlan — a city so beautiful that its Spanish conqueror Cortez (kôr'těz) wept when he saw it being destroyed by war and fire. Here

were great temples and beautiful palaces containing an amazing variety of sculpture and art work. The Aztecs built vast aqueducts, fine irrigation systems, tunnels through solid rock, and bridges so wide that the Spaniards were later able to ride across them twelve horses abreast. Here were Aztec silversmiths superior in ability to those of sixteenth-century Spain. Here were hospitals, asylums, and skilled men of medicine.

The Aztecs were interested in literature and in education. They had schools for both boys and girls. Aztec priests taught the children their ideas of right and wrong, as well as the traditions and manners and ceremonials of their tribes. Some of their religious practices, however, we cannot admire. One group of the Indians believed that their gods

demanded human sacrifices. While this group was in power, thousands of captives were killed on Aztec altars.

Incas and Pueblo and Iroquois Indians

In South America, in and near the region we know as Peru, lived the Incas, who built a civilization equal in many ways to that of the ancient Mayas. Here, as in southern Mexico, were farms, stone temples, fine palaces, elaborate forts, paved highways, and large cities. The Incas were excellent engineers, and some of their homes were even equipped with water pipes and sewage systems. In religion they were more advanced than the Aztecs, for human sacrifices were rare. The Incas had great ability in government. They built up an empire of eight or ten million people, made up of many tribes organized under a single government. When the empire was at its largest, not more than one out of every ten persons within it was a native Inca or could speak the Inca tongue.

North of Mexico, on the deserts of our own Southwest, were the Pueblo (pwěb'lo) Indians. Their villages were well organized. They were good farmers. Their houses of sun-dried bricks and stone were often large enough to provide apartments for entire villages.

Although small in number when compared with the Aztecs and Incas, the Iroquois, who lived in what is now the region of New York state, were to be of great historical importance. Because of their fierceness as fighters and because of their location along a main highway from the Atlantic coast to the Great Lakes, they were

destined to play an important part in determining whether North America was to be English or French. They were also important for their ability in government. The League of the Iroquois, a sort of league of nations of that day, was organized as early as 1570 A.D. Under the League each of the five Iroquois nations was independent in carrying on its own affairs, but matters which concerned the League as a whole were decided by a general council.

Indian Civilization

There were many kinds of Indians just as there were and are many kinds of white men. Some Indians were good and some were bad, some were energetic and some were lazy, some were warriors and some were artists. There are, however, a few general statements which can be made about the Indians. For one thing, there was very little crime among them before the white men came. It was not necessary to have locks and keys to guard against thieves, and, as a rule, the laws of the tribe were carefully obeyed. The most terrible punishment for an Indian was to lose his citizenship and to be banished from his tribe into the wilderness. The Indian rarely forgot to repay a favor from a friend or an injury from an enemy. Indian children as a rule were well treated. Indian women often held a higher place in their family life than white women did in some of the countries of Europe.

It is of course impossible to tell just how far the Indian settlers of the Americas would have advanced in civilization if they had been left to themselves. They depended entirely



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

Ball games of various kinds were enjoyed by the Indians of North America. The Dakota Indians in this picture are playing a winter sport. Of what winter sport that we play does it remind you?

upon their own ideas of civilization, and had no contact with the ideas and achievements of other civilizations. What the Indians accomplished was entirely American, while Europe had the advantages of contacts with Asia and Africa. Next to their need for contact with other peoples, the Indians most needed beasts of burden such as the horse. They also lacked knowledge of the plow, the wheel, the compass, printing, and gunpowder — all things which Europeans possessed in 1492. But we must not think of the Indians as completely uncivilized, for they

had developed many fine ways of living, some of which we have been proud and fortunate to inherit.

Columbus and his men, and all who followed in their paths, were to bring European ways of living to the Americas. But on that evening of October 11, 1492, the American Indians scattered over their broad lands were not worried about Europeans or about any of the things of which they had never heard. Columbus and his men were waiting for the dawn, but the first Americans did not know that the three little ships were lying restlessly off their shores.

EXPLORING THE UNKNOWN

As Columbus and his men peered into the western darkness that night they must have thought about their

own voyage and about the Europe they had left behind. They had sailed from Palos (pă'lōs), Spain, on

August 2, 1492. For weeks they had prepared for the voyage. The center of the activity and excitement had been their leader, Columbus, an oddly-clothed man with red hair and beard. He sometimes wore yellow beads, and would finger them when making a speech. Yet it was obvious to all that he was an able leader. He was dignified and calm; his gray eyes snapped with decision. On the voyage he had proved himself to be a superb navigator.

On this voyage he had been looking for the Indies — Asiatic lands of spices and fabulous riches. He had sought a new sea route to Asia which would be easier than the difficult land route across from the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Along with many other people of his time, Columbus believed the world was round and that, if he sailed westward from Spain, he would sooner or later reach the Indies and the empire of China.

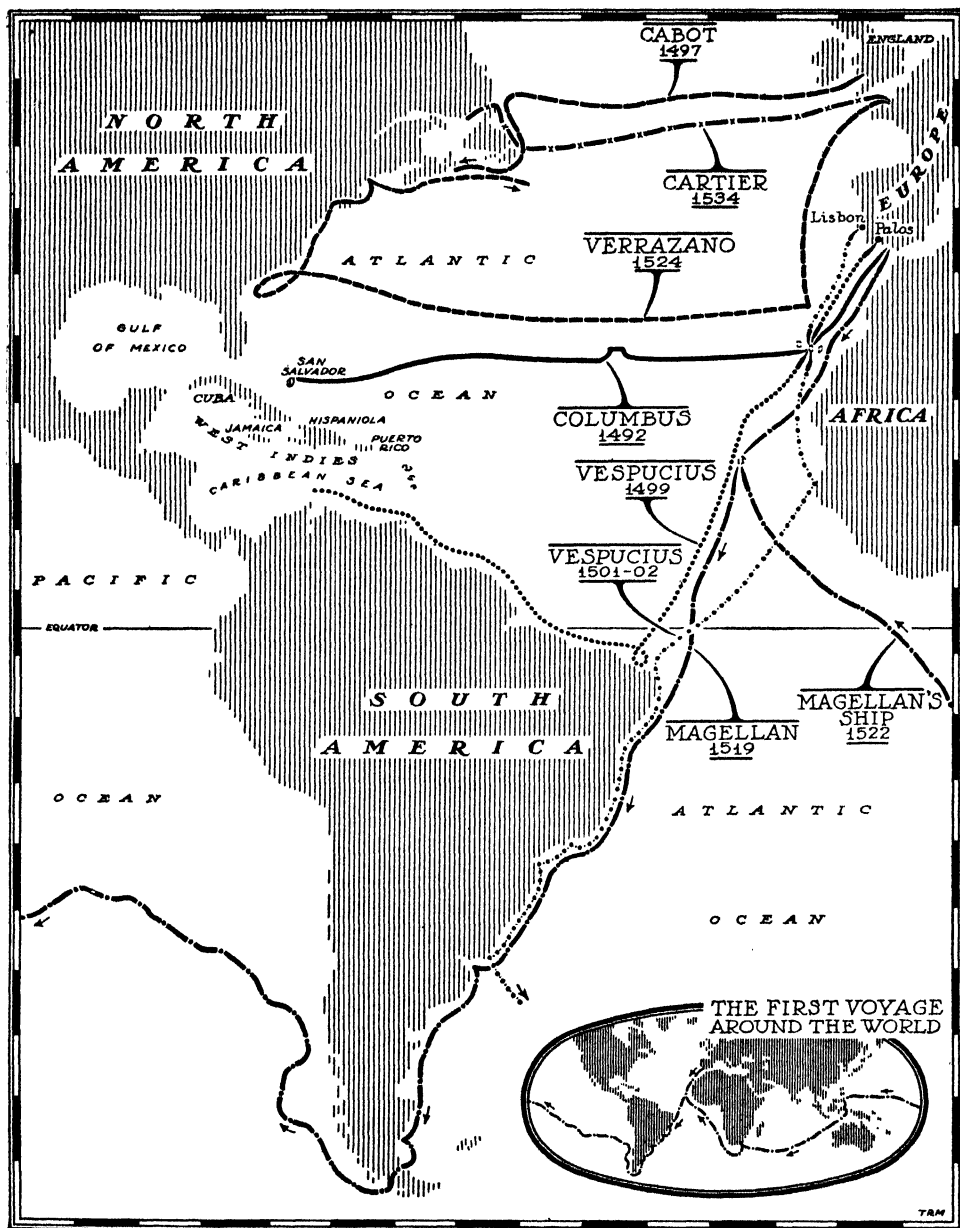
And now he and his men in their three tiny ships were on the adventurous voyage to test his theory. Was he about to make the great discovery? We know that it was not the East Indies toward which he was peering in that October darkness; we know that the broad Americas and the broader Pacific lay between Columbus and his goal. He and his men, however, did not know that. And as they wondered there came the sunrise of October 12, 1492. As the darkness retreated before the light, a long low coastline became visible. The men were wild with joy. After full dawn on that famous day, Columbus went ashore, from a small boat, with some of his men. Drawing his sword, he pro-

claimed the land to be the possession of the King and Queen of Spain, and named it San Salvador.

Columbus and his crew voyaged among the islands now called the West Indies, taking possession of all the land they saw, in the name of Spain. Wherever they landed the natives gathered to stare. Not having any beards themselves, the Indians were amazed at the bearded Spaniards. News of the coming of these strange white men was carried from island to island by Indian messengers. The first faint beginnings of change for the unknown Americas were at hand.

The Spaniards were also fascinated by the Indians. They could talk with the natives only by signs, but asked many questions about the lands they had reached. At last, early in 1493, without the spices they had come for, but with hope and promise, Columbus and part of his crew returned home.¹ There they were hailed as heroes, and Columbus was richly rewarded. Later he made three other voyages to the New World — although he never really knew it was a new world. He never succeeded in reaching the old Indies, although to the end of his life he was certain he had done so. Yet his life was far from being a failure, in spite of the disappointments and imprisonment which later came to him. When news of his discoveries became known in Europe, other seamen and other nations were as excited as he had been at sight of the light ahead in the darkness as he first approached

¹Because one of the three ships had been wrecked on the coast of Hispaniola, many of the sailors were left as settlers in a fort built there; but that settlement was soon lost.



Early Voyages to America

American land. He was the first in a series of stalwart men who were to cross the Atlantic, to search restlessly among the new lands, and to make the unknown Americas known to the people of Europe.

Exploration and Early Settlement

Columbus opened a path to America which was soon followed by many other explorers. He had broken the spell of fear of the Atlantic. In

1497 the King of England sent an Italian sailor named ~~John~~ ^{*The unknown American*} Cabot to search for spices; all of value that he found, however, were the fish around Newfoundland. In 1500 a Portuguese sea captain, Cabral (*ká-bräl'*), explored the coast of Brazil. Many ships began nosing around among the islands of the Caribbean, along the shores, into the bays, and up the mouths of the rivers. An Italian named Americus Vesputius was one of the early men to explore the northern and eastern coasts of South America. He was convinced that the land he had discovered was not Asia nor islands off the coast of Asia, but a new continent. He wrote of his beliefs for the people back home. A German map maker read some of Americus's reports and was also convinced that a new world had been discovered. On one of his maps he named the new continent America in honor of the supposed discoverer. Thus both of the great continents of the western hemisphere soon came to be called America instead of Columbia.

Spain led the way in the search for new routes, new riches, and new lands. Many Spanish settlers followed the Spanish explorers. Very early settlements were made on the islands of the Caribbean, especially Hispaniola (*hŷs-păn-yō'lá*), Cuba, Puerto Rico (*pwër'tō rē'kō*), and Jamaica. Soon the whole Caribbean was in Spanish hands. From Caribbean centers the men of Spain spread out in many directions on voyages of exploration, in search of precious metals, to found new settlements, and to carry the Christian religion to the Indians.

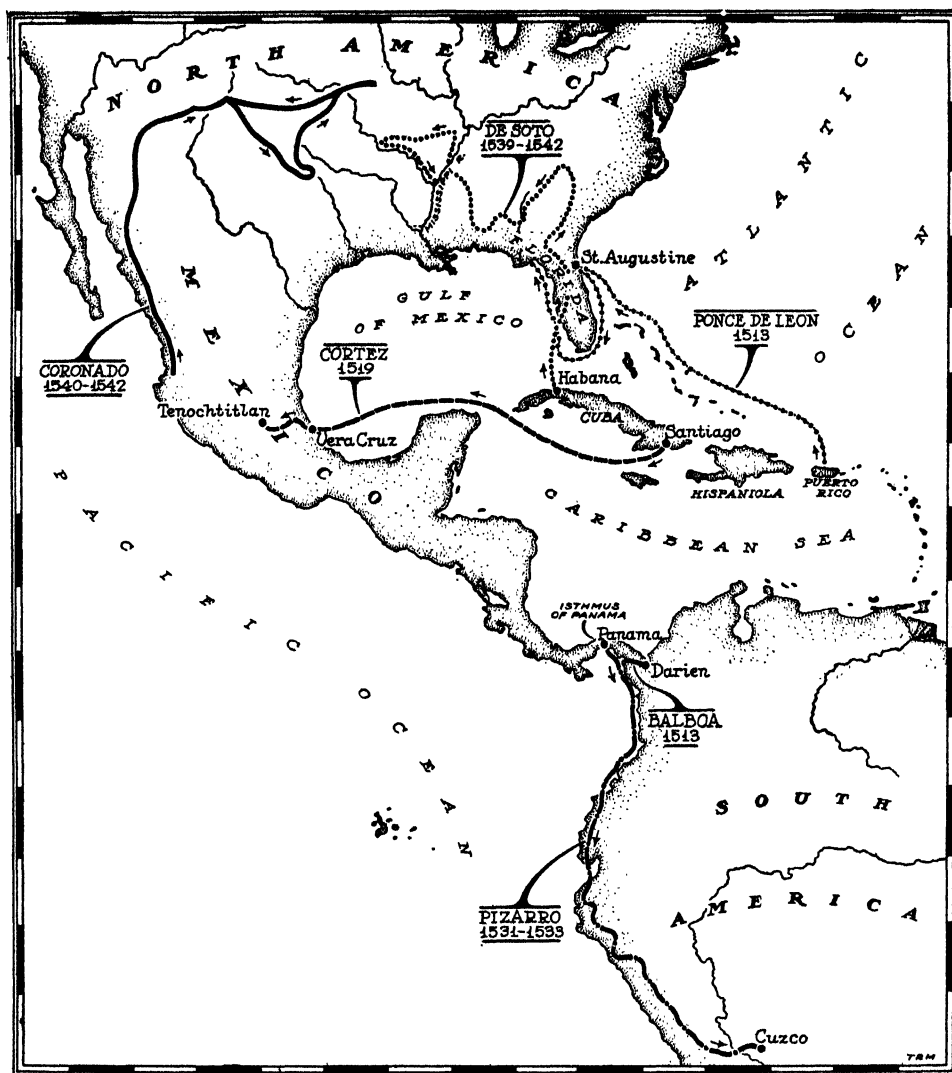
Darien (*dâr-ŷ-ĕn'*), in Panama,

was one of the advance posts of Spanish power. Among its first settlers was a Spaniard named Balboa (*bäl-bō'ä*). In 1513 he was the leader of an expedition across the Isthmus. He was searching for treasure and investigating stories the Indians had told of a sea to the west. One day he climbed a high peak and there saw spread out beyond him the great Pacific Ocean, the largest ocean in the world. It took Balboa and his men four days to travel from the mountain peak down through the jungles to the shore. When he reached the shore Balboa waded into the water, held his sword high, and took possession, for Spain, of all the lands the ocean touched.

Cortez in Mexico

In 1519 an expedition under the command of Hernando Cortez¹ landed on the coast of Mexico. Before him was the empire of the Aztecs. He burned his ships so that behind him was only the empty sea; his seven hundred men could only go forward or die. The Indians did not know whether to fight Cortez or to welcome him. Some thought he was a god who, according to one ancient legend, had sailed away into the sunrise centuries before, promising to return some day. Others thought it useless to fight men who came out of the sea on "water houses with wings," who rode on animals such as horses, which no Indian had seen before, and who carried thunder with them in their cannon. Besides, the Indian tribes were fighting among themselves. Their great ruler, Montezuma (*mön-tê-zōō'mä*), was unpopular. Some tribes would not

¹ This name is also often spelled Cortes.



Early Spanish Explorations

fight for him; some were eager to fight against him.

At first, Montezuma sent Cortez fine presents and asked him to go away. The Spaniards, however, when they saw the rich gifts which Montezuma had sent, were more than ever determined to stay. Among the gifts was a great silver disc and another of pure gold. Cortez made his way across the mountains to the

central plateau. Partly by diplomacy and partly by war, he finally succeeded in conquering the Aztecs. He had to fight mutiny among his men, to overcome an army of Spaniards sent against him by a jealous governor, and to destroy Tenochtitlan—but he became master of Mexico. In many ways he was very cruel to the Indians, but in other ways he treated many of them kindly.



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The meeting of Montezuma and Cortez was agreed to reluctantly by Montezuma. He feared the "white god," who, with his companions, rode fierce swift animals, carried thunder in his hands, and had come from "floating towers in the waters of heaven."

For a time Cortez was Governor-General of the Spanish province of Mexico. Later he retired as governor, but remained the outstanding leader of the region.

Pizarro in Peru

From 1531 to 1533 Francisco Pizarro (pĭ-zār'rō), with a small force of Spaniards, was engaged in conquering the other great center of Indian civilization, the land of the Incas in Peru. Like Cortez in Mexico, Pizarro faced difficulties and great odds; he was often cruel, but he was also very able. He was forced to travel through mountain country so rugged that sometimes his men had to pull their horses and supplies up over cliffs with ropes. Finally he neared the great Indian army of the Inca leader, Atahualpa (ä-tä-wäl'pā). Pizarro's army seemed so small in comparison with the Indian army that Atahualpa rode toward it to examine the stranger. Pizarro invited him into his camp, and the Inca accepted; soon the guest was a prisoner.

The Inca warriors tried to rescue their leader, but the guns of the Spaniards were too powerful. Then Atahualpa thought of a way to help himself. Learning that Pizarro was mainly interested in gold, he determined to buy his freedom. He promised the Spaniards to have his followers fill a large room full of gold to a height of nine feet if Pizarro would then free him. The captors agreed, and for several weeks gold and other precious metals were collected from all parts of the empire to ransom Atahualpa. Finally treasure worth twenty million dollars was in Pizarro's possession. The Incas had kept their bargain, but instead of giving Atahualpa his freedom, the Spaniards killed him and greedily set out to find more gold. The mines of the Inca empire became one of Spain's greatest sources of wealth.

Widening the Fields of Exploration

As the years went by, more and more was learned about the Americas. The coast lines were charted;

the main rivers were explored; settlements were founded; governments were organized. The Americas were no longer entirely unknown. One of the most significant exploring voyages in all history was made between 1519 and 1522, when Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the employ of Spain, sailed down the east coast of South America, around the southern tip, and then out across the uncharted Pacific. After reaching the Philippine Islands, Magellan was killed, but one of his ships continued on westward. In the real East Indies it took on a cargo of spices, and at last reached home in Spain with its precious freight. Its crew had circumnavigated the globe for the first time in human history.

The Spaniards also explored within the present area of the United States. Ponce de León (pōn'thā dā lâ-ōn') explored the coast of Florida in the same year that Balboa discovered the Pacific. The first important exploration inland was begun in 1539 when Hernando de Soto set out on an expedition across our southeast. He and his men wandered through the forests for three years but failed to find the gold they were seeking. De Soto's chief discovery was the Mississippi River, which became also his tomb. Meanwhile, in the southwestern part of what is now the United States, Coronado (kō-rō-nā'thō) was searching for gold with as little success as De Soto.

Most of the exploration of North America by the French, the English, and the Dutch came much later. An Italian named Verrazano (vē-rāt-sā'nō), working for the King of France, entered New York harbor in 1524. The great French explorer

Jacques Cartier (zhāk' kār-tyā'), sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1534 searching for a route to China. The great explorations of Champlain (shām-plān') up the St. Lawrence valley did not occur until the seventeenth century, and LaSalle (lā-sāl') did not explore the Mississippi valley until 1682. The first important explorer under the Dutch flag was the Englishman Henry Hudson, who in 1609 sailed up the river which now bears his name.

After John Cabot's early voyage, the English did not again become active explorers until near the end of the sixteenth century. Then some of the English captains, such as John Davis and Sir Martin Frobisher (frō'bīsh-ēr), explored the North Atlantic and made efforts to find a northwest passage to China. During the reign of "good Queen Bess," Elizabeth's island kingdom produced a remarkable group of sailors so expert in navigation and in handling ships that they were nicknamed "sea dogs."

The greatest of all these explorers was Sir Francis Drake. Some captains, such as John Hawkins, were best known as buyers and sellers of slaves. Others, such as Drake, were even better known for their attacks on Spain. That England and Spain were officially at peace did not seem to matter; the sea dogs acted almost like pirates. No Spanish port on the Caribbean was safe from Drake's raiders, nor were Spanish ships safe from attack on any of the seas. Drake would strike with suddenness and fury; when his ships were burdened with precious metals they would sail away swiftly to some English port. Like Pizarro and Cortez, his main

search was for gold, but instead of stealing it from the Aztecs and Incas he stole it from the Spaniards. To the Spanish he was known as "the dragon," and a reward of \$200,000 was offered for his head.

The Spanish Century and the Armada

While several of the seafaring nations of Europe helped explore the western world, the century that followed Columbus's landing on October 12, 1492, was primarily a Spanish century. It was Spain that sent out most of the explorers, founded settlements, and organized vast colonial governments. It was to Spain that most of the wealth taken from the Indians was sent.

Spanish colonies in the Western world were to remain under the control of their motherland longer than the colonies of most other nations, but it was clear as the Spanish century drew to a close that Spain was to have strong rivals. The undeclared war between Spain and England grew worse and worse. Finally in 1588 King Philip of Spain decided to invade England. He

gathered together a great fleet called the Armada, which consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight large ships carrying many soldiers. Englishmen were filled with dismay as the great Spanish fleet approached their coast.

Only fifty-four small English ships, commanded by Francis Drake, were available to prevent the invasion of England. Drake allowed the Spanish fleet to go past him up the English Channel in a thickening mist and drizzling rain, then attacked from the rear. Drake's ships were faster, his guns were better, and his sailors could shoot more accurately than the Spaniards. As the days passed, his fleet increased in strength with reinforcements, and finally defeated the Armada. Then a huge storm arose and destroyed most of the Spanish ships that remained. When the storm was over and Drake's ships left the scene, the mighty Armada was no more. The destruction of the Armada signified that Spain did not rule the oceans, and that English ships would thereafter be more important in the exploration and settlement of the Americas.

Study Activities

1. *Foods from the Americas.* Below is a list of foods which may be bought today in many vegetable markets. What plants in the list were native to the Americas? Different pupils may look up each item in the encyclopedias and report to the class.

artichoke	celery	lettuce
asparagus	corn	okra
beans	cucumber	onions
beets	eggplant	parsley
cabbage	endive	peas
cauliflower	leek	peppers

potatoes	spinach	tomatoes
pumpkin	squash	turnips

2. *America in 1492.* If Columbus could have taken an airplane trip from the mouth of the Mississippi River to the Great Lakes and from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast of our country, what would he have seen that is different from what a traveler would see today?

3. *Distances in the Americas.* On a map of the Western Hemisphere, locate the spot where Columbus first landed. About

how far is it from that spot to the Isthmus of Panama? to Rio de Janeiro? to Boston? to Santiago? to San Francisco? to Toronto? to your home?

4. *An Exploration Map.* Draw a free-hand map of the Americas and locate on it the home regions of the Indian groups mentioned in Chapter 1.

5. *American and Egyptian Pyramids.* Collect pictures of the Egyptian, Mayan, and Toltec pyramids and consult the encyclopedias about them. Why were the pyramids built? How do they compare in size and age? Can a member of the class make models of them to scale?

6. *An Indian Exhibit.* Are there any examples of Indian arts and crafts in your school or community? Arrange an exhibit of materials illustrating Indian arts and crafts.

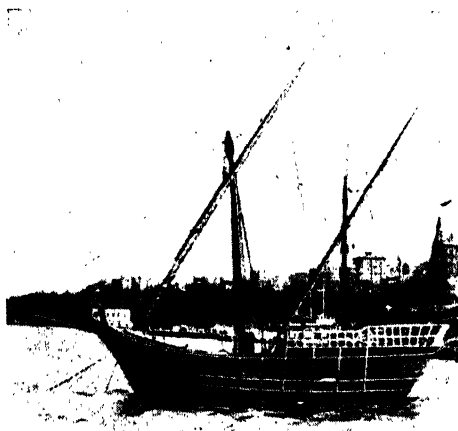
7. *Was Columbus a Failure?* Some wit has said of Columbus that "he was the man who started out to find a place he didn't know how to reach; when he got there he didn't know where he was; and when he got back home he didn't know where he had been. . . . He was about the greatest failure in all history." On the other hand Samuel Eliot Morison says, in the book *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*: "Waste no pity on the Admiral of Ocean Sea! He enjoyed long stretches of pure delight such as only a discoverer can experience. . . . Today a score of independent nations and dominions unite in homage to Christopher the stout-hearted son of Genoa, who carried Christian civilization across the Ocean Sea." Write a fitting editorial for your school paper on this subject for Columbus Day. You will find these books helpful:

C. Walter Hodges, *Columbus Sails*, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1939.

Louise A. Kent, *He Went with Christopher Columbus*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.

Mrs. Enid LaMonte Meadowcroft, *Ship Boy with Columbus*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942.

Edna Potter, *Christopher Columbus, the Story of a Great Adventure*, Oxford University Press, 1932.



Courtesy of Wm. H. Wise, Inc.

The Niña (a reconstruction), with original lateen rig.

8. *The Niña.* The *Niña* was the favorite ship of Columbus. Not as large as the *Santa Maria*, it was far more seaworthy. It made three trips across the Atlantic with Columbus aboard, and continued to be in active service for years afterward in the Mediterranean Sea and around Africa. It was 70 feet long, keel about 50 feet, and beam about 23 feet. The depth of its hold was about 9 feet. It was a single decker, upon which was built a small cabin for its master and mates. Originally it had a lateen rig, but when Columbus first reached the Azores in it he had the masts replaced with square rigging. A foremast was mounted in the bows, a mainmast amidships, and a small mast in the extreme aft. This little vessel probably traveled more than 25,000 miles and might well be called "the grandest little ship in history." Can any member of the class make a model of the *Niña*?

9. *Map of Explorations.* Divide the class into committees. One committee should make a wall map of the home region of the chief Indian groups, one a map of the

Spanish explorations in the New World, one a map of the French explorations, one a map of the Portuguese explorations, and one a map of the English explorations. Exhibit the maps. Which European country really had the best claims to territory in the Americas?

10. *A Poet's Error.* In a poem by the English poet John Keats are these lines:

Then I felt like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific — and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise —
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

What is the poet's error? For help see maps on pages 12 and 14. Does the poem describe the feelings of a discoverer?

11. *Hernando de Soto.* Typical of the great explorers was Hernando de Soto. He served with Pizarro in Peru; he was made governor of Cuba; having heard stories of riches in the lands north of the Gulf of Mexico, he organized an expedition to explore the region. In the spring of 1542, he and his company of 570 men reached and crossed the Mississippi River. They wandered northward as far as the present state of Missouri, but found no gold. Back on the banks of the Mississippi de Soto became sick. One of his group recorded: "The 21st of May departed this life the magnanimous, the virtuous, the intrepid Captain, Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida."

When the Indians came to inquire what had happened to the Great White Captain, they were told that "He has ascended into Heaven, as he had done on many occasions before, where he would be detained for some time. . . ."

The Indians replied: "It is a custom

with us that when a great chief dies we kill two young warriors that they might accompany him and care for his needs on the trail."

But the Spaniards said: "Have no fear for our Captain. He is not dead, but has simply gone to Heaven for a short visit and will soon return again. He has taken his horses and some of his men with him and they are sufficient for his needs."

When the Indians had left, the Spaniards, greatly disturbed, took up the body of their leader from the grave, weighted it with lead, and, in the middle of the night, buried it in the broad Mississippi.

Write a radio play about the life and death of de Soto for presentation to the class or in the assembly. For additional material consult encyclopedias and biographies.

12. *Books to Read.* These books tell of the Americas before the arrival of Columbus and of the early explorations made by Europeans.

Esther Averill, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, Viking Press, 1937. Contains many quotations from Cartier's own account.

Agnes Danforth Hewes, *Spice Ho! A Story of Discovery*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1941.

Louise Andrews Kent, *He Went with Magellan*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943.

Philip A. Means, *Tupak of the Incas*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. Life in the Inca kingdom before the coming of the Spanish.

Maxine Shore and M. M. Obdinger, *Hero of Darien: The Story of Vasco Núñez de Balboa*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1941.

Anne Terry White, *Lost Worlds: Adventures in Archaeology*, Random House, 1941. Last part devoted to Mayas of Central America.

Consult also the books containing short biographies of Spanish and Portuguese explorers listed at end of Chapter 8.

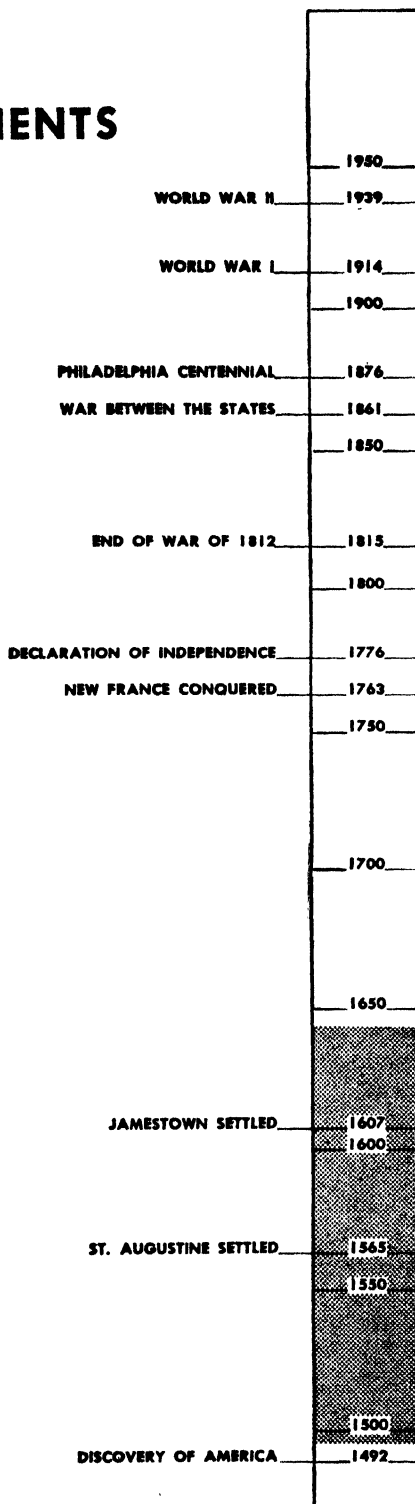
CHAPTER 2

SETTLING THE CONTINENTS

"To them America was not simply a new home; it was a land of opportunity, of freedom, of democracy."

F. J. Turner

1638 SWEDES SETTLE DELAWARE
1614 DUTCH BUILD FORT AT ALBANY
1608 QUEBEC SETTLED BY FRENCH
1607 JAMESTOWN SETTLED BY ENGLISH
1565 ST. AUGUSTINE SETTLED
1531 SÃO VICENTE ESTABLISHED BY PORTUGUESE
1521 MEXICO CITY REBUILT
1496 SANTO DOMINGO FOUNDED BY SPANISH



MEN OF SPAIN

Early Spanish Settlements

The Spanish were not only the first ~~explorers, but also the first~~ colonists ~~in the Americas~~. Most of them came to the New World in the hope of making a better living. The government of Spain encouraged Spanish citizens, especially farmers, to settle in the New World. Many Spaniards were given free passage across the Atlantic and free land after they arrived. Many towns grew up around missions established by Spanish Catholic priests.

The earliest permanent settlement made by any European nation in the New World was founded by the Spanish at Santo Domingo, on the island of Hispaniola, in 1496. Santo Domingo became the center of Spanish exploration in the New World, and the base from which colonists spread into the mainland. Habana, Cuba, was settled in 1519. Although it was burned by pirates in 1528, it was rebuilt and later became Spain's chief naval base in the Western hemisphere. Panama also was settled in 1519, and was the richest town in America when looted by pirates in 1671.

In many respects, the most important Spanish settlement in the Americas was Mexico City, built by Cortez in 1521 on the site of the capital of the Aztecs. Here, from 1528 to 1542, was the headquarters of the only Spanish governor, or *viceroy* as he was to be called, in America. Even after Spain's possessions became so vast that they were divided into several provinces, or viceroyalties, Mexico

City continued to be one of the chief centers of Spanish authority. By 1600 the city had a population of 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians; by 1746 its population had grown to 90,000.

Cartagena (*kär-tä-jě'ná*), in what is now Colombia, settled in 1533, was also of considerable importance. It was nicknamed—"Queen of the Indies" and early in the seventeenth century ranked next to Mexico City. Lima (*lě'mä*), Peru, was settled in 1535 by Pizarro and rose rapidly in importance. When, in 1542, the Spanish king decided to have two viceroyalties in America instead of one, Lima became the residence of the governor of the southern half of Spain's possessions in the New World. For a century and three-quarters it shared with Mexico City the honor of ruling Spanish America. As Spanish possessions continued to grow, a third viceroy was appointed, in 1717, and a fourth in 1776.

Vera Cruz (*vā'rä krōōs'*) in Mexico and Puerto Bello (*pwěr'tō běl'ō*) in Panama were of particular importance because at one time all trade between the colonies and the mother country was required to pass through one or the other of these two ports. Vast fortunes in gold and silver were frequently carried by the fleets of large Spanish ships, or galleons, when they set sail for the mother country. These great riches of Spanish America were eagerly sought by the gangs of pirates, or buccaneers, who lived among the islands of the Caribbean. Not stopped by Spanish cannon, the pirates would board a



Spanish and Portuguese America about 1768

treasure ship and, in hand-to-hand combat, defeat the crew and capture the treasure. Many pirate leaders became rich and powerful; some actually ruled over some sections of the Caribbean.

Asuncion (ä-sōon-syōn'), in what is now Paraguay, was settled in 1537; Bogotá (bō-gō-tä'), in what is now Colombia, a year later; and Santiago (sän-tē-ä'gō), in what is now Chile, in 1541. These were followed

by a steady procession of Spanish settlements. In what is now Argentina, Buenos Aires (bwā'nōs ī'rās), which in our own day is one of the outstanding cities in the lands once ruled by Spain, had an unhappy early history. The first two attempts to settle there ended in failure, and it was not until 1580 that a third attempt proved successful. Yet by 1620, the year when the Pilgrim Fathers began their settlement of Plymouth, Buenos Aires and vicinity had a population of 3000 people.

The first Spanish settlement within the present boundaries of the United States was started at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565; another was begun at Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1609. Other important Spanish settlements were made at San Antonio, Texas,

in 1718 and at San Francisco, California, in 1776 — the year in which our United States declared its independence from Great Britain.

Spanish farmers, merchants, miners, and priests settled in the New World much faster than is generally supposed. By 1574 there was a total of 160,000 Spaniards in America, living in as many as 200 cities and villages, half of which were in South America. At that time there was not even one English settlement in the New World; and there would be none for another third of a century.

How Spain Governed Her Colonies

As finally organized (much later), Spanish America consisted of four



Puerto Bello and Vera Cruz were the two ports from whose busy docks traders were allowed to ship to Spain the treasure of the Spanish colonies in the New World. If the high Spanish galleons escaped pirates, and shipwreck, what would the workers on the docks in Spain unload?

great viceroyalties. In the north, the viceroyalty of New Spain included all of the West Indies, Mexico, all Spanish territory within the present boundaries of the United States, most of Central America, and, for a time, the Philippines. From Aca-pulco (ä-kä-pōōl'kō), a settlement on the west coast of Mexico, Spanish ships sailed regularly for the Philippines. The viceroyalty of New Granada (grā-nā'dā) consisted of what are now Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. The viceroyalty of Peru was made up of what are now Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. The viceroyalty of La Plata included the remainder of Spain's possessions, bounded on the east by Portuguese Brazil and the Atlantic Ocean.

The viceroy was the personal representative of the Spanish king. He commanded the army, had control over money, was guardian of the Indians, and appointed lesser officials. Ordinary Spanish colonists possessed very little share in the government. Spain, like other European nations of that day, looked upon colonies mainly as a means of enriching the mother country. Spanish colonists, like other colonists, were surrounded with a variety of regulations and restrictions. They could trade only with the mother country unless they chose to become smugglers. Spaniards living in Peru were even forbidden to trade with Spaniards living in the Philippines.

If a Spaniard living in what is now Argentina wished to send goods to merchants in Spain, he could do so only by way of Puerto Bello. By looking at the map on page 22 you can see what a roundabout trade route that would be. Goods from

Argentina were shipped across the Andes to the Pacific coast, then by sea to the Isthmus of Panama. At Panama the cargo was unloaded and carried overland to Puerto Bello on the Atlantic. At Puerto Bello the goods were once more placed on ocean vessels. When a fleet of merchant ships was loaded it departed for Spain under the guard of Spanish warships, a convoy, as we would call it now. With good luck it could reach Spain about two months and a half after leaving Puerto Bello.

The Indians of New Spain

The Indians in the Spanish colonies, however, had greater cause for complaint than Spain's colonists. The white men took their lands and required them to work. In many places, the Indians were not much better off than slaves. Catholic priests tried to obtain better treatment of the Indians, and the rulers of Spain attempted, in various ways, to put an end to forced labor. Laborers were scarce, however, and the settlers generally managed to find some way to make the Indians work for them. Gradually, Negroes were imported as workers. By 1822 there were 400,000 Negro workers in the West Indies and nearly as many more on the mainland.

Just as the Indians contributed much to their white conquerors, so did the Spanish in their turn contribute much to the natives. The vast assortment of goods which arrived on ships from across the Atlantic was ever a source of wonder to the Indians. Some of these imports came into general use. Of special importance to the natives was the introduction of farm animals; no

longer was it necessary to do all work by human muscles. The Spaniards brought in so many cattle and horses, which increased so rapidly, that eventually many of these animals ran wild in herds and were hunted like deer and buffalo. The Indians of the southwestern section of our country learned how to make beautiful rugs and blankets only after the Spaniards had brought sheep from the Old World to the New. The Jesuit missions not only carried Christianity to the Indians, but were of great benefit to the natives in other ways. Here the Indian boys and girls were taught to read and write. Here the poor and sick and other unfortunate people were tenderly cared for. Here Indians could flee to escape abuse by whites.

Achievements of New Spain

The centers of Spanish settlement were the birthplaces of European industry and culture in the Americas. Before any other nations had colonies in the New World, Santo Domingo was exporting huge quantities of sugar. As early as 1522 there was a school in Mexico City attended by more than one thousand Indian boys. Both Lima and Mexico City had universities half a century before

the first English settlement was made in America. Art, music, and literature developed in Spain's possessions before there was any New England. Native artists painted pictures that compared favorably with famous paintings brought from Europe. Important books were being written in Mexico by its own authors. In 1585 more than three hundred writers entered a single literary contest. Much also was being accomplished in architecture. The vast cathedral of Mexico was begun as early as 1573.

Great has been the influence of Spain on both the Americas. Even today in the New World there are fifty million Americans who speak Spanish. Even now, Spanish customs are followed throughout most of South America, except Brazil, and also throughout Central America, Mexico, and some of the West Indies. In the southwestern section of our nation there is still today a strong Spanish influence although considerably more than a century has passed since that vast territory was ruled by Spain. Today the relations of the United States with the countries of Central and South America which have grown from the early Spanish settlements are of increasing importance.

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS

The first permanent Portuguese colony in the New World was established at São Vicente (soun vê-sên'tã) in southern Brazil in 1531, by settlers who had been sent by their king to search for silver. Of greater importance, however, were settlements farther north, especially at Bahia (bá-ě'á) — or São Salvador (soun

säl-vã-thōr') de Bahia. The Portuguese had attempted to start a colony at Bahia in 1534. The Indians were very friendly at first, and fortune seemed to be smiling on the colony, but when the Portuguese abused the natives, the Indians revolted and wrecked the settlement. Later, in 1549, Bahia was permanently settled

and became the capital city of Portuguese Brazil. Meanwhile both the Portuguese and the French attempted to settle Rio de Janeiro (rē'ō dā zhā-nā'rō). First to try were the French, but they were driven away. Next the Portuguese tried to start a colony and failed. Then the French settled a second time but in 1560 were driven into the interior. There they received assistance from the Indians and in turn drove out the Portuguese. In the end the Portuguese won possession, and in 1763 Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Brazil.

In the sixteenth century the settlements of Portugal in the New World, unlike those of Spain, developed very slowly. Portugal was small both in area and in population and she was busy with her possessions in Africa and the East Indies. Besides, she had become somewhat discouraged because her first attempts to find wealth in the New World had not succeeded.

There was great danger that Brazil would become the colony of some other nation. In 1580, the King of Spain became ruler of both Spain and Portugal. From that time until 1640 Brazil was treated as part of New Spain, but it then became Portuguese territory once more and so remained until it became independent. The Dutch seized Bahia in 1624 and within a few years managed to gain control of a thousand miles of seacoast. The French occupied Rio de Janeiro in 1711 and collected a heavy ransom. Neither the Dutch nor the French, however, were able to obtain permanent possession of Portugal's colonies in Brazil.

Brazil was ninety times the size

of the mother country, and Portugal did not possess the men necessary to control and develop so vast a territory. The Portuguese who came to the New World remained near the seacoast. Their settlements were mainly trading centers and they were more interested in finding minerals than in raising farm crops. When gold was discovered in 1692 a rush to the gold fields took place. When diamonds were discovered in 1728 there was a similar rush to the diamond mines. For more than a century Brazil produced more diamonds than any other country in the world. Not until the colony turned its main attention to cattle, cotton, and sugar cane was the prosperity of Brazil soundly established. Coffee did not become important until much later.

The Portuguese were less successful than the Spanish in putting the Indians to work. The natives of Brazil were less numerous than those in New Spain and were of a different type. Negro slaves were imported in large numbers to help solve the labor problem. By 1580, in the area around Bahia, Negroes were already twice as numerous as whites. In all Brazil, there were 13,000 Negroes as compared with 25,000 white people and 29,000 civilized Indians. By 1680, a century later, there were twenty Negroes for every white man in the Bahia sugar-producing region. By 1800, in all Brazil, there were about 1,500,000 Negroes; they outnumbered the whites by more than three to one. Later these slaves were freed. In modern Brazil the different races live together in harmony and co-operation.

In our own day, Portugal's influ-

ence in the development of the New World is still evident. Even though Brazil is no longer controlled by Portugal, large numbers of Portuguese have come to dwell in this vast South American republic. Italy is the only European nation that has sent a greater number of immigrants to Brazil. The early settlements of

the Portuguese have developed into some of the greatest of American cities. Rio de Janeiro, which succeeded Bahia as capital in 1763, has become the second largest city in South America. São Paulo (soun pou'loo) has grown rapidly to become the third largest city in South America.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ENGLAND

England made a very slow start in the race for colonies. Not until 1588 did she succeed Spain as the "mistress of the seas." Not until the defeat of the Spanish navy in that year did English merchants and colonists feel safe to go where they pleased. In 1600, when Spain's settlements were rich and flourishing, there was not one English settlement in either of the Americas.

The news, however, of Spain's rich colonies had increased England's desire for wealth. Some English sea captains had brought back great fortunes of gold and silver which they had seized from Spanish treasure ships. England's merchants began to want English colonies to trade with. England's rulers wanted colonies to produce raw materials needed in the mother country. Large numbers of poor people in England hoped to make a better living in lands across the seas. Some Englishmen, deprived of religious liberty in their own land, wished to go where they could worship God as they pleased.

The First English Settlements in America

The first permanent English settlement in America was established at

Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The main purpose in founding the colony was to make profits for a company of English merchants. The actual settlers came with hopes of making a better living. At first there was great doubt whether the colony could survive. The settlement was attacked by Indians without and by disease within, and in less than a year 144 out of a total of 197 settlers had died. That the colony did not fail was due to the leadership of Captain John Smith and Sir Thomas Dale. Smith was only twenty-eight years old when Jamestown was settled, yet he had already led an adventurous life. He had nearly perished in battle and had been for a time enslaved by the Turks. On one occasion after coming to Virginia he was saved from death by a young Indian maiden, Pocahontas. While in charge at Jamestown he required the colonists to work six hours a day, declaring "he that will not work, unless he is disabled by sickness, shall not eat." The colony might have perished but for his leadership and his skill in dealing with the Indians. By 1625, Jamestown was firmly established as the first successful English settlement in the Americas.

The next English settlements were made in New England. In 1620 a brave little band of Pilgrims set out in the tiny *Mayflower* to find a place where they could worship God as they wished. They hoped to start a colony in Virginia, but in November reached Cape Cod instead. In December their little settlement was made at Plymouth. Cold, hungry, living in caves, the settlers struggled to survive the winter. As at Jamestown, the colonists were menaced by sickness, but due to the leadership of William Bradford and Miles Standish, the colony survived.

In 1630 nearly a thousand colonists settled in Boston and vicinity. Many of them were Puritans who desired religious liberty, but many who followed them to Massachusetts were poor people mainly interested in

earning a better living. The most famous leader of the Puritans was John Winthrop, who was governor for many years. He was primarily a man of religion, but he also proved to be a wise leader in government. His public statues show him carrying a Bible in one hand and the Charter of Massachusetts in the other.

As the Puritan settlements became more firmly established in Massachusetts, colonists began to move into other parts of New England. In 1636 the Rev. Thomas Hooker led a group which made a settlement at Hartford, Connecticut, and Roger Williams established a colony at Providence, Rhode Island. Williams disagreed with the Puritans over matters of religion. He was forced to flee into the wilderness in mid-winter to avoid arrest. He might



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

The building of Jamestown seems to have more "gentlemen" onlookers than energetic workers for very rapid progress. Simple tools seem to be even scarcer than good workers.



The Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Mass.

The landing of the Pilgrims really took place gradually, but the event has become such a "symbol" in our history that many artists have painted their idea of it. The painting reproduced here hangs in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and each year, on December 21, the "landing" is celebrated.

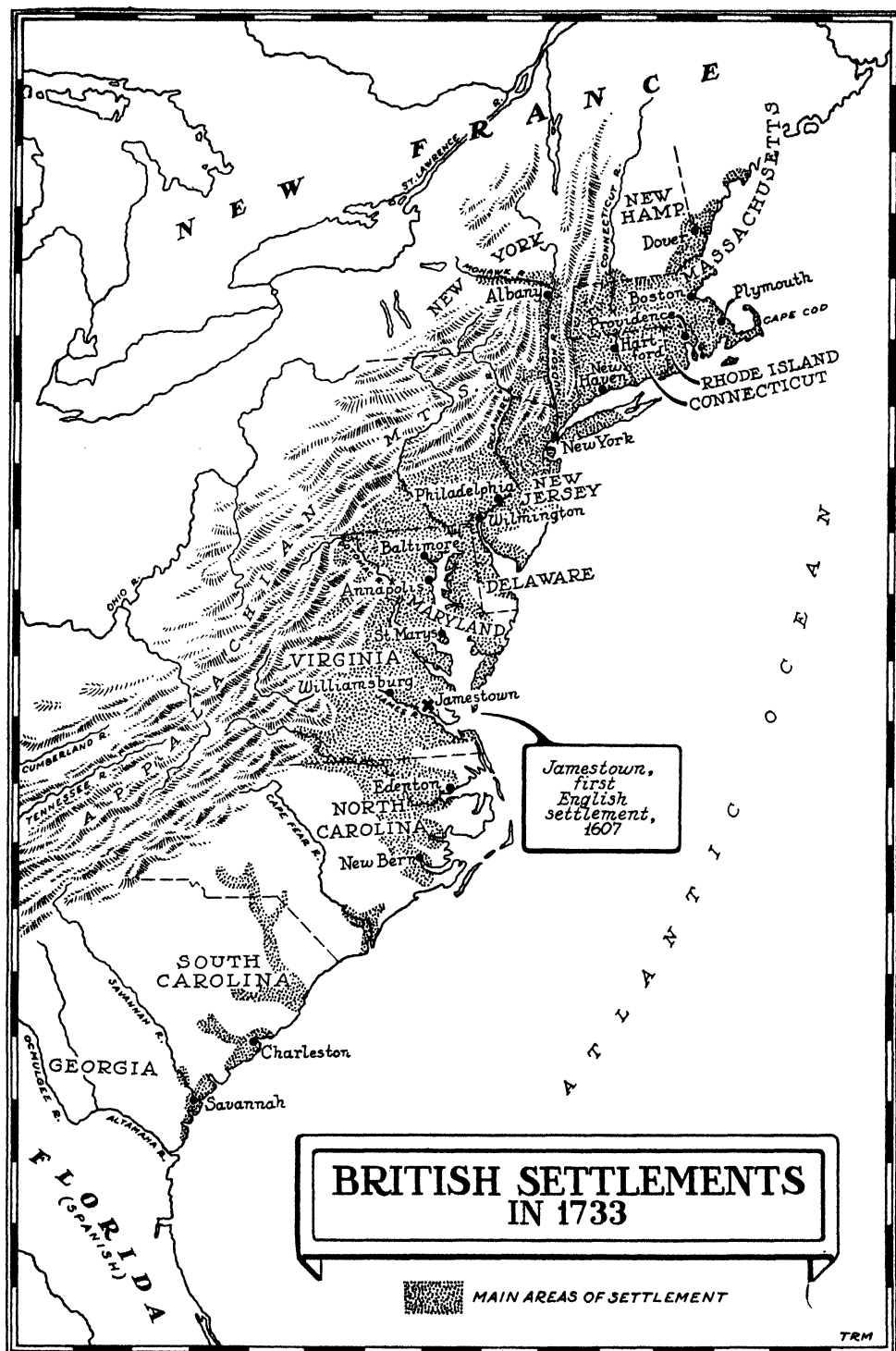
have perished because of the bitter cold and a driving snowstorm, but was sheltered and fed by the Indians. In May, 1636, he began to build a new settlement at Providence, Rhode Island, at the head of Narragansett Bay. He bought land from the Indians, instead of seizing it as others had done. He allowed religious liberty to all settlers regardless of the church to which they belonged, and permitted the people to share in the government. By these experiments Williams influenced the life and thought of both England and the English colonies.

Meanwhile, other settlers were moving into New Hampshire. A "New" England was beginning to appear on the coast and among the

green hills which possibly some Norsemen had visited six centuries earlier.

Farther south other English colonies were being born. Lord Baltimore made a settlement at St. Marys, Maryland, in 1634 so that Catholics could there worship God as they wished. The Catholics had been deprived of religious liberty in England, as the Puritans had been. They were unwilling to belong to the Church of England. Some of them preferred to make new homes in the American wilderness so that they might be free. They did not limit this freedom to themselves alone, but allowed all Christians to settle in Maryland and worship freely.

A settlement was made at Albemarle (ăl'bê-märl), North Carolina,



in 1653, and another at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1670. Meanwhile the Dutch had settled New York and New Jersey, and the Swedes had established colonies in Delaware. In 1655 the Dutch took possession of Delaware, then in 1664 England seized New York, New Jersey, and Delaware from the Dutch.

In 1682 the first English settlement in Pennsylvania was begun at Philadelphia by William Penn. He wished to obtain religious freedom for Quakers and hoped also to make money for himself. Penn was a wealthy Quaker in England, who, because his father had lent money to the king, was given large tracts of land in America. He spent only a short time in Philadelphia himself, but his ideas influenced the colony very much. He planned a settlement where honest God-fearing people, Quakers and others, could live in peace and good will. While in America he negotiated treaties with the Indians which kept Pennsylvania at peace even when most of the other colonies were engaged in Indian wars.

In 1733 Georgia was settled under the leadership of General James Oglethorpe (ō'g'l-thōrp). Georgia was the last of England's thirteen colonies to be established in America.

The Thirteen Colonies in 1733

All of what is now the Atlantic coastline of the United States between Canada and Florida was in British hands in 1733; for England and Scotland since 1707 had been united in the new kingdom of Great Britain. The present state of Maine was part of the colony of Massachusetts. New Hampshire

had been separated from Massachusetts in 1679. South of Massachusetts were the two other New England colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Next there were the four middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. South of Pennsylvania and Delaware were Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Until 1713 both the Carolinas were governed as one colony. Bounded on the west by the Appalachians and on the east by the Atlantic, extending 1500 miles from French territory on the north to Spanish Florida on the south, British America was a long narrow strip — similar in shape to the Chile of our own day. In 1700, less than a century after the first settlement at Jamestown, there were 260,000 Englishmen in the New World.

Where the English colonists settled was determined to a considerable extent by geography. The first settlers depended upon supply ships coming from England and hence made their settlements near good landing places. The early cities grew up around the best harbors. When settlers first moved inland they advanced up river valleys because these provided the easiest travel and the swiftest communication with the coast. Colonists gradually filled up the vast coastal plain which extended inland two or three hundred miles from the Atlantic. The rivers which crossed this coastal plain from west to east came from the Appalachians, plunging upon the lowlands through falls and rapids. The place where mountains gave way to lowlands and the rivers began to run smoothly was known as the

"fall line." The early settlers seldom went west of this "fall line" because there was no water communication with the seacoast.

Earning a Living

How the English settlers earned a living was also determined to a considerable extent by geography. In certain sections of South Carolina rice growing was more profitable than anything else, so here the settlers grew rice. Because the soil and climate of Virginia and Maryland were well suited for the growing of tobacco, tobacco was the main crop in both of these colonies. Because large areas of land were needed for the cultivation of tobacco, plantations were established. New England's climate and rocky hillsides made plantations impossible. Its people lived on small farms or in villages. Since the Newfoundland fishing grounds were not far away, many New Englanders became fishermen and sailors.

The English colonists were faced by a labor problem more serious than that which the Spaniards had been required to solve. In New Spain there were large numbers of Indians who lived in settled communities and could be made to work. In the English colonies a far different situation existed; here the red men were few, scattered, and difficult to control.

White laborers were scarce. Many Englishmen objected to doing heavy work under a broiling sun, especially in regions where malaria was common. Most of the work on small farms had to be done by the farmer and his family. If additional white labor was needed in the colonies,

it was the custom to pay a poor man's passage across the Atlantic from England in return for his labor for a certain number of years. This white worker was known as an indentured servant because of the indenture, or written agreement, which bound him to work for his master.

At first there were no Negro slaves in the English colonies. The scarcity of labor, however, was very great, especially on the plantations of the South. In 1619 a Dutch sea captain sold twenty Negroes to some Virginia colonists. Negro slaves in the English colonies did not become numerous during the remainder of the seventeenth century; but after 1700 slavery increased greatly in the southern colonies.

The need for slave labor was the basis for much colonial commerce. New England's sea captains made great profits in carrying shiploads of rum to Africa. This they traded for Negroes who had been captured in tribal warfare. The Negroes were brought across the Atlantic, and sold as slaves to the planters of the West Indies and in the English colonies south of Maryland. With the money thus made, the sea captains bought sugar and molasses which were carried back to New England and made into rum with which to buy more slaves. This trade from New England to Africa to the West Indies and back again to New England was known as the "three-cornered trade."

Social Life in England's Colonies

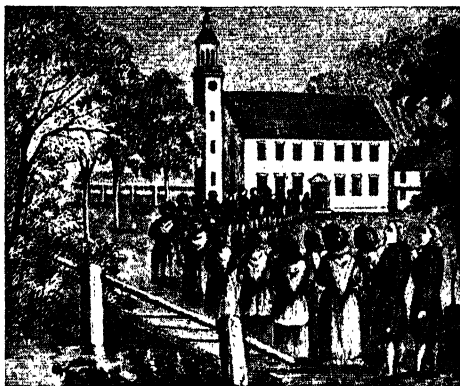
Most of the Spanish who had come to the New World had been men, but from England whole fami-

lies came. Women played a very important part in building the thirteen English colonies. The mistress of the English cabin had a great variety of household duties, and she often worked long, hard hours also in the fields. All her possessions belonged to her husband to dispose of as he willed, and to her and to the children his word was law. In spite of laws which made her an "inferior" being, however, she generally had considerable influence in family affairs. Her views regarding family problems were usually respected by her husband.

Although many of the English settlers came to North America to worship God as they wished, many of them were unwilling to grant religious freedom to others. In Massachusetts every person was required to attend the Puritan church whether or not he believed in that form of religion. No one was allowed to vote unless he was a member of that church, and to become a member was not always easy — one had to be chosen. Only about one fifth of the colonists were able to become members, and this small group ruled the other four fifths. In Virginia, on the other hand, only Episcopalians were wanted.

It was in England's colonies, however, that real religious liberty was born in the Americas. Maryland passed a law saying that all Christians could come to that colony. The Catholic Church continued to be the state church in Maryland, but other Christian churches were also allowed to exist. The greatest advance toward religious freedom was made in Rhode Island under the leadership of Roger Williams. Here

men of all creeds, Jewish as well as Catholic and Protestant, were allowed religious liberty. The church had nothing to say about how the government should be run, and nobody was required to pay taxes to support the church. A man could vote whether he was a church member or not, and few special privileges were granted.



From Barker, "History and Antiquities of New England"

A singing procession entering a church of the middle of the eighteenth century. Notice the architecture of the church, the bonnets of the women, and the ~~pigs~~ of the men.

Because of the plantation system in the South, families there did not live close together. For this reason it was impossible for the children to attend a school, and they were usually taught in their own homes. In the North, where people were much closer neighbors, schools could be more easily established. Yet advances in education in any section of the colonies were certain to be painfully slow because the settlers were mainly occupied with their struggle to remain alive and to escape starvation.

Harvard College was established near Boston in 1636. For over half a century it remained the only

institution in the English colonies which gave more than a common-school education. The early English colonists were so busily engaged in trying to wrest a crude living from the wilderness that they had very little time or energy to write books or paint pictures.

The various classes of settlers did not consider each other as social equals. The ordinary man did not hesitate to doff his hat and bow low when meeting one of higher "rank." But the sons and daughters of old England brought with them across the ocean the idea that all men had certain rights in common. And there was in every individual who settled in the New World a greater belief in the importance of each human being than was commonly found in the Old World.

The Growth of Self-Government

At various times the settlers and their ancestors had taken part in fierce struggles against unjust English kings. The English people had won

certain rights and privileges which no king could take away. After the settlement of the colonies, the struggle was continued on this side of the Atlantic against unjust English governors. In 1619, only twelve years after the settlement of Jamestown, the settlers of Virginia chose representatives to meet in an assembly to help make the laws for the colony. In 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers gathered on the Mayflower and agreed to the famous Mayflower Compact whereby they provided for their own government instead of having it dictated to them from England. In 1639 the citizens of Connecticut framed the Fundamental Orders, a written constitution describing their duties and their rights. Thus, on this side of the Atlantic, English colonists were continuing the great march toward political liberty for all men. That march of English colonists through the American wilderness of colonial times was to lead to the great democracy in which we live today.

OUTPOSTS OF FRANCE

Difficulties Faced by the French

To a certain extent, the Frenchman in America was a victim of geography. There was no gold or silver in the places where he settled, and, although he found fertile soil, the climate was too severe for many crops. Such fur-bearing animals as the beaver were his chief source of wealth. The beaver, however, contributed little to the success of a real settlement. By the time a Frenchman could erect a cabin and settle down

with his family, the beavers had usually disappeared from near-by lands. The French trader and trapper were forced to move deeper and deeper into the wilderness for more furs.

While the English were struggling to make a permanent settlement at Jamestown, the French were facing great difficulties much farther north. On Acadia (now Nova Scotia) brave attempts were being made to start a colony at Port Royal, now Annapolis. At the same time the French

Small trading posts were also being erected much farther west. Frenchmen in search of furs roamed over the entire area around the Great Lakes. Explorations of Marquette (mār-kět') and Joliet (zhō-lyě') in 1673 and of La Salle in 1682 helped to open up the Middle West and the long valley of the Mississippi. The French settled Detroit in 1701 and New Orleans in 1717, even before the British settled Georgia. Other French posts were established at Sault Ste. Marie (sōō' sānt mā-rē'), Kaskaskia, and many other places.

Relations Between the French and the Indians

The Frenchman, as a rule, understood the American Indian much better than did either the Spaniard or the Englishman. The Spaniard used the Indians for forced labor and had little respect for their culture, although he was willing to live in close contact with the natives. The average Englishman regarded the Indians as strange creatures who were to be shunned when not needed. The Frenchman, on the other hand, was more inclined to treat Indians as equals. The Frenchman also was more likely to feel at home in Indian villages and to accept Indian methods of fighting in the wilderness. Even the greatest of French governors were not above taking part in Indian war dances. As a result of their close contact with the French, the northern Indians were considerably influenced by French civilization.

Like the Spanish, the French colonists were Roman Catholics; and also like the Spanish, they were eager to make Christians of the Indians. Christianity and French culture

marched hand in hand through the wilderness in the footsteps of Jesuit missionaries, whose courage has never been surpassed.

Among these Jesuits was a priest named Isaac Jogues (zhôg). After years of great hardship and constant danger among Canadian Indians who were supposed to be friendly, he was captured by the savage Iroquois in 1642. He was cruelly tortured, and finally made a slave. He escaped and went to France, but was not satisfied to remain there. He wanted to try again to convert the Iroquois to Christianity. Back he came three thousand miles across the Atlantic to preach to those who had tortured him. At first they agreed to listen, but when an epidemic appeared and worms began to eat their corn, the superstitious Indians blamed the priest for their misfortunes. Jogues was killed and his head was placed on the palisades facing the trail from Canada, a grim warning to any Jesuit who dared to follow in his footsteps. He is an example of the ardor with which the Jesuits served both God and king.

The French Influence

Considering the small number of their colonists, the French have influenced the development of the New World very much. In our own day, there are four million descendants of the early French settlers in the Americas. The main center of French culture in the New World continues to be found on the banks of the St. Lawrence. There live three million French Canadians. Quebec especially is a city that is strongly French. Here French culture is as strong today as it was three



Thule de Thulstrop, in Francis Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America in the 17th Century" (Little, Brown & Co.)

Devoted Jesuit missionaries, such as Father Jogues, singly and in pairs, preached to the Indians of the New World and taught them a little about European ways of living.

hundred years ago. Over this great period of time, also, the French Canadians have remained loyal to their religion. All along the valley of the St. Lawrence, the main language spoken is French, the customs are French, and many newspapers are French. The French Canadians comprise a large part of the population in northern New York and Vermont.

They are to be found in large numbers throughout the New England states. They live in the canebrakes of Louisiana and on the broad prairies of the Canadian west. The great extent of French civilization in North America today is evidence of the strength of the outposts set up in the American wilderness by the French in the seventeenth century.

OTHER NATIONS SEEKING EMPIRES

Dutch Settlements

Holland was a small European nation that built up a huge empire. The Dutch, like the Portuguese, met with their greatest success in the East Indies; but they made a determined effort to win possessions in the Americas, and even today have territory in South America.

The Dutch built Fort Orange,

now Albany, New York, in 1614. The first Dutch director-general (governor) arrived at the mouth of the Hudson in 1623, where New Amsterdam, now New York City, was established. The Dutch settlements, however, never became very strong, although the Dutch built other settlements along the Hudson and farther west. The Dutch West Indies Company, which controlled



The Bellmann Archive

Albany, the settlement which grew up around Fort Orange, built by the Dutch on the Hudson about 145 miles from New Amsterdam, already boasted mansions by 1657.

the settlers, was more interested in making money than in settlement. The pioneers themselves were more interested in fur trading than in farming. The Dutch settlements were swallowed up by the English within a half century.

The Dutch colonist had almost no share at all in his government. Because of his tolerance, however, he contributed much to human freedom in the Americas. Each man could say what he pleased. People of all religious groups were welcome and well treated although the Dutch had their own church and objected to other churches worshipping publicly. The Dutch risked the anger of the fierce Iroquois to help Isaac Jogues, the great Jesuit missionary, escape from the Indians. The common laborer was accepted more or less as an equal by members of the more prosperous classes, and Negro slaves

were well treated and frequently set free. People from other nations were tolerated by the Dutch. When New Amsterdam had only a thousand residents, sixteen different languages were spoken there.

The Dutch also influenced the development of our nation in various other ways. Every boy and girl was given a chance to have an elementary education. The Dutch left us a literature abounding in ghosts, goblins, phantom ships, and headless horsemen. They left us, too, many of their customs such as the yearly appearance of Santa Claus, and many foods, of which the best-known is probably the doughnut.

Swedish Settlements

Another European nation which attempted to build an empire in the American wilderness was Sweden. In 1638, Swedish colonists arrived in

Delaware Bay and built Fort Christina on the site of Wilmington, Delaware. Land was bought from the Indians, and the settlers began to clear farms. The establishment of this New Sweden was contrary to the wishes of the Dutch, and in 1655 a Dutch expedition conquered the tiny

settlement of six or seven hundred people. The greatest contributions of the Swedes to the development of America were to come more than two centuries later. The tiny first Swedish settlement in Delaware, however, gave us the first log cabins in North America.

SUMMARY

In 1600 no nation was in a position seriously to challenge Spain as the leading colonial empire in the Americas, but by 1700 the situation had changed. England's young colonies had grown rapidly. By 1700, New Sweden had been conquered by the Dutch, and the Dutch colonies in turn had been conquered by the English. In 1700 England was su-

preme in the eastern part of North America, with only a few thousand Frenchmen to challenge her. South and west of the English settlements was Spain's vast empire, challenged only by thinly-settled Brazil. Even greater changes, however, were destined to take place in the eighteenth century than had taken place in the seventeenth.

Study Activities

1. *Where Settlements Were Made.* Chapter 2 mentions many places where early settlements were made by Europeans in the New World. On an outline map of the Americas locate:

Acapulco	Philadelphia
Albany	Plymouth
Albemarle	Port Royal
Asunción	Providence
Bahía	Puerto Bello
Bogotá	Quebec
Boston	Rio de Janeiro
Buenos Aires	St. Augustine
Cartagena	San Antonio
Detroit	San Francisco
Hartford	Santa Fé
Habana	Santiago
Jamestown	Santo Domingo
Lima	São Paulo
Mexico City	Sault Ste. Marie
Montreal	Three Rivers
New Orleans	Vera Cruz
New York	Wilmington

Make a class chart showing the nation which started each of these settlements, the nation which controls it today, and whether the settlement still exists.

2. *Why Settlers Came.* Read through Chapter 2 very carefully, and make a list of all the reasons why settlers came from Europe to the Americas. What reasons do you consider the most important?

3. *Three Cities.* Mexico, New York, and Quebec are all old and interesting cities; they have long been centers of influence in North America. Read about them in the encyclopedias, and then make a time-line showing important events in their history before 1800. Prepare for your classroom an exhibit of pictures about each city. Make a list of the historical spots you would like to see in each city.

4. Routes of Trade. Imagine a convoy of ships from America has just landed at a port in Spain in the year 1580. List some of the items in the cargo brought from America. Tell where each item came from, and trace the route by which it reached Spain.

5. Books to Read. Secure a copy of Frances Carpenter's *Our South American Neighbors* (American Book Company, 1942) and examine the map of Spanish viceroalties and Brazilian Capitánias on page 117. Report to the class on the material on pages 108–126 of the book. Report also on pages 102–121 in Inman and Casteneda, *A History of Latin America for Schools* (The Macmillan Company, 1944). For a story of the courageous work of the Jesuit missionaries, read Edna Kenton's *With Hearts Courageous* (Liveright Corporation, 1933), and for the story of the early French and Indian fur traders, Constance Lindsay Skinner's *Beaver, Kings and Cabins* (The Macmillan Company, 1933).

Some books that will give you interesting accounts of life in the earliest days of the Thirteen Colonies are:

William Bradford and Others of the Mayflower Company, *Homes in the Wilderness: A Pilgrim's Journal of Plymouth Colony in the Year 1620*, William R. Smith, Inc., 1939.

Jeanette Eaton, *Lone Journey: The Life of Roger Williams*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944.

Elizabeth J. Gray, *Penn*, Viking Press, 1938.

Mary Johnston, *To Have and To Hold*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Early Virginia.

Caroline D. Snedeker, *Uncharted Ways*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1935. Quakers in Puritan New England.

Hendrik W. Van Loon, *Life and Times of Pieter Stuyvesant*, Henry Holt & Co., 1921.

6. Spanish Words. Make a list of words in common use in the United States which are Spanish in origin. Start your list with such words as canyon, fiesta, rodeo, mesa, flotilla, chili con carne, tamale, mantilla. In what sections of the United States are these words most used?

Make a list of cities in the United States which have Spanish names.

7. Portuguese Brazil. Consult a geography textbook and report to the class on the geography of Brazil. Read "Brazil, Land of the Mighty Amazon" in Carpenter, *Our South American Neighbors* (American Book Company, 1942), pp. 342–387.

8. English Colonies. Construct a chart with five vertical columns. In the left-hand column list the colonies founded in America by the English. In the other columns indicate (a) when each colony was settled, (b) its early leaders, (c) its chief towns, and (d) its chief products. Draw a freehand map of eastern North America and locate on it the cities listed on your chart. Consult encyclopedias, geographies, and histories of the colonies for help.

9. Early Canada. Does your library have a copy of George Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1942). The book is studied in many Canadian schools and will be useful many times in your study of the United States. If you have it, read the chapters in Part II of the book, "The Founding of French Canada," and report on them to the class. You will especially like the story of "Three Great Leaders" on pages 51–60. The class will find interesting also the volume *Readings in Canadian History*, edited by George Brown (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1940).

10. French Place Names in North America. From the map on page 35 list all the French forts and settlements. Which names exist today as names of towns or cities?

11. Great Colonial Leaders. Make a list of all the persons mentioned in Chapter 2. Be able to tell about the work of each. By class vote select a Hall of Fame of five outstanding leaders of colonial America.

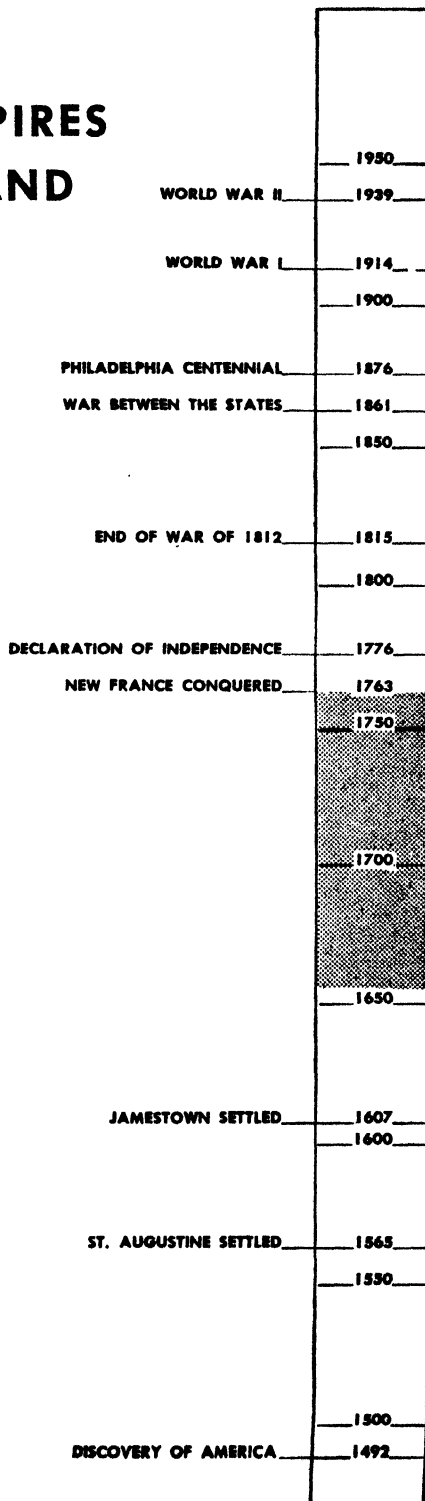
CHAPTER 3

RIVAL EUROPEAN EMPIRES BATTLE FOR NEW LAND

1763 NEW FRANCE CONQUERED
1759 BRITISH CAPTURE QUEBEC
1755 FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR BEGINS
1744-48 KING GEORGE'S WAR
1735 ZENGER TRIAL
1702-13 QUEEN ANNE'S WAR
1689-97 KING WILLIAM'S WAR
1664 DOWNFALL OF NEW NETHERLANDS
1655 DOWNFALL OF NEW SWEDEN

"With the triumph of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."

J. R. Green



EARLY CONFLICTS AND TREATIES

The First Rivalry

Spain and Portugal were the first European nations to become bitter rivals for land and wealth in the New World. They were rivals even before their actual settlements were established, and to avoid warfare they asked the Pope to judge their claims. In 1493 he divided the "new world" between them. His decision was extremely favorable to Spain and gave her possession of almost all the Americas. In 1494, Spain and Portugal made a treaty to move the dividing line farther west. Even then, however, the only section of the New World given to Portugal was eastern Brazil. This arrangement left out such nations as England, France, and Holland, but at that early date these countries were not ready to claim lands in the New World.

In all, there were six European nations that finally became rivals in the settlement of the Americas. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, these nations were Spain, Portugal, England, France, Holland, and Sweden. On numerous occasions expeditions sent out by one country raided the settlements of another. These raids took place whether the nations concerned were at war or at peace. Often, villages were captured and burned. Often, huge ransoms were collected. Sometimes settlers were butchered without mercy.

Two Nations Lose Their Possessions

Sweden was the first of the six European nations to lose her Ameri-

can possessions. Her little colony on the Delaware aroused the jealousy of the Dutch, and quarrels over trade broke out between the two countries. When the Dutch took possession of the Swedish territory in 1655, Sweden was ousted from the Americas. Only five European nations then had claims in the New World.

The Dutch themselves were the next to go. They put up quite a struggle, attempting to win and defend colonies in both North and South America. They were no match when they tried to compete with the Portuguese in Brazil, however, nor were they successful in their conflict with the English in the Hudson valley. Further, their home country was more interested in the islands of the East Indies, which produced greater wealth. In the New Netherlands of North America not enough money was spent even to keep the forts in good condition. The Dutch settlers did not have the means of defending themselves. Furthermore, the English were anxious to obtain possession of the Dutch settlements which separated their northern and southern colonies.

In 1664, an English fleet demanded the surrender of the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam. The Dutch colonists realized that they could not successfully defend themselves, and were ready to surrender. The Dutch governor, however, was a hot-tempered old soldier named Peter Stuyvesant (stí'vĕ-sănt), and at first he could not be persuaded to give up without a fight. For over a week he

stubbornly refused to submit to the English. When the English sent liberal terms of surrender, he tore their letter to pieces. He did not wish the Dutch settlers to know what generous terms the English offered, but the people made him put the pieces of the letter together again. Only at the very last moment was he persuaded to surrender the Dutch possessions in North America. When the Dutch lost control of the Hudson they ceased to be important competitors for the wealth of the Americas. In our own day Holland has possessions in the New World, but they are small. After the Dutch surrender in 1664, only four European nations had important claims in the Americas.

After the agreement made in 1494 there were no serious conflicts between Spain and Portugal. Both had more American land than they needed, and they had little reason to interfere with each other's possessions. From 1580 to 1640 both empires were governed by the same ruler. Nor did Spain have any serious quarrels with other nations in North America. Her settlements there were in general far removed from the colonies of France and England. Before the seventeenth century drew to a close, however, France and England found themselves in a life-and-death struggle which was to continue off and on for three quarters of a century.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND FIGHT FOR A CONTINENT

Wilderness Fighting

Across the Atlantic, in the Old World, France and England had been enemies for a very long time and had fought against each other on many occasions. They were rivals in trade, and now were seeking to establish colonies in the same sections of both Asia and North America. From 1689 to 1763 they were to fight four declared wars, and even between wars there was fighting somewhere almost every year.

Most of the conflict in North America consisted of wilderness warfare which was not familiar to Europeans. There were few individual battles of importance, considering the length of the struggle. Most of the fighting was done by small bands of Indians and white men. They slipped quietly through the forests,

falling upon frontier villages or outposts with surprising suddenness. Many such settlements were completely wiped out of existence with the torch and the scalping knife. No distance was too great, no weather too severe, and no defense too secure to hold back such fierce attacks. The enemy was seldom seen, although his body bore paint of varying hues. He struck without warning and with deadly aim. A pioneer hoeing peacefully in his cornfield knew that any day might be his last.

The first of the four regularly declared wars between France and England was King William's War. This war began in 1689 in Europe, but it was not long before small armies ranging from fifty to three hundred men carried death and destruction over the trails of the American wilderness. The war ended



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Indian attacks on lone homes or little settlements in the wilderness came with lightning speed. Bows and arrows, tomahawks, and fire were the weapons the Indians used in their efforts to stop the spread of the white men into their "hunting grounds."

in 1697, but it really settled nothing, and five years later France and England were at war again. In our country this conflict was known as Queen Anne's War. It ended in 1713, but that peace too was merely another breathing spell. Before the struggle was renewed, the French built a fort at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. After 1742, Crown Point was the strongest French fortress in America, next to Quebec itself. From Crown Point Indian parties raided the English settlements at will. During King George's War, which lasted from 1744 to 1748, these raids were a constant source of terror, and the English were unable to halt them. The treaty which ended this conflict

simply postponed the decision as to whether France or England was to be supreme in North America. These three wars were but rehearsals for the tremendous struggle that remained. Both that final struggle and King George's War were really between France and *Great Britain*, for it was in 1707 that England and Scotland were completely united under a single British government. It was then also that the English colonies became British colonies.]

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the rivalry between the French and the British became more bitter than ever as both nations sought complete control of the Ohio Valley.] At the same time British

colonists were crossing the Appalachians to settle in the Ohio territory, the French were moving down into the same area from the Great Lakes. In 1753 the French began building a chain of forts there, the most important of which was Fort Duquesne (doo-kān') where Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is now located. The British were determined to drive the French out, and George Washington first became prominent because of the part he played in the struggle for the control of the Ohio. Soon war was raging in three continents. Europe, Asia, and North America felt the tread of marching feet, heard the rumble of drums, and became accustomed to the thud of bullets and cannon balls. In Europe, this conflict was known as the Seven Years' War, but to Americans it was the French and Indian War.

Both Great Britain and France had Advantages

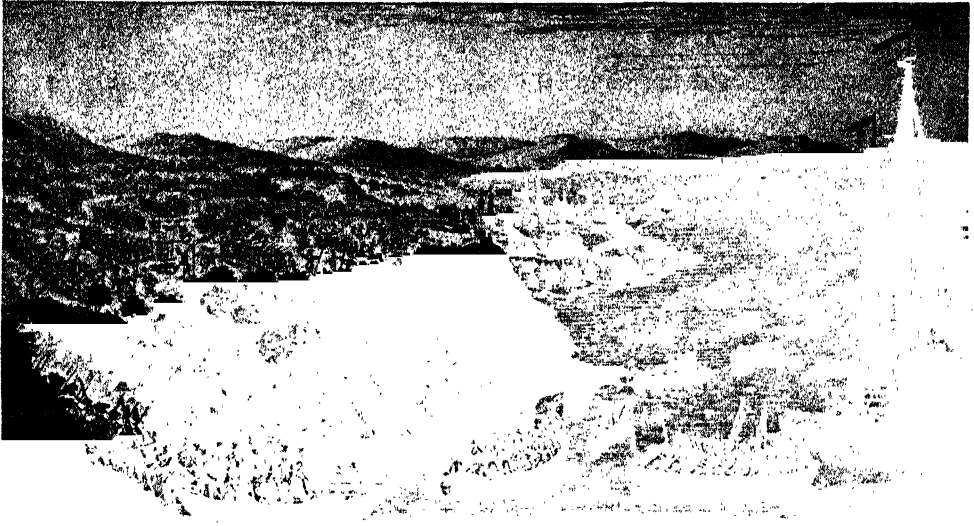
As France and England entered their last great war for possession of the continent, each nation had certain advantages. The French were united, whereas the British colonists were forever quarreling among themselves and with the mother country. The French had better leaders, Montcalm (mōnt-kām') standing head and shoulders above British generals until the close of the struggle. The French adapted themselves to wilderness warfare more easily than their rivals. The French made better use of the Indians than did the British. The great French governor, Frontenac (frōn'-tē-nāk), when an old man of seventy, seized a tomahawk at an Indian council, joined in a war dance, and yelled savage war

whoops as fiercely as his dusky allies. Such incidents delighted the Indians and insured their friendship.

Yet Britain had greater advantages than France. Her colonists outnumbered the French by fourteen or fifteen to one. Her people had more reason to fight because they were homemakers rather than fur traders. The British possessed superior wealth, and Britain took more interest in colonists than did France. The friendship of the Iroquois was of even greater importance to the British than were the good relations with other Indian tribes to the French. The Iroquois were perhaps the fiercest fighters North America has ever seen. They were rivals of the French in the fur trade with Indians farther west, and their prosperity depended upon the defeat of France.

The Fall of New France

The last great French and Indian War was not declared until 1756, although actual fighting began a year earlier. In 1755 a terrible defeat was suffered by a British army under General Braddock which was on its way to drive the French out of their forts in the Ohio Valley. Braddock's redcoats, stretched out in a column a mile long, were easy targets for the Indians on the side of France who were hidden behind the underbrush. The British army was quickly cut to pieces and Braddock himself was killed. In 1756 and 1757 the wilderness fighting was generally favorable to the French. In 1758 a British army of 15,000 suffered a humiliating defeat at Ticonderoga (tī-kōn-dēr-ō'gā) on Lake Champlain at the hands of an enemy only one fourth as large.



The Bettmann Archive

The Battle of Quebec (1759), as an engraver pictured it for the *London Magazine* the next year, shows the British bringing up their boats and sending their soldiers up the cliff to meet the French.

The British, however, managed to force the French out of Fort Duquesne in the Ohio Valley, and captured Louisburg (loo'is-bûrg) in Canada. In 1759, French power in North America crumbled.

The last great battle of the French and Indian War was fought at Quebec. On the heights there above the St. Lawrence, Montcalm, the greatest of France's American generals, was waiting with the meager forces of his command. At the foot of the great cliff was an invading army under an able British commander, General Wolfe (wôlf). The British found a path which led to the heights above. Up it, one dark

night in September, 1759, went British soldiers and cannon. At dawn a British army on the hilltop faced the surprised French army and defeated it. Both Montcalm and Wolfe were killed.

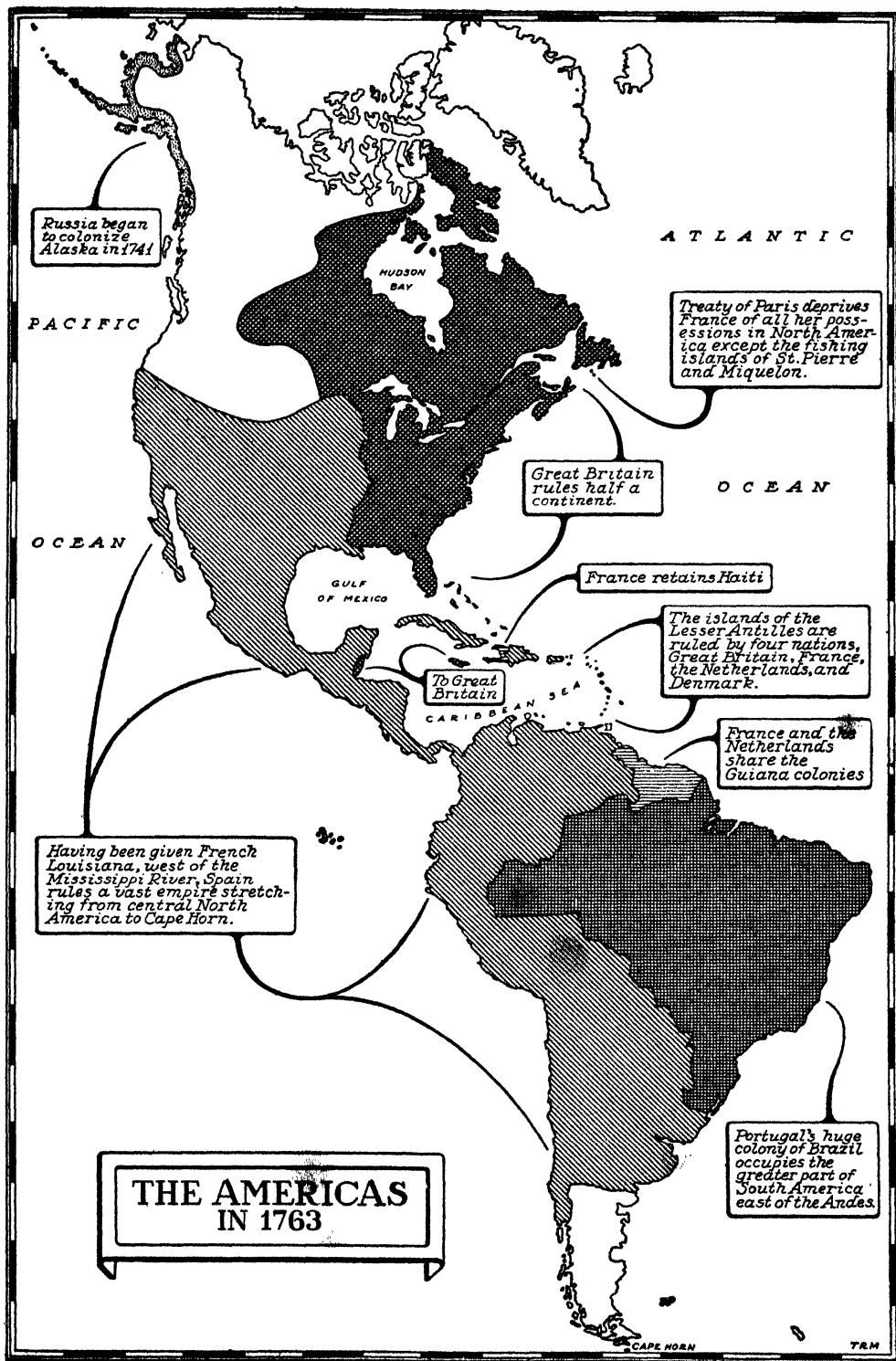
A treaty of peace was signed at Paris in 1763. France ceded to Great Britain all of her lands in Canada and in the region east of the Mississippi, and to Spain all of her territory west of the Mississippi. France kept only two small islands south of Newfoundland, of importance to fishermen. Only three European nations were now left with important colonial possessions in the New World — Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal.

THE AMERICAS IN 1763

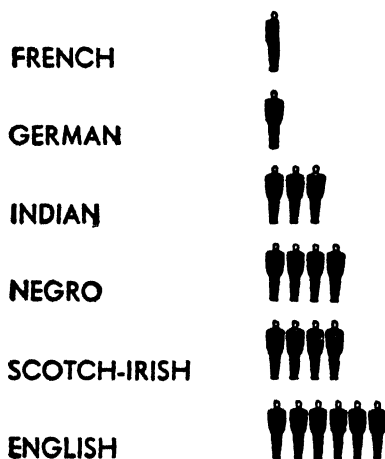
The People in the Colonies

As the kings and ministers of France and Great Britain signed the

Treaty in 1763 which ousted France from most of North America, the people in French Canada feared British rule. They were not too hope-



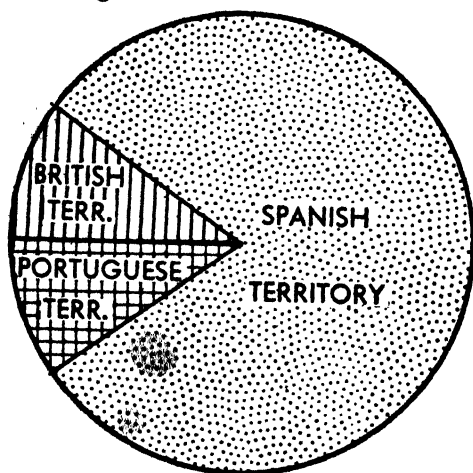
ful of fair treatment from an ancient enemy, foreign in nationality and culture. Some of the French chose to move to Spanish towns in the



Six population groups in the British possessions in America in 1763. Each of the figures in the chart represents about 100,000 people of the group named at the left.

Mississippi Valley. Others prepared to return to France. Most of them, however, stayed in Canada. Scattered throughout British possessions were 300,000 hostile Indians. They knew that British settlers wanted to take their lands and were determined to stop them if they could. There were about 400,000 Scotch-Irish pioneers, many of them hating England because of the way they had been treated in northern Ireland. Then there were 100,000 Germans who were just not interested in England, and about 400,000 Negro slaves to whom England meant nothing. Only one third of the population was of strictly English origin. Many people had a feeling of loyalty to the mother country in 1763 but were determined to govern themselves.

South and west of Britain's possessions was Spain's vast American empire. Here there were nearly three Europeans for every one that could be found in the British colonies. Here also were about eight million Indians and five million mestizos (mēs-tē'zōz) — mixed Spanish and Indian people. Many of the Indians in Central and South America were busy tilling the soil; others on the plains beyond the Mississippi in North America were busy hunting the buffaloes. Small Spanish settlements stretched across what is now the southwestern part of the United States from the Mississippi to California, but most of the Spanish lived in Mexico, Central America, and South America. Portugal's empire in Brazil contained as many inhabitants as were found in all of the British colonies. While the population of British possessions was mainly white and the population of Spain's possessions was largely Indian, much of the population of Portugal's Brazil was Negro.



About 1,900,000 people lived in British territory, about the same number in Portuguese territory, and about 16,000,000 in Spanish territory, in the Americas in 1763.

Where the Colonists Lived

In the thirteen British colonies in 1763 most of the inhabitants lived near the seacoast and along the river valleys. Nine out of ten lived on farms. Most of the Negroes were to be found in the South. South of Pennsylvania there were about three fourths as many Negroes as whites. Virginia had a larger population than any other colony. Massachusetts was second in size of population, and Pennsylvania was third.

Scattered along the seacoast in 1763 were a number of thriving towns and cities. Philadelphia was the largest city in the British colonies, with a population of between 20,000 and 25,000. Second in size was New York, third was Boston, and fourth was Charleston, South Carolina. These cities, and also Baltimore in Maryland, Newport in Rhode Island, and Salem in Massachusetts, were centers of trade and commerce. To these ports from England came manufactured goods such as shoes, clothing, tools, glass, and furniture. To them from colonial farms and forests came the grain, livestock, furs, naval stores, and barrel staves which the merchants shipped abroad. In most of these ports ships were built. The New England ports were also fishing centers.

In 1763, however, most of the population was to be found on farms and in small villages instead of in cities. On the rocky hillsides of New England, colonists struggled to raise enough corn and vegetables to feed their families. In the middle colonies, farmers were harvesting large crops of wheat, corn, and barley. On the rich soil of the South, the

colonists were raising grain, tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo, potatoes, livestock, and garden vegetables.

Europe Tries to Regulate Its Colonies

Nowhere in the New World could colonists trade as they pleased. Both industry and commerce were regulated from across the Atlantic. As we have seen, the trade of Spain's colonies was confined to certain ports. All the commerce of New Spain was in the hands of a few privileged companies, interested mainly in their own profits. In Brazil, Portugal's colonists were firmly controlled by a small group of great landholders. In the British possessions, laws prevented the shipment of manufactured goods from one colony to another, or to Great Britain. Regulations required all of New Spain's trade to be carried in Spanish ships; at first the Brazilian trade was limited to Portuguese; and the merchants of the thirteen British colonies were forced to send all goods to Great Britain in British or colonial ships.

Throughout all the New World, settlers objected to the restrictions of the mother countries. The trade laws were violated openly in many places. About one third of the Spanish-American trade was being carried on by the British in spite of the laws. About half the Brazilian trade was in British hands, and much of the other half was carried in French and Dutch ships. In the British colonies, merchants were not greatly concerned about trade restrictions, because the mother country had never made any serious effort to enforce the laws. In 1763,



Library of Congress

The first meeting of the assembly in Virginia is an important event in our history because representatives chosen by some of the people of the colony met to help govern the whole colony. Later the assembly was divided into two "houses," the lower house or House of Burgesses being elected by the voters.

however, Great Britain had large debts as a result of the French and Indian War, and was looking about for ways to pay these debts. She decided to enforce her trade laws and collect taxes that the colonists were supposed to pay.

In 1763 the British government was also greatly concerned over the problem of the colonial frontier. West of the Appalachians, the Indians were restless and hostile. Great Britain had no desire to spend her energy fighting the savages, nor her money to erect forts along the frontier. She sincerely wanted peace. She accordingly issued the Proclamation of 1763 which forbade white settlers to go westward beyond the crests of the Appalachians. It was hoped that this proclamation would make the Indians friendly to the British government and at the same time pro-

tect the fur trade from destruction. The Proclamation of 1763 may have improved Great Britain's relations with the Indians, but in the hearts of the white colonists it produced mostly resentment and hate. The farmers along the seacoast who had made plans to move west of the Appalachians looked upon the unsettled country as "the promised land, overflowing with milk and honey." The merchants and the landowners looked upon the western lands as excellent investments for themselves. They could buy huge tracts at low prices, and then in turn sell smaller farms at higher prices to the actual settlers. Now the dreams of both the farmers and the men of wealth were rudely shattered by the scratches of a pen in the hands of King George III as he signed the Proclamation of 1763. They were bitter and resentful at their

*The Bettmann Archive*

The Peter Zenger trial in New York City, in which Andrew Hamilton defended Peter Zenger and the jury acquitted him, helped establish freedom of the press in the Colonies, one of the "freedoms" we of today prize highly.

mother country's efforts to control them.

The Growth of Liberty

The British colonists enjoyed a large amount of self-government in 1763. The representatives of the people of Virginia had met in an assembly in 1619 to make laws of their own, as related in the preceding chapter. During the next century and a half this practice had spread into all of the thirteen colonies. In 1763 the colonial assemblies had more power than ever before. The right to vote depended upon the ownership of property and sometimes upon religion, but there was considerable democracy, such as in the town meetings of New England. Some colonies even elected their own governors instead of having them appointed from Great Britain. All of

the colonists enjoyed the right of trial by jury.

John Peter Zenger came to America from Germany in 1710. He became publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal* and in 1734 dared to criticize in the paper the governor of the colony of New York. For this the governor had him arrested and brought to trial. The trial (1735) was conducted in an unfair manner and it seemed at first that Zenger would be punished for expressing his opinions. A great lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, came to his assistance, however, and made a stirring appeal for "the cause of liberty." The jury set Zenger free amid general rejoicing. This case established freedom of the press as one of the foundations of American liberty.

The thirteen colonies were more closely united in 1763 than ever

before. They had fought in a common cause to protect their homes against French invasion in the wars that had just ended. They had listened to a plan of Benjamin Franklin's providing for a union of the colonies. They had not accepted Franklin's plan when he had presented it to a meeting of the colonies



William Cullen Bryant, "Popular History of U. S."

An early New England school in a new settlement away from the seacoast. Notice the log walls, the bench, and the desks. Books were expensive and scarce then.

in Albany in 1754, but the idea of union was firmly fixed in their minds by 1763.

Culture in the Colonies

Meanwhile, considerable improvement had taken place in education, science, and the arts. No longer was Harvard College (the beginning of Harvard University) the only institution of higher learning in Britain's

colonies. By 1763 there were five other such institutions. William and Mary had been founded in Virginia in 1693; Yale in Connecticut in 1701; Princeton in New Jersey in 1746; Columbia, then called King's College, in New York in 1754; and the University of Pennsylvania in 1755. Rhode Island College, the beginning of Brown University, was established in 1764. Elementary schools were improving. Sometimes music, dancing, geography, and history were taught in addition to the "three R's." Libraries were still few; most large collections of books belonged to individual men of wealth. Artists were increasing in number in 1763, although they contributed very little that was original. An exhibition of American paintings had been held in New York in 1755. The colonists were also becoming interested in science. Benjamin Franklin did much to encourage this interest, and was the leading scientist in the colonies.

In 1763 the people in the British colonies were becoming less and less like the people of Great Britain. Differences in tastes and ideas were more noticeable than before. Englishmen in America and in Great Britain, with the broad ocean in between, were becoming strangers to each other. The British colonies were slowly drifting away from the mother country. The tide of Britain's empire in North America was just beginning to ebb in 1763.

Study Activities

1. *A Play in Three Acts.* Write a short play in three acts for presentation to the class. In the first act tell how Sweden

was ousted from the New World. In the second tell how Holland was ousted; perhaps you will use the dramatic episode

of Stuyvesant's surrender. In the third act tell of France's defeat in North America; perhaps you will use an incident showing Wolfe and Montcalm at the fall of Quebec.

2. Newspaper Headlines. Write a series of newspaper headlines such as a modern newspaper might use in reporting incidents and decisive battles in the wars for control in America between the Swedes, French, Dutch, Portuguese, English, and Spanish in the years before 1763.

3. Under Four Flags. Identify the nations which at different times have controlled the site of Wilmington, Delaware. Look up the story of Wilmington in the *World Book*. Make a list of the places in Wilmington you would like to visit.

4. Books to Read. Indian raids were frequent and feared in the wars of the colonial period. Walter Edmonds has written a fine story about a raid on the pioneer home of a family living on the frontier in the Mohawk Valley during the French and Indian War. The book is called *The Matchlock Gun* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1941). After reading it, make a series of drawings to illustrate its most dramatic incidents. Compare the story, which is fictional, with the Indian raids on Deerfield, Massachusetts, as told under "Deerfield" in the *World Book* or another encyclopedia.

During King Philip's War the Indians raided Lancaster, Massachusetts, and killed many of the settlers. They took as a captive Mary Rowlandson, whose husband was killed. She was carried off to the Indian villages, suffering many hardships. Her courage, skill, and endurance on long marches won the respect of her captors. They treated her kindly and eventually she won her liberty. Back among her settler friends she wrote the story of her adventures. Perhaps your teacher can read you some of *Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of*

Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1930). Write a theme about the captivity of Mary Rowlandson as you imagine it might have been.

Sword of the Wilderness, by Elizabeth Coatsworth (The Macmillan Company, 1936), is the tale of a boy who was taken prisoner by the Indians in the French and Indian War.

In *Reppy Marlowe of Charles Town* (Viking Press, 1936), Elizabeth Janet Gray has written an interesting story of a girl who moved from London to "Charles Town," South Carolina. In *Meggy MacIntosh* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930), she gives a vivid picture of the Scottish immigrants who came to North Carolina.

Cornelia Meigs, in *Master Simon's Garden* (The Macmillan Company, 1929) gives a picture of colonial life through three generations.

For some good stories about pioneer life in the late colonial and Revolutionary periods, you will enjoy reading these books by Constance Lindsay Skinner. *Andy Breaks Trail* (1928), *Becky Landers*, *Frontier Warrior* (1926), *Rob Roy*, *The Frontier Twins* (1934), and *Silent Scot*, *Frontier Scout* (1925), all published by The Macmillan Company.

For two good biographies of Benjamin Franklin, who was very active throughout most of the eighteenth century, read André Maurois, *Franklin, The Life of an Optimist* (Didier Publishing Co., 1945) and Enid LaMonte Meadowcroft, *Benjamin Franklin* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1941).

5. Weapons. Draw a series of pictures of the weapons used in colonial warfare between 1700 and 1763. Mount each picture on a separate cardboard, with the title written on the back. Consult the encyclopedias for descriptions of the weapons. Show the pictures to the class and see how many of the weapons they can identify. Be able to give examples of their use.

6. A Map. Draw a map of the Americas, showing the territory possessed by each European country after the peace settlements of 1763. See the map on page 47. Why did Great Britain take Canada? Why was Spain given the French lands west of the Mississippi River?

7. An Outline. Make an outline of the third section of Chapter 3 — "The Americas in 1763." Under the sub-headings

- A. The People in the Colonies
- B. Where the Colonists Lived
- C. Europe Tries to Regulate Its Colonies
- D. The Growth of Liberty
- E. Culture in the Colonies

list in 1, 2, 3 order the chief items of information given in each part of the section. After each member of the class has made his own outline, compare them and make a class outline.

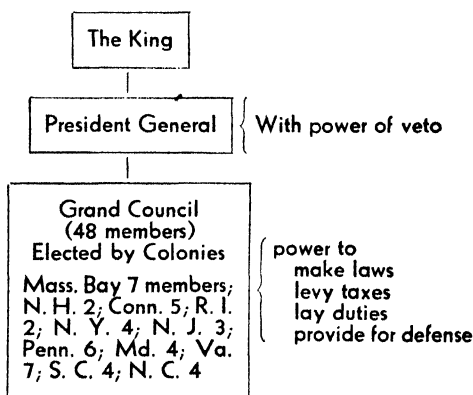
8. Explanation of Words. A famous American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, once wrote, "In the course of the *seventeenth century*, the *frontier* was advanced up the *Atlantic river courses* just beyond the *fall line*, and the *tidewater region* became the *settled area*." Define and explain and illustrate each of the italicized terms.

9. Where People Lived. On your map of the Americas in 1763 indicate where the English colonists lived at that time. Locate on the map all the towns and cities mentioned in Chapter 3. The map on page 30 will be helpful but it carries the story only to 1733.

10. John Peter Zenger. The trial of John Peter Zenger in 1734 is an important landmark in the history of American freedom. Write a radio dramatization of the trial and present it to the class or assembly. For a good account of Zenger see "John Peter Zenger," in King and Dennis, *The Way of Democracy* (The Macmillan Company), pp. 265-273.

11. Sledding Forbidden in Albany. On December 22, 1713, the magistrates of Albany, New York, passed the following regulation: "Whereas the children of the city do very unorderly to the shame and scandall of their parents ryde down the hills in the streets of the city with small and great sleds on the Lord's day in the week by which many accidents may come, now for preventing the same it is hereby published and declared it shall be and may be lawful for any Constable in this city or any other person or persons to take any sled or sleds from all and every such boys and girls rydcing or offering to ryde down any hill within the said city and break any sled or sleds in pieces." What do you think of this regulation? Is it typical of colonial times? Report to the class on the first two chapters in Robert B. Weaver, *Amusements and Sports in American Life* (University of Chicago Press, 1939).

12. Franklin's Plan of Union. In 1754 Benjamin Franklin proposed that the British colonies in America unite. The plan of government he proposed was as follows.



The plan was rejected by both the colonies and Great Britain. Organize a discussion in class in which some pupils present Franklin's arguments for the plan, some present Britain's arguments against it, and some present the colonists' arguments against it. What do you think of the plan?

Review Activities for Unit I

1. *A New Time Line.* At the beginning of each chapter in this book is a time line on which the main events related in the chapter are shown in heavy print. Make a large class time-line combining all the events listed in Chapters 1, 2, and 3. Select the ten items on the time line which you consider most important in determining the course of American history between 1492 and 1763. Then see how your list compares with the items shown in the Chronological Outline on page xv.

2. *Courage of the Colonists.* During these years many thousands of Europeans crossed the stormy Atlantic to reach America. The ships of the time were small and without comforts. The voyages lasted from one to three months, and the voyagers suffered a great deal. Many of them died en route. One traveler wrote: “. . . There is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like. . . . Add to this want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as for example the lice. . . . We were compelled to eat the ship’s biscuit which had been spoiled long ago; though in a whole biscuit there was scarcely a piece the size of a coin that had not been full of red worms and spiders’ nests.”

Write an essay or a poem, or draw a picture about the endurance and bravery

of those who courageously left their European homes and crossed the sea to reach a strange and frontier land.

3. *Colonial Homes.* Make a collection of pictures of homes of colonial times in all parts of the Americas. Exhibit the collection to the class and hold a contest to see who can tell in what colony or province the homes were found.

4. *How the Colonists Were Aided by Indians.* In a book called *The First Americans* (1607–1690) by Thomas J. Wertenbaker (The Macmillan Company, 1927) it is said that “The influence of the Indians upon the life and customs of the colonists was profound. In every practical concern the English learned more from the Indians than the Indians learned from them. . . . So long as the Europeans built their homes or hunted, or made war in the shadows of the trees, they found it necessary to turn to the savages for instruction. . . .” (p. 308) Do you think this statement is true? Discuss it in class, giving as many specific illustrations of the influence of the Indians on the settlers as you can.

5. *Cartoons to Draw.* Reread the Overview at the beginning of Unit I. Can you answer clearly the questions at the end of the Overview? Draw a cartoon or series of cartoons showing how Europeans took possession of and fought over the Americas. Draw a cartoon showing why the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 is one of the most important events in history.



UNIT II

COLONISTS IN THE AMERICAS FORM NEW NATIONS

OVERVIEW

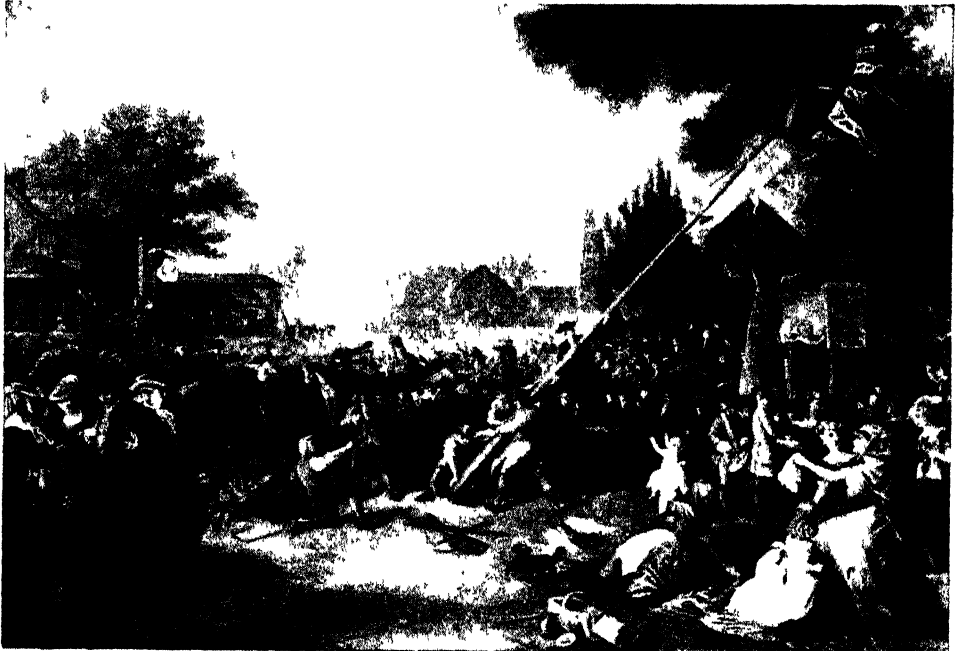
Europeans who crossed the Atlantic to settle in the American colonies brought with them the customs and ideas of their native lands. As years and decades passed, however, the settlers became more American than European. The settlers developed their own interests and ways of doing things. The ties that bound them to European homelands grew weaker. Arguments arose between the settlers and the mother countries. As the colonies grew stronger, conflicts arose. Then actual revolutions broke out. In the years between 1775 and 1825 most of the colonies won their independence. Both North and South America witnessed the rise of new nations.)

First to be established among the new nations was the United States. Very serious quarrels between the thirteen colonies and Great Britain began to develop after the French and Indian War ended in 1763. There were quarrels over taxes and trade and forms of government. The colonists learned how to co-operate with one another. In 1775 actual fighting began. By 1776 the colonists were fully aroused, and were fighting a war for independence. For seven years the war went on; then in 1783

Great Britain recognized our independence. The thirteen colonies became thirteen states, loosely joined together in a Confederation. The Confederation did not work, and by 1789 the states adopted a Constitution which formed the United States of America.

The troubles of the new nation continued, however. The French Revolution had broken out, and Europe was aflame with war. The little republic in eastern North America wanted peace and a chance to grow, but war threatened it for many years. Troubles with Great Britain and Spain plagued Washington's administration. John Adams barely saved the country from war with France in 1800. Jefferson stopped all trade with Europe in order to avoid war. But in 1812 we were dragged into the Napoleonic wars against Britain. The War of 1812 was not long and did not settle many questions. After that war our foreign relations began to improve.

In the meantime other colonies in the Americas were revolting against Europe. Under the leadership of Bolivar and San Martín (mār-tēn') most of South America was freed from Spain and locally organized

*The Bellmann Archive*

Raising a liberty pole Liberty poles, first set up by the Sons of Liberty, became symbols of liberty and independence.

into independent nations. Mexico won her independence. Brazil separated from Portugal. All these new countries were afraid that European nations would try to reconquer them. But as years went by the new countries grew stronger. And in 1823 President Monroe announced a doctrine that Europe should not interfere in America or America in Europe. The Monroe Doctrine can be called the "second Declaration of Independence." It was a demand that the American republics should be allowed to grow and develop without outside interference.

Questions Answered in Unit II

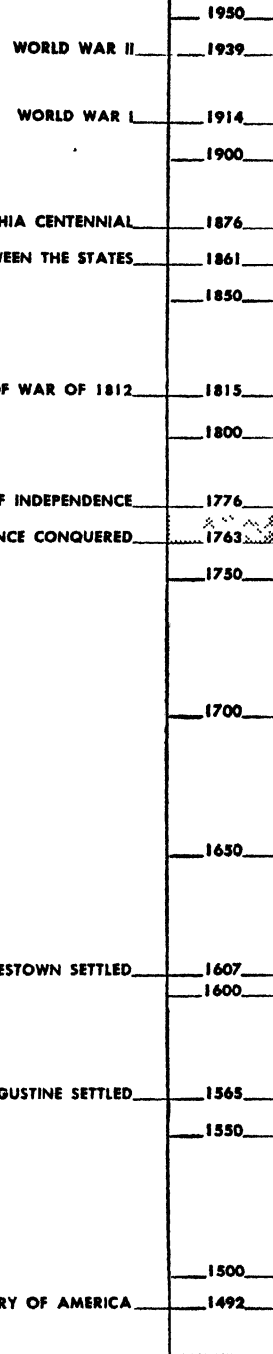
1. Why were the settlers in the thirteen colonies more willing to co-operate with one another in 1775 than they had been in earlier years?
2. Why did the colonists revolt against Great Britain?
3. How was our independence won?
4. Why were the Articles of Confederation not successful?
5. What are the chief features of the Constitution adopted in 1789?
6. What difficulties did the United States have with Great Britain, France, and Spain between 1789 and 1825?
7. How did the nations of Central America and South America win their independence during this period?
8. How was the United States connected with the revolutions in Central America and South America?
9. Who were the great heroes of the revolutionary period in the Americas?
10. What was the Monroe Doctrine? Why can it be called a "second declaration of independence"?

CHAPTER 4

HOW ENGLISHMEN BECAME AMERICANS

1772 COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE
ORGANIZED
1763 NEW FRANCE CONQUERED

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 1776
NEW FRANCE CONQUERED 1763



"The American is a new man who acts upon new principles."

Crèvecoeur

"An American was a man who never asked anyone anything—who he was or where he came from or what he did—because it was answer enough to be a man."

Archibald MacLeish

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

By 1763 Great Britain had won the struggle for possession of North America north and east of New Spain. The land now included in the eastern part of the United States was destined to be mainly English in population and way of life. What manner of men and women were the settlers of the thirteen British colonies — the men and women who were to be the founders of our nation?

The Farmers of the Settled Regions

Ninety per cent of the colonists were farmers. A majority of them tilled their own soil without assistance from slaves or hired labor. This was also true of the South, as a section, until after 1700. When more labor was needed than the farmer and his family could supply, his neighbors might help him in the busy season.

The home of the ordinary farmer was generally constructed of wood. It was frequently made of logs, but in the older settled communities the more prosperous farmers erected clap-boarded frame houses. These frame homes were most often one-story buildings about sixteen by twenty-four feet in size, but sometimes they were two stories high. Even these frame houses, however, were frequently unpainted on the outside. Fireplaces, used for cooking, caused perspiration in the summer and unequal heat in the winter, creating a condition whereby "one side roasted while the other froze."

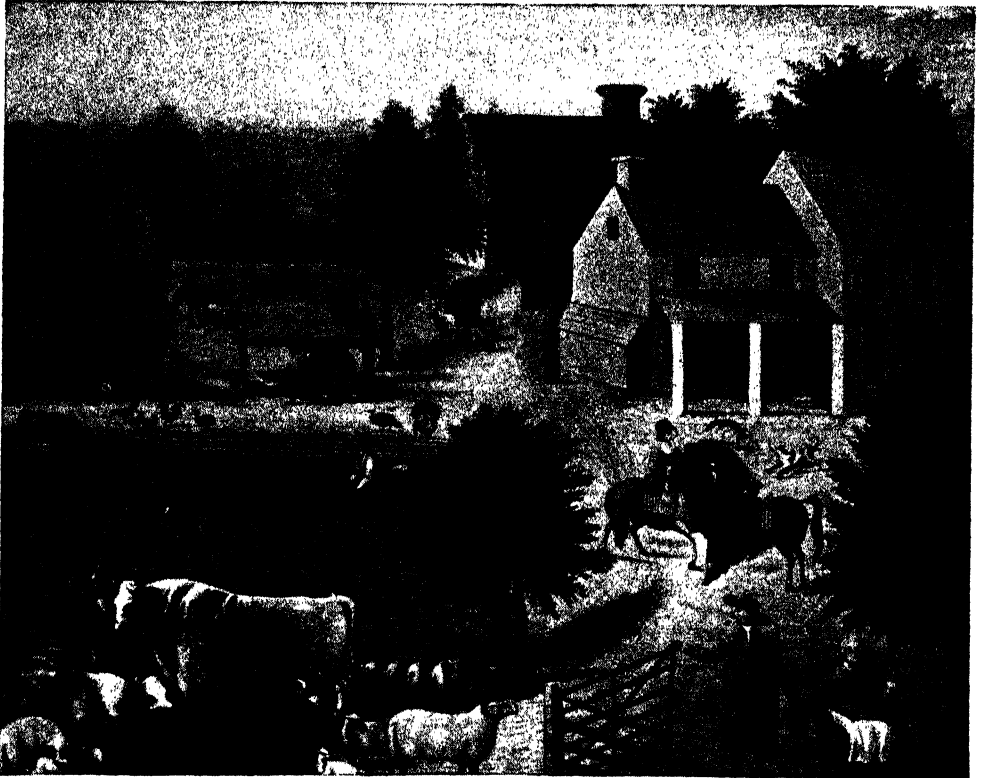
The farmer and his family dressed in plain homespun and leather which were produced on his own farm.

Clothes worn in hot weather were made of coarse linen and towcloth; those worn in the winter months were of flannel, wool, and buckskin. Each member of the farmer's family had a "best suit" for Sunday and special occasions, but it did not compare favorably with the brilliant broadcloth and fine lace worn by the well-to-do planters or other great landowners. In summer, the children and many of the men on the farms went barefoot except on Sunday; in winter they wore boots or shoes made of calfskin and cowhide.

The farmer needed to be a jack-of-all-trades; he generally was his own shoemaker, cooper, carpenter, and mason. He made his own crude wooden tools, such as the plow, although he frequently had the iron parts hammered out by the village blacksmith. His methods of farming were poor not only because his tools were crude but because he did not take proper care of his soil. He often allowed part of his farm to lie idle each year instead of planting a different crop which would prevent exhaustion of the soil just as well. Some farmers made no effort at all to keep their land fertile, preferring to find new farms as soon as their crops began to fail.

Other Groups in the Seacoast Communities

There were several other groups of people in the seacoast communities, although most of the colonists were farmers. One such group consisted of the workers in the cities and



Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York

"The Residence of David Twining," by an early "primitive artist," is a picture of what one of the best farmsteads looked like late in the colonial period or shortly thereafter.

towns. They were looked upon as inferior beings by those who were not required to work with their hands. When the son of a Boston bricklayer was made justice of the peace there were protests because of his low class. It is interesting to note that in his defense he made no attempt to uphold the rights of workers, confining himself to a reply that the charge itself was false. It was difficult for workers to rise to any position of importance. Even as late as 1777 John Adams declared that New England's fishermen were no better off than slaves. This was an exaggeration, but workers were generally not considered equal to farmers.

The workers, however, were not at the foot of the social ladder. On the next rung below were the indentured servants, who were especially numerous south of New York. In time they would become free men, but they were despised by Negroes as well as by other whites and formed great settlements of poor whites. Below the indentured servants were the Negro slaves, who numbered about half a million in 1775, when the Revolution began.

Above the farmers and the workers were more favored groups of colonists — the great landowners, the merchants, and the clergy. The great landowners were at the very top

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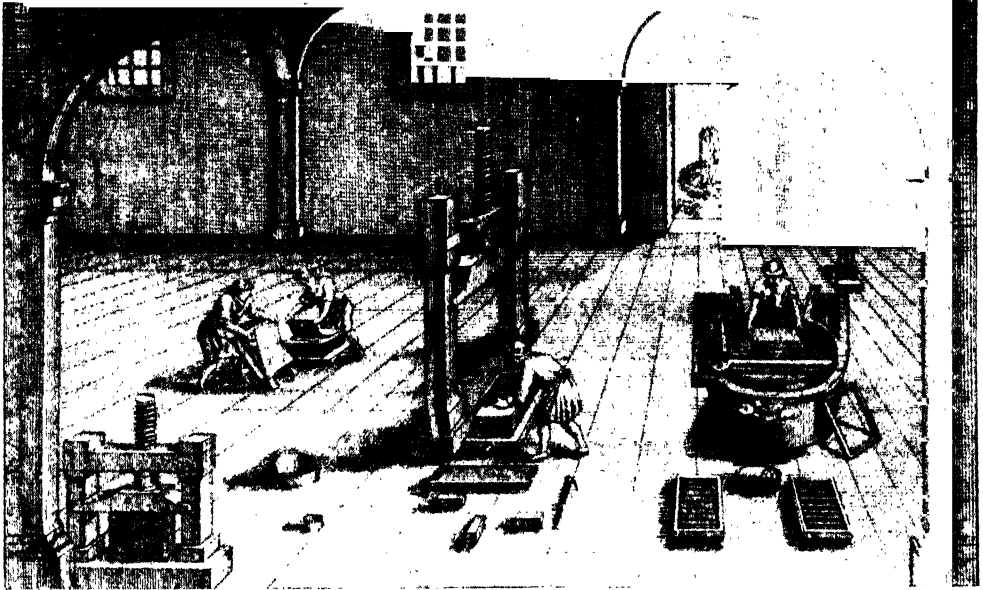
of the social ladder, especially in the South. They imitated the customs, habits, and dress of the ruling class of England. Ladies and gentlemen from the large plantations danced the minuet with a dignity and charm equal to that found in the palaces of Europe. They furnished their homes with articles of English design. Nearly every ship arriving from England in the 1760's brought boxes of splendid clothing. The great ladies dressed in elaborate fashion. Even the little girls wore hoop petticoats and high-heeled shoes. Men wore wigs, often perfumed and powdered, bound and braided with bright-colored ribbons, and called by such names as "fox tail" and "giddy feathertop." George Washington was very careful of his appearance, wearing the richest silk and velvet suits, gold lace, ruffled shirts, and silver buckles. "Whatever goods you may send me," he wrote to London, "let them be fashionable."

Friendly with these landowners and often related to them by marriage were the great merchants of the seacoast towns. While the ruling class of the South depended upon the soil for its prosperity, the great merchants of Salem and Boston depended primarily upon the sea for their wealth. At the wharves were rows of warehouses in which were stored various articles of commerce. Creaking windlasses slowly loaded and unloaded casks and bales from the small sailing vessels. Two-wheeled carts rumbled to and fro by the waterside. The air was heavy with odors of tar and fish. But Salem did not object to the odor of fish; the merchants even boasted of the smell; fish was their source of wealth.

Some of the leading families of Boston decorated their homes with models of the "sacred" cod. Most Boston merchants owned slaves as house servants and bought and sold them like other merchandise. In New England it was the merchant class that dressed most carefully, owned the finest homes, and enjoyed the most advantages.

A third favored group in the seacoast communities consisted of the clergy. This group was especially powerful in the early history of Massachusetts. When Parson Phillips of Andover was asked if he was "the parson who serves here," he replied, "I am, sir, the parson who rules here." Parson Phillips exaggerated his authority, but the power of clergymen was tremendous in Massachusetts, because only church members could vote and church membership was limited. From the pulpit the colonists heard what they should believe in matters of religion. From the pulpit also the settlers were told what they could, or could not, do in many matters that had no connection with religion. By 1763 the New England clergy did not have as much power as it had formerly possessed, but its influence in the lives of the colonists continued to be very great. In all of the thirteen colonies the clergymen were near the top of the social ladder. In all the settlements from New Hampshire to Georgia the church was of great importance.

All of the social groups discussed in this chapter differed in many ways, but they generally sided together when danger threatened any one group. They had much in common despite all their differences. Most



From Butterworth, "Growth of Industrial Art"

Paper making was started in the colonies in 1690 when a Philadelphia printer and a Dutch paper maker built a paper "mill." Getting enough rags to make paper was always a problem.

of them had come across the Atlantic in search of freedom: freedom from want, freedom of religion, and freedom to rule themselves. The class distinctions which did exist in the colonies between the various groups were not as great as those which existed in England. Differences among people based on birth and wealth did not cause as much concern here as in the mother country.

Where and How the Colonists Lived

Some of the earliest settlers lived in caves dug in the sides of hills. They built their first crude shelters of brush, sod, and logs. Their first permanent homes resembled those they had known in Europe. The log cabin was not an invention of the American frontier. As we have noted, it was brought to the New World from Sweden by the Swedish settlers

along the Delaware. New England's famous "House of Seven Gables" was similar to dwellings which the colonists had known in England. Even the style of houses which we now call "colonial" was of English origin. Dutch houses in New York resembled the homes of Holland: German houses in Pennsylvania resembled the dwellings of Germany.

The finer homes possessed beautiful furnishings imported from England, polished floors, glass windows, and frequently broad verandas. The poorer homes had furniture made out of logs, windows without glass or no windows at all, dirt floors, and no verandas. The homes of neither rich nor poor had what we consider conveniences even in 1763. There was no plumbing; water had to be carried from wells and springs. Open fireplaces provided the only heat and the only opportunity for

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cooking. Whale-oil lamps were a big improvement over the pine knots and candles used for lighting purposes by early colonists, but were much inferior to the lights we possess today.

Philadelphia was the queen of the seacoast cities in 1763. Her streets were well-lighted and paved, and crossed each other at right angles instead of running in all directions. Many of her homes were three-story brick buildings which looked very much alike and presented a monotonous appearance to visitors. Philadelphia possessed fine churches, however, one of which had chimes. Charleston, like Philadelphia, had attractive church buildings, and many of its homes were of brick. Its streets, however, were unpaved except for a brick sidewalk about six feet wide. Unfortunate indeed was anyone who carelessly stepped off the sidewalk into the mud or dust of the roadway. Both New York and Boston had many narrow, crooked streets. In New York many of the buildings were distinguished by their Dutch style. Around Boston both homes and churches were built largely of wood.

Travel was a hardship in the British colonies. Men traveled by boat whenever possible. There were no improved roads anywhere in the colonies in 1763. People usually traveled on horseback over narrow wilderness trails when required to journey on land. Even along the seacoast, the dirt roads were extremely poor. Few bridges existed, and the crossing of streams was in most cases by wading, ferry, or canoe. An average day's journey was only twenty-five miles. In 1756 three

days were required for stagecoaches to travel from New York to Philadelphia, a distance of 90 miles. When, in 1766, the same journey was made in two days, the stagecoach that set this record was nicknamed "the flying machine." Yet in our own day the same trip requires only ninety minutes by train, and much less by airplane.

There were three kinds of elementary schools in the British colonies. In New England, education was considered the responsibility of the government. Laws were passed establishing schools and requiring children to attend. In the middle colonies, education was left to the churches and parents to do as they pleased. In the South, education was left largely to the parents. Rich colonists hired tutors or sent their children to England to study; the children of poor families often had no schooling at all. Schoolhouses in the colonies were uncomfortable and poorly furnished, and the teacher often untrained. Good teachers were so scarce that on at least one occasion the village fathers bought an indentured servant who claimed to know the "three R's." Girls were given less education than boys, while many young people grew up with no school education at all.

In 1763 the most important library in the colonies was one which had been established at Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin in 1731. Of seventeen public libraries started between 1745 and 1763, one third were to be found in Pennsylvania. Some of the best private libraries were to be found in the homes of Virginians. The first successful newspaper was the *Boston News Letter* first published in

1704, but the most influential paper in 1763 was the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. More and better drama and music could be heard in Charleston than in any other place in the colonies.

In all the colonial towns and cities there was a lack of proper health measures. The streets were foul-smelling and unclean. Smallpox epidemics were unchecked, and yellow fever raged throughout the South and as far north as Philadelphia in the summer months. The first school of medicine was not started by the University of Pennsylvania until 1765.

Amusements were few in New England. Plays were forbidden, and music was seldom heard. The laws of Massachusetts forbade card playing. Very strict behavior was required on Sundays: colonists were forbidden to fish, shoot, sail, row, dance, jump, work unless absolutely necessary, or travel except to church. New Englanders were fined if they failed to go to church, fined if they traveled to church too fast, and rapped with the usher's stick if they went to sleep in the church. A sea captain returning from a three-year cruise was condemned to the stocks because he kissed his wife on Sunday.

In the middle colonies and in the South, Sunday was not observed with such strictness, and there was a greater variety of amusements. Some musical instruments such as the violin were quite common. Card playing and gay hunting parties were popular. Two sports that were especially favored in Virginia and the Carolinas were horse racing and cockfighting.

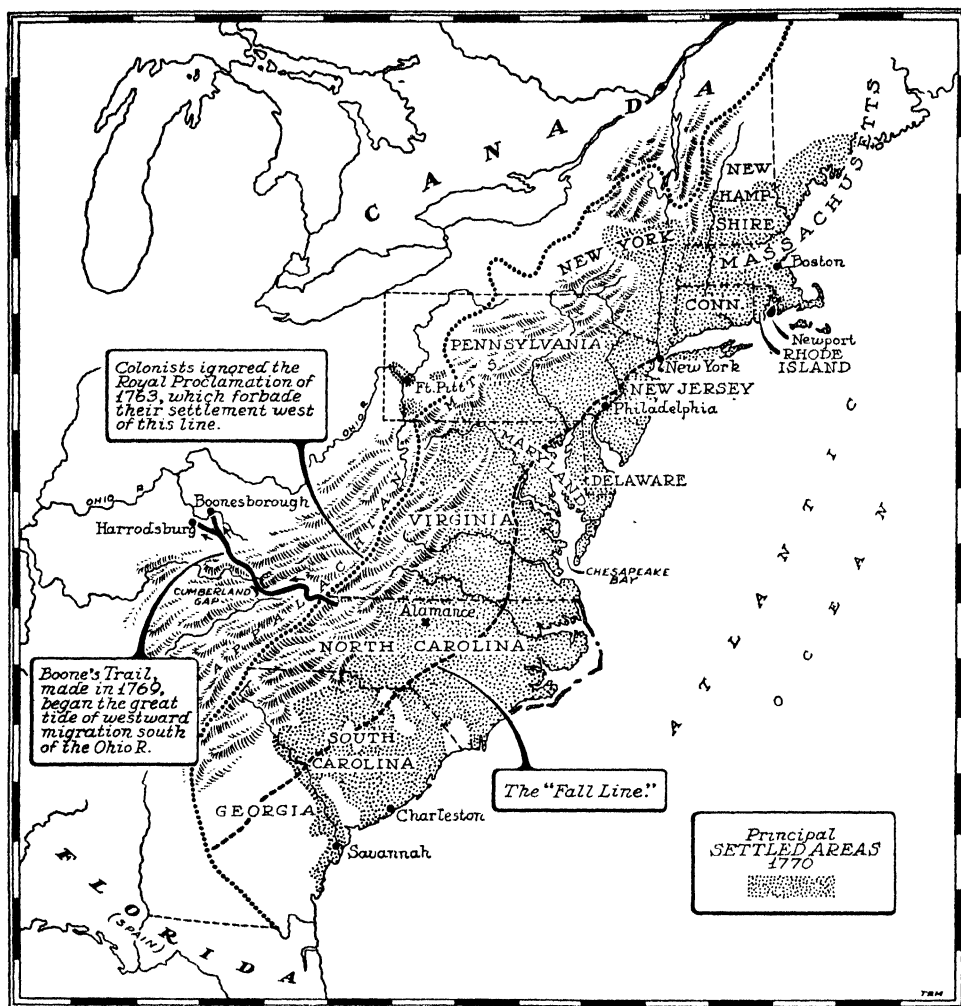
The colonists obtained much of their food from the forest and the sea. Some deer were so tame that

they fed from farmers' hogpens. The rivers and the sea seemed filled with fish. In Chesapeake Bay there were so many ducks and geese that the sound of their wings was "like a great storm coming over the water."

The soil produced abundant crops until the land was worn out. Corn was most important of all farm crops, especially along the frontier. Almost every farmer raised cows, hogs, or sheep to slaughter in the fall for his supply of meat for the winter. It was not unusual for a farmer to make ten or twelve barrels of cider, for use as a drink, much as we would drink water. By 1763 the potato was becoming popular as food in the colonies. It had been taken from South America to Europe by the Spaniards, and then had been brought back across the ocean to the British colonies about 1720. At first the potato was considered poisonous by some, and was called "devil's apple" because it grew underground. The Irish settlers of New Hampshire, however, seemed to suffer no ill effects from eating potatoes. Gradually other settlers followed the example set by the Irish.

The Frontier

West of the settled areas was the frontier. Its location changed as settlements pushed westward. By 1700 the colonies were settled as far west as the "fall line," where falls in the rivers made it impossible to go farther upstream by boat. Between 1700 and 1763 many settlers went beyond the fall line and climbed the eastern ridges of the Appalachian range of mountains. They then spread north and south through the upper valleys of such rivers as the



The Thirteen Colonies about 1770

Potomac, the Susquehanna, and the Shenandoah. By 1763 settlers were ready to cross the western ridges of the Appalachians into lands that are now parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

The fall line marked, for some time, the location of almost as serious a barrier to the exchange of ideas in America as the Atlantic formed between Europe and America. If we think of the inhabitant of the coastal plain as one step removed from Eng-

land, most of the pioneers who settled west of the fall line were two steps removed.

The frontier was a wilderness that was almost empty, occupied largely by Indians and wild animals. Men and women could not live there as they did in London, nor as they did in Boston or Charleston. It was necessary for them to adopt new ways which were more suitable to life in a wilderness. The longer they remained on the frontier the less they

acted and thought like Europeans or like their cousins in the seacoast cities.

Instead of dressing like the men and women of New York or London, the pioneers copied the Indian, wearing moccasins on their feet, and clothing themselves in buckskin. The frontier home bore little resemblance to the fine brick buildings of Charleston. It was only a temporary dwelling built of sod and brush and logs, because the pioneer would move again as soon as the game disappeared or the soil became poor. As in the homes of Indian neighbors, its floor was the earth itself, and smoke escaped through a hole in the roof. The rude furniture was made of parts of logs, split in two, which rested on sticks held in place by wooden pegs.

Around the frontier cabin the trees were chopped down or burned to make room for fields of Indian corn. In agriculture the pioneer copied the methods of the Indian squaw, planting the corn in hills and rows, hoeing it three times, using scarecrows to try to scare off the birds, and storing the harvested crop in a corncrib. He pounded it into meal in a stone or wooden mortar in the same manner as did the squaw, and he developed a strong liking for succotash, although he did not follow

the Indian custom of flavoring his corn and beans with dog meat. He sweetened his food with honey and maple syrup, instead of using sugar and molasses from the West Indies.

Then, too, certain traits of character are necessary to a man living in a wilderness. The red man had them, and if the pioneer did not have them he did not survive long. He had to be self-reliant, for at first there were no officers to enforce the laws, and frequently there were no laws. He had to be resourceful, prepared at all times to meet any emergency as he made his lonely way over narrow Indian trails. He had to be hardy and courageous, for no weakling could long exist. When traveling he imitated the red man, using canoes made of birch or elm bark in the summer, and going on snowshoes in the winter.

It was natural that on the frontier new ideas about government should develop. On the frontier there was a greater feeling of equality among men than could be found even along the seacoast. A pioneer who was equal to his neighbors in all other respects felt that he should have an equal voice in making the laws of his local community, his colony, or even the British Empire.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES DRIFT APART

Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic possessed much in common in 1763. They maintained close personal and business relations. They were united by a common pride in things English. Sons of the rich in the colonies were often sent to the mother country to complete their education

and become English or Scotch gentlemen. In some ways the Atlantic Ocean was a bond holding Great Britain and her colonies together.

Differences Arise

In other ways, however, the Atlantic was more like a barrier separating

the mother country from her colonies. Even the fastest ships required forty days to cross the three thousand miles of ocean. The colonists were forced to depend largely upon themselves. In time they came to feel that they were a separate people. Thus the Atlantic Ocean was really a maker of Americans. Settlers erecting crude cabins in the frontier beyond the fall line felt that England was still farther away.

There were other influences, however, besides geography which caused the colonists to drift away from the mother country. The men and women from Great Britain who had crossed the wide Atlantic to build new homes in the wild American wilderness were people who had become dissatisfied with England or Scotland. They had been denied the right to worship as they pleased. They had been unable to make what they considered a decent living. Some had been forced to flee from the wrath of British kings. Once on this side of the ocean they enjoyed greater freedom and a better living. Their loyalty to Great Britain was not as great as it might have been.

Much of the population of the colonies was not English, as was noted in Chapter 3. The Scotch-Irish felt that they had been unjustly treated by England. They regarded the British government with dislike. Most of them lived west of the fall line. Then there were the large groups of Germans, who had no reason to love a British king three thousand miles away.

Growth of Self-Government

Meanwhile the colonists had become accustomed to managing their

own local affairs. During the century and a half following the meeting of the colonial assembly in Virginia in 1619, the colonists had won increasing control of their own governments. When quarrels had occurred between the representatives of the people and the governors appointed by British kings, the colonists generally had managed to have their own way. The British government itself had not attempted to regulate its colonists as strictly as other European nations had done. They had allowed unusual privileges to the settlers, and had not forced the colonies to live up to the regulations which had been made. When the British government decided after 1763 to be strict with its colonies, it was too late. The French and Indian War had ended, and the colonists no longer needed British protection against the French.

The colonists objected especially to the taxes which Great Britain required them to pay. They objected not so much to the amount collected as to the manner in which tax laws were made. They had no members in the British Parliament which decided what the tax rates should be. They declared that there should be "no taxation without representation" — that they should be taxed only by representatives of their own choosing. As one quarrel followed another, the colonies drifted farther and farther away from the mother country.

British Restrictions

The numerous ways in which the British government attempted to restrict the colonists after 1763 aroused hard feelings among the English as well as among the Scotch-Irish and

*The Bellmann Archive*

When the British tried to restrict the making of goods in the colonies, Boston women defiantly set up their spinning wheels on the Common and ran contests to see who could spin the most yarn.

Germans. When the British government ordered the colonists to stop their prosperous trade with the Dutch, the French, and the Spanish, colonial merchants were bitter against the mother country. They continued their trade, knowing that most colonial courts would not declare them guilty even if they broke the laws.

Restrictions on trade caused the settlers to begin manufacturing their own goods. Then British factory owners began to object to competition in America. When the British

government attempted to prevent the colonists from setting up their own industries, the anger of the colonists was increased. Meanwhile Southern planters had gone deeply into debt to English merchants and bankers. They were willing to pay these debts, but British laws made payment difficult. There were many other British regulations, such as preventing colonists from settling west of the Appalachians, and the lodging or quartering of British troops in the colonial cities.

RIVALRY BETWEEN SEACOAST AND FRONTIER

Two Americas

There were two Americas in the British colonies in 1763. The first

was the America of the seacoast settlements which included the centers of population, industry, wealth, and culture. In the countinghouses

of Boston and the ballrooms of Charleston, Europe lingered. Between 1700 and 1763, however, a second and newer America had been born among the frontier cabins west of the fall line. The ties that bound the seacoast communities to Britain were lacking in the wilderness. There were no businessmen in the West carrying on direct trade with London merchants. The religious bond with churches in Britain was almost lacking. Sons of the frontier did not often journey to England to complete their education. The frontier and the seacoast settlements differed in many ways. The two Americas often failed to understand each other. They became rivals, their rivalry sometimes leading to actual battles and bloodshed.

Examples of Rivalry

In Pennsylvania the rivalry was increased because large numbers of the frontiersmen were German and Scotch-Irish. Many of the English people in Philadelphia feared that they would be unable to preserve the English language, so numerous were the Germans farther west. Benjamin Franklin was afraid the foreigners would win complete control of government. "I remember," he declared, "when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties."

The three wealthy Quaker counties along the seacoast did all they could to keep control of the government of the colony. Each of these three older counties had eight members in the Pennsylvania legislature, but the newer western counties were given

from one to four members each. At a time when the population of the seacoast and western counties was almost equal, the seacoast counties had twice as many members in the legislature as did the frontier. In 1764 the three eastern counties and the city of Philadelphia elected twenty-six members while the five western counties elected only ten.

In South Carolina, the frontier area had no representatives in the legislature in the colonial period. Nor did the settlers receive equal justice. Even the most remote pioneers were required to journey to Charleston to settle their disputes in courts of law. Officers sent from the seacoast to govern the frontier settlements sometimes became partners with cattle thieves and other criminals. Conditions on the frontier of South Carolina became so serious that the settlers finally took matters in their own hands. They established their own courts in 1764.

The rivalry in North Carolina was especially concerned with the poll tax. This tax was a certain fixed sum — the same for every man, rich or poor. It was easily paid by the well-to-do gentlemen in the older section of the colony but was a hardship to the poor settler trying to make a living on the remote frontier. It had to be paid in actual coin, which was very scarce on the frontier. To make matters worse, a settler's land or other property was to be seized and sold if he failed to pay the poll tax. There was so much bitterness between the frontier and the seacoast communities of North Carolina that armed forces from the two sections fought in the Battle of the Alamance in 1771. Even after the Revolution

began, the settlers of the North Carolina frontier were more bitter toward their own cousins along the seacoast than toward the mother country.

In many colonies one of the chief causes of bitterness was the land question. Some rich men had bought large tracts of land on the frontier which they hoped to sell to actual settlers at a profit. The pioneer felt that he was entitled to the land without buying it if he cut down the trees and brush and fought off the wild animals and the Indians. He said it was "against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to work on and to raise their own bread." Therefore, without buying the land, a pioneer often settled on it and claimed it for his own. When officers of the law tried to put him off, he and his neighbors would band together to defend his home. When New York sheriffs went into what is now Vermont to enforce land claims they were "rudely received" by the settlers, and beaten with "twigs of the wilderness," which were beech clubs about two inches in diameter.

The Rivalry Results in Greater Democracy

In these conflicts between the seacoast communities and the frontier, sometimes one section was victorious and sometimes the other. In general, however, the ideals of the frontier triumphed in the end. Greater political equality was gained. The frontier gradually won its fight for equal representation in the legislature. With the support of the workers of the cities, restrictions against voting were gradually removed. New constitutions written in the eighteenth century allowed more and more men to vote, although the ballot was not given to every adult until the twentieth century. Some of these constitutions provided for religious freedom, due to the demands of the settlers on the frontier. Indirectly, practices on the frontier led to more democracy within the seacoast communities. The merchants and landowners along the coast were more or less compelled to allow more liberties in the older communities to keep workers from going west where greater freedom existed.

UNITY IN OPPOSITION TO GREAT BRITAIN

Interests Possessed in Common

Even while bitter rivalry continued between seacoast and frontier in the British colonies, there was a growing unity in opposition to the motherland. Some of the laws passed by the British Parliament aroused opposition throughout the colonies. The Proclamation of 1763, for example, affected both seacoast and

frontier. It angered the frontiersmen who were dreaming of settling west of the Appalachians. It also irritated seacoast businessmen who hoped to make money buying and selling western lands. Some of the tax laws fell harshly upon rich and poor, upon city men and farmers and frontiersmen alike. Restrictions on colonial trade were felt by farmers and workers as well as by merchants, and the



Committees of Correspondence became so numerous and so well organized that, despite slow means of travel, four years after the creation of the first one the colonies had declared their independence.

regulation of colonial manufacturing harmed all the colonists.

Meanwhile the colonists were brought closer together by their trade and commerce. Americans in the Carolinas, for example, used fish and lumber from New England and grain and flour from the middle colonies. Crops raised on Southern plantations were carried to markets by ships built in New England and manned by New England sailors. In somewhat the same way, Americans of the frontier and the seacoast were tied together. For example, Philadelphia merchants provided money for the fur traders on the Pennsylvania frontier and bought for export the produce of western farmers. Americans in various parts of the colonies were dependent upon one another for their prosperity.

Co-operation among the Colonies

At the same time, the thirteen colonies were beginning to realize that the problems of one colony did not differ greatly from the problems of the other twelve. This was especially true wherever their relations with the mother country were concerned. Each colony by itself was weak, but in unity there was strength. Some means had to be found to keep each colony informed of what was going on in other colonies. The colonists needed to become better acquainted with one another. To meet these needs, Samuel Adams organized a Committee of Correspondence in Boston in 1772. He not only sought to keep in touch with other communities, but desired to arouse opposition to British policies

as well. The idea of having committees of correspondence spread throughout the colonies like wildfire, and soon there were such committees everywhere. In 1773 Virginia appointed a committee representing that entire colony to keep in communication with her sister colonies. Within a year all colonies except one had followed her example.

The men who were appointed to serve on these committees were opposed to the policies of the British government. They were very active and did much to unite the colonists in

opposition to the mother country. As time went on, the committees increased in importance. Finally many of the committees became stronger than the regular government. Anyone who opposed them or disagreed with them was likely to be thought a friend of the king. The colonists who approved the policies of the British government did not create any means of influencing the minds of people. For this reason, fully as much as for any other, the colonies and the mother country drifted toward war

SUMMARY

Men and women of European nations had been making new homes in the thirteen colonies since 1607. Because their new homes were built in a wilderness these Europeans were required to learn new ways of living and develop new habits and customs. Men and women from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, or any other country could not live in the British colonies exactly as they had in their mother lands. The longer the Europeans lived in America the less they behaved and thought like Englishmen, Scots, Irishmen, and Germans in the old countries. This

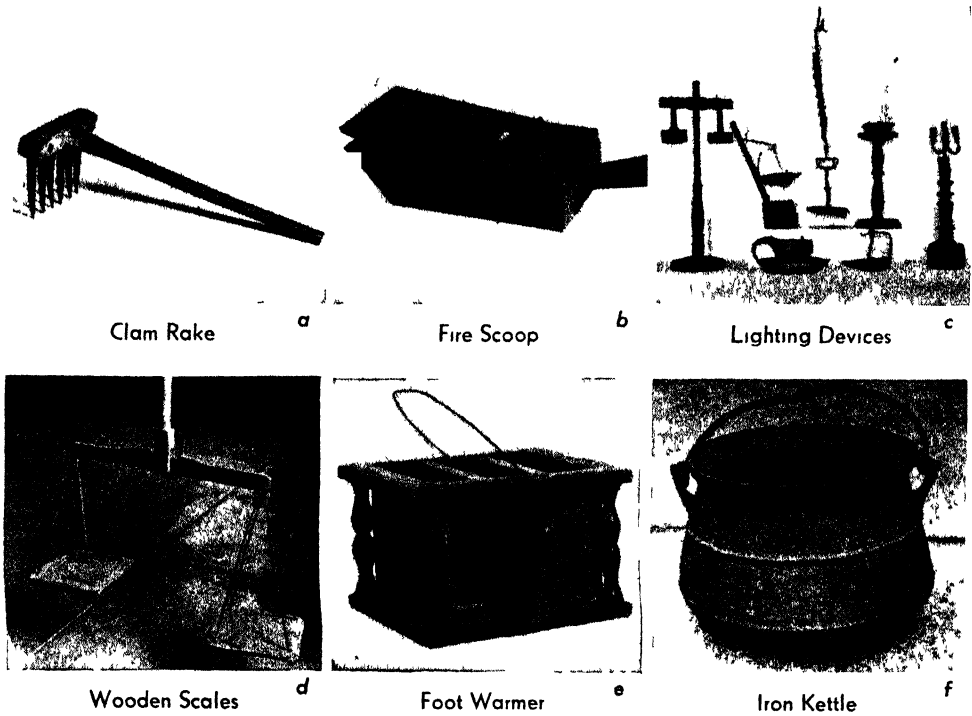
was especially true of the settlers who lived west of the fall line. The farther the settlers advanced into the frontier the less they resembled Europeans. In fact, they ceased to be Europeans. By 1770 the inhabitants of Britain's thirteen colonies had become Americans. These Americans had differences and rivalries among themselves, but they were becoming increasingly united, especially in opposition to British rule. A new group of people was becoming conscious of its unity. Soon the people would have a national government of their own.

Study Activities

1. *Groups in Colonial America.* Chapter 4 tells about farmers, planters, frontiersmen, fishermen, city workers, merchants, clergy, indentured servants, slaves, and other groups in the American population of 1763. How would you tell to which group an American of that day

belonged? Which groups were largest? Which most influential? Where did the various groups live?

2. *Tools to Identify.* On the next page are pictured various colonial tools and "gadgets." Tell what each was used for.



Colonial Tools and "Gadgets"

(a from New Haven Colony Historical Society, b and e from Onondaga Historical Assn., c from Cooper Union Museum, d and f from The Memorial Press)

What material do you think each item was made of? Reproduce drawings of other useful articles from colonial life. See such books as James T. Adams, *The Album of American History* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944).

3. "Land of Loopholes." In a novel about the life of Thomas Jefferson — *The Tree of Liberty*, by Elizabeth Page (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939) — a wanderer on the frontier comes home to his cabin in Virginia after a long absence. On his first afternoon at home, " 'There's somethin' to be said for the settlements,' Reuben remarked as he stretched his legs with a sigh of comfort. 'Folks can have windows to let in the sun. I've been in a land of loopholes, Susan, and this pleasures me.' His gesture took in the whole cheery room, from the stair mounting

to the loft in one corner, over to the bed with its blue and white cover opposite and the dresser holding ranks of shining pewter to reflect the squares of sunlight on the floor. 'Five glass windows and two doors! Hit's like bein' in the open. Only warmer.' " Write a theme on "Living in the Land of Loopholes" (the frontier). Compare comforts found on the Atlantic seacoast in 1763 with those found on the frontier.

4. *A Chart Comparison of Three Colonies.* Construct a chart of three parallel columns, one column each for Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. In the columns enter the following data for each colony as of 1763: (a) chief population groups, (b) chief towns, (c) chief products, (d) chief occupations, (e) school facilities, (f) chief amusements.

5. Williamsburg, Virginia. One of the outstanding historical spots in the United States today is Williamsburg, Virginia. In recent years the town has been rebuilt as it was in colonial times, and is now visited annually by thousands of tourists. See *A Handbook for Exhibition Buildings of Colonial Williamsburg* published by Williamsburg, Inc., in 1937, or Hildegard Hawthorne's *Williamsburg, Old and New* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941). In old Williamsburg, Raleigh Tavern was a gathering place for the whole town and all the visitors. Write an essay or a short play about an Evening in Raleigh Tavern in 1770. What notable characters would you introduce?

6. A Theme on the Frontier Spirit. In the book *America* by Stephen Vincent Benét (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1944, pp. 25-26), is this passage: "And then there was the frontier — and the million people who lived on the frontier. To the people of the frontier, colonial governors and assemblies were far away, and the rule of England still farther. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the wilderness, they had to govern themselves, for nobody else would do it for them. The King of England could not make your clearing. The governor of Virginia could not plant your corn. You had to do these things yourself. . . ." Write a theme on the frontier spirit of independence, showing a frontiersman's reactions toward the wealthy leaders of the seacoast and toward Great Britain.

7. Class Committees of Correspondence. Divide the class into Committees of Correspondence — one Committee each for Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Williamsburg, and Charleston. Let each Committee write to the others on the events and public opinion in its own community in 1763, 1770, and 1775.

8. A Newspaper of 1763. Have the class prepare an issue of a newspaper as it might have appeared in 1763. Each member of the class might write one news article or editorial.

9. Were the Colonies More United or Disunited in 1770? The class should together formulate two lists, written on the blackboard. The first list should give all the reasons why the settlers of the thirteen colonies were more united in 1770 than they had been before. The second list should give the reasons why there was increasing unfriendliness between the colonies and Great Britain in 1770. Formulate the lists very carefully, and then copy them for yourself.

10. Books Worth Reading. There are many historical novels to read about the period just before the Revolution. *Madagascar Jack, the Story of a Nantucket Whaler*, by E. A. Stackpole (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1940), is a salty yarn of sailing ships. *The Golden Horseshoe*, by Elizabeth Coatsworth (The Macmillan Company, 1941), tells of late colonial Virginia, of Governor Spotswood's expedition, and of adventure in the back country. *Calico Bush*, by Rachel Field (The Macmillan Company, 1943), tells of life and adventure in colonial New England. *The Trade Wind*, by Cornelia Meigs (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928), is an exciting account of a Massachusetts boy's encounter with West Indian pirates. *Debby Barnes, Trader*, by Constance L. Skinner (The Macmillan Company, 1932), is a tale of social life in old Pennsylvania. *Away to Sea*, by Stephen W. Meader (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1942), is the story of a boy who runs away to sea and is involved in the African slave trade. These are only a few of the many novels and stories of this period available in the libraries.

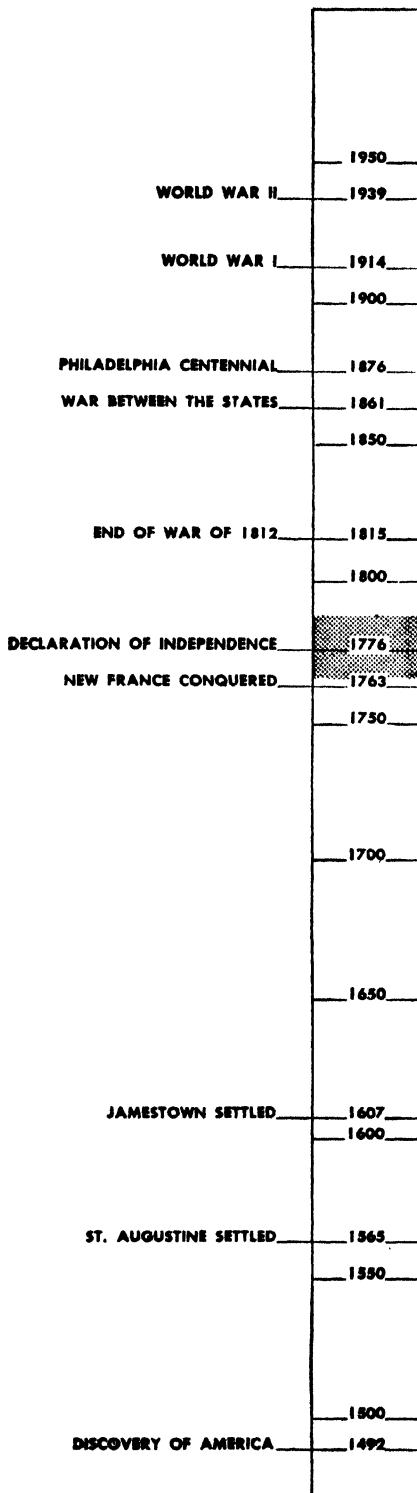
CHAPTER 5

BIRTH OF THE FIRST AMERICAN REPUBLIC

1783 TREATY OF PARIS
1776 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
1774 FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
1765 STAMP ACT

"Our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Abraham Lincoln



THE ROAD TO WAR

The colonists and the mother country were drifting farther and farther apart. Differences of opinion were developing on both sides of the Atlantic. There were quarrels which increased in bitterness until colonies and mother country were on the road to war. Once started on this road to war it was increasingly difficult to turn back. One misunderstanding led to another. Out of this conflict, however, was to be born the first American republic. Out of several years of cruel suffering and great sacrifice there was to be established a government based on the idea that the people should be their own rulers.

Quarrels over Taxes

The most serious disputes between the British government and the thirteen colonies were concerned with taxes. These disputes began soon after the British flag was raised over the old French fortress of Quebec in 1759. The French and Indian War, like other wars, cost money. Who was to pay for it? The colonists felt that they should not be required to do so. They possessed but little wealth, yet the hardships of war had fallen heaviest upon them. In many cases their crops had been ruined and their homes burned. Besides, they had done much of the fighting. They felt that Britain was better able to bear the cost of the war.

The mother country, however, could not agree with such reasoning. She felt that the colonists should bear at least part of the expense,

since the main purpose of the war had been to protect the settlers against the French. She did not ask the colonists to pay heavy taxes. She asked less of her colonists than the colonists of other European nations were compelled to pay.

"That may be true," replied the colonist, "but Parliament has no right to tax us at all. Are we not Englishmen? Is it not the right of all Englishmen to be taxed only by their own representatives? No colonists are allowed to go to London, sit in the British Parliament, and help levy the taxes."

"Why do you expect so much?" was the Britisher's question. "Some towns in England do not have representatives in Parliament. Are you better than they? Each member of Parliament represents everyone in our empire. Even though you send no man to London, you are represented. Besides, London is far away. It would take too long for your representatives to get here. And you have your own assemblies in the colonies. If you would tax yourselves we would not need to tax you."

The American would reply, "It is unfair that we should pay for the war, anyway."

The mother country insisted, however, that the colonies should shoulder part of the burden. In 1764 the British Parliament passed the Sugar Act. Under its provisions various articles were taxed, but of most importance was a tax on foreign molasses. In the 1760's the demand for molasses was great. It was widely

78 COLONISTS IN THE AMERICAS FORM NEW NATIONS

used among the colonists themselves, especially to make rum. Some of this rum was taken to Africa, where it was traded for Negro slaves. Some of it was also used for commerce with the Indian tribes. After the tax of 1764 the colonists would have to pay more for their molasses. The



Bryant, "Popular History of U. S."

Procession in New York in opposition to the Stamp Act.

mother country could point out that the rates under the Sugar Act of 1764 were only half as high as those of the Molasses Act of 1733, but Britain had never made a serious effort to enforce the older law. It was now clear that she intended to collect the new taxes. A smaller tax which was actually collected was certain to fall more heavily on the colonists than a larger tax which was not enforced.

The conflict over taxation grew worse instead of better. In 1765, the British Parliament made the colonists angrier by passing the Stamp Act, which required stamps to be placed on all legal papers and newspapers,

and even on playing cards and dice. This act affected every section and nearly every class in America. For the first time all of the thirteen colonies were stung into action by a single act of Parliament. Nine of the colonies sent delegates to attend a Stamp Act Congress which met in New York in response to a suggestion from James Otis of Massachusetts. This meeting was of great importance because it was the first occasion when the colonies acted together in opposing the mother country. The delegates agreed on certain resolutions, one of which was that no taxes should be placed on the colonies without their consent. They drew up a declaration of their rights and their grievances and sent petitions to King George III and to Parliament. Americans throughout the colonies were more united now than ever before.

As the time approached when the hated stamps were to be used, the anger of the colonists became dangerous. Some tax collectors decided it was wise to resign. In certain communities it was necessary to place the stamps in forts for safekeeping. Groups of men called the "Sons of Liberty" led the opposition. Sometimes the Sons of Liberty decided to take matters into their own hands. In New York City they fired the governor's coach and wrecked the home of the commander of the fort who had boasted that he would cram the stamps down their throats with his sword. In other communities there were similar outbreaks. Many of the merchants encouraged the Sons of Liberty as a means of defeating the hated taxes.

The most powerful opposition to the Stamp Act came from some of

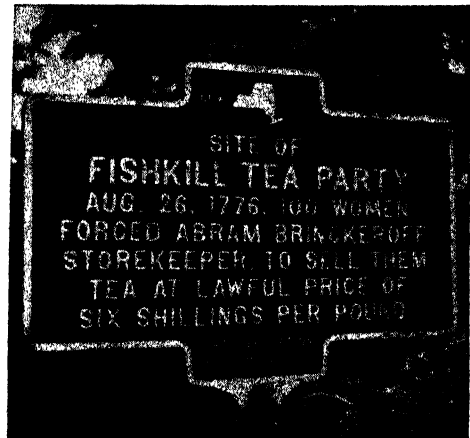
the merchants. They signed so-called nonimportation agreements stating that they would buy no more goods from England so long as the stamp tax was in effect. This threatened England's trade, and English merchants persuaded Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. At the same time, however, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act which upheld the powers of the King and Parliament and denied that the colonists could be taxed solely by their own representatives.

Several members of Parliament, led by Charles Townshend (town'-zənd), were determined to get tax money out of the colonies. In 1767 they persuaded Parliament to pass the Townshend Acts. These acts again aroused the anger of the colonists and made a bad situation worse. Among other things, the Townshend Acts provided for taxes on paint, paper, glass, and tea. Once more there were nonimportation agreements. In 1769 the colonies bought from England only a small fraction of what they had purchased in 1768. Again Parliament yielded, at least in part. In 1770 all of the taxes were repealed except the small tax on tea.

Many of the colonial merchants now felt that their cause was won. Although they disliked taxes it seemed foolish to them to sign nonimportation agreements and give up most of their business simply because of a small tax on tea. To the Sons of Liberty, however, this attitude seemed nearly as bad as treason. They were opposed to any and all taxes by Parliament, and demanded that the merchants sign nonimportation agreements no matter how much their business suffered. When a

Boston merchant came to persuade New Yorkers to buy British goods, the Sons of Liberty were so angry that they hanged him in effigy. He was forced to flee at two o'clock in the morning to escape personal injury.

It looked for a time as if the quarrel over taxes would quiet down, but it



Louis J. Frater

Can you find out what historical markers there are in your community?

flared up again in 1773 when the British government ordered several shiploads of tea sent to America. The ships bound for Boston landed first. Here some citizens dressed themselves as Indians, went on board the ships, and dumped the precious cargo into Boston Harbor. The next morning "tea lay strewn like seaweed along Dorchester beach." Paul Revere carried the news of the "Boston Tea Party" to New York. Here one ship obeyed a warning not to land, but a second arrived with tea hidden in its cargo. The hidden tea was discovered and soon the flavor of New York Harbor was similar to Boston's. The captain of the tea ship that had not landed set sail for England while a band played "God Save the King." At Annapolis a mob

destroyed a tea ship along with the tea, both cargo and vessel disappearing in flames.

By this time the colonists had divided on the conflict over taxes, according to classes. Many of those who possessed money and property had little to gain by revolution. Their position in life was quite secure. The merchants and landowners believed in colonial rights. Some, such as George Washington, were destined to be leaders in the war for independence. But the very idea of revolution produced a feeling of horror in the minds of most merchants and landowners. On the other hand, the less-favored classes had little to lose by change. Besides, they already enjoyed more liberty than the colonists of most other nations. What liberty they had tasted good, and they were determined to have more of it.

Leaders of Opposition to Britain

Among the leaders of the colonists who were most opposed to British rule, two Americans stood out. One was Samuel Adams of Massachusetts. Adams was only forty-two years old when the quarrel over taxes began, but he seemed much older. His hair was becoming gray and his head and hands were tremulous. He also spoke with a trembling voice. But the flash in his clear steel-gray eyes, and the sternness of his features when aroused, were indications of his vigor and his strength. He was probably the most able political leader of his day. He knew how to manage people, he was clear in his thinking, and he feared nothing. "Every dip of his pen stings like a horned snake," cried one of his

enemies. Adams had an intense hatred of England. In the words of another Adams, he felt that "England and her rule had become the principle of evil in the lives of the people of God, to be fought day and night and with every weapon in his arsenal." He never ceased in his efforts to hasten the Revolution.

The other great leader of the common people was Patrick Henry of Virginia. Henry was only twenty-eight in 1764, fourteen years younger than Samuel Adams. When Henry was sixteen his parents had given up trying to educate him. At the age of twenty-three he had failed as a storekeeper. He had also failed as a farmer. But he finally became a great lawyer. When he spoke people could not ignore him. Those who agreed with him listened to his fiery oratory in breathless admiration; those who did not agree sometimes became so angry that they rushed out of the courtroom. He possessed the gift of speech to an extent known to few men in history. He looked upon his voice as the gift of God to be used in behalf of human liberty. Whenever he felt that the freedom of his fellow citizens was in danger, he used his great gift of speech in defense of liberty.

When, in 1765, the British government passed the Stamp Act, Patrick Henry stood up in the Virginia House of Burgesses to protest. There is some doubt as to the exact words he used, but at the end of one speech he recalled how tyrants of the past had been overthrown, and then mentioned the name of Britain's king:

"Caesar had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George



Currier and Ives — Library of Congress

Patrick Henry delivering one of his great speeches upholding the rights of the American colonies in opposition to unfair British control.

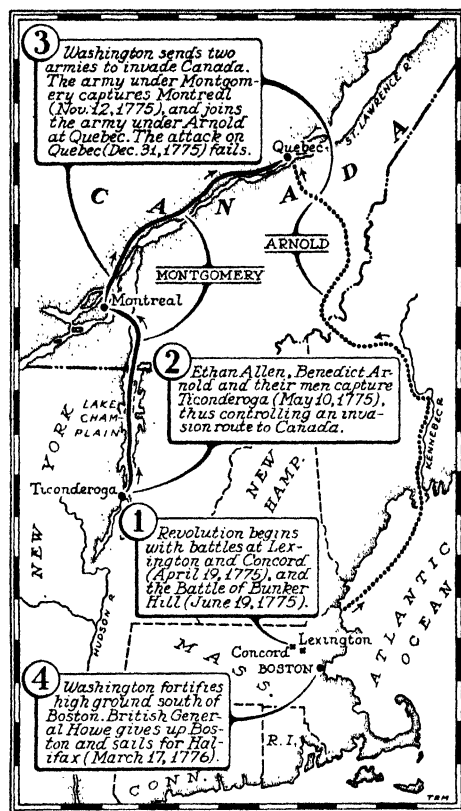
the Third" — (here he was interrupted with cries of "*Treason!*") — "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

This was the voice of the frontier, for Henry came from the backwoods of Virginia, but when he attended the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1774, he spoke in behalf of all sections of America. "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more," he declared. "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

A year later when news of bloodshed arrived from the North, Patrick Henry sounded the call to battle: "Is life so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty

God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

There were several other leaders in the various colonies who were active in upholding colonial rights. Three of the leaders who lived in New England were James Otis, a great orator who protested vigorously against unlawful searching of colonial homes by the king's officers; John Adams, who was to be our second President; and John Hancock, who was soon to sign the Declaration of Independence in large, bold handwriting so King George could read his name without the use of spectacles. Pennsylvania contributed such leaders as Benjamin Franklin, who was to give excellent advice on many occasions; and James Wilson, who



American Revolution, 1775 to March, 1776

was to be prominent in the framing of our Constitution in 1787. It was a Virginian, Richard Henry Lee, who first proposed independence, and another Virginian, Thomas

Jefferson, who wrote most of the Declaration of Independence. From South Carolina came Christopher Gadsden, who advocated an immediate attack on British troops in Boston when the First Continental Congress met; the Laurens family, one of whom was aide to General Washington during the Revolution; and the Pinckneys, destined to serve the new nation ably as diplomats or ambassadors.

Across the broad Atlantic, King George III of Britain made no effort to hide his anger toward his rebellious colonists. His mother had often advised him, saying, "George, be a King," and he was determined to rule as he pleased, both in England and in the colonies. He was a good-looking young man, of good personal character, courageous, and sincere. But he was also obstinate, unjust, and in later years he became hopelessly insane. He was not interested in human freedom or democracy, and because of his intolerance he became known as a tyrant to both Englishmen and Americans. His answer to Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and the other colonial leaders was: "The die is cast; the colonies must either triumph or submit."

THE DECISION FOR INDEPENDENCE

With the gathering of revolt, the British government determined to use force and frighten the colonists into submission. The governor of Massachusetts was replaced by General Thomas Gage, who brought an army of four thousand British soldiers to Boston. Gage was in favor of dealing severely with the colonies.

Warfare Begins

On the night of April 18, 1775, a troop of a thousand red-coated soldiers prepared to march out of Boston. They were under orders of Gage to capture guns and ammunition which the colonists had hidden at Concord (kŏn'kĕrd), Massachu-

*Culver Service*

Battle of Lexington. On the village green of Lexington and at the "rude bridge that arched the flood" at Concord, the American colonists learned that they could stand up against the British soldiers.

setts. Ahead of them in the darkness raced Paul Revere (rê-vēr'), spreading the news of their coming to village and farm.

As the next day was dawning, the British troops approached Lexington, where they hoped to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were staying with friends in that village. To their surprise the British found their way barred by a small group of about fifty colonists gathered on the village green. A shot rang out and then a volley. Eight Americans lay dead upon the green. The Revolution had begun.

Adams and Hancock escaped into the woods around Lexington. The redcoats, pushing on toward Concord, destroyed some military stores and fought a skirmish with the colonists at Concord bridge. Then it was the turn of the British to retreat. They began their return march toward Boston. No colonists blocked their line of march, but from behind

trees and rocks and shrubs came the deadly fire of the followers of Adams. The British losses were heavy, and the retreating troops reached Boston none too soon. In all, the British had lost a total of 247 men either killed or wounded, as compared with 88 Massachusetts lives which had been sacrificed. The events of April 19 aroused the countryside and brought 16,000 armed colonists swarming around Boston. Soon Gage's army was besieged in that city. The Revolution was growing like a sweeping forest fire. The shots at Lexington and Concord were truly "heard 'round the world."

The fighting at Lexington and Concord had an effect like a fire bell ringing in the dead of night. The news of bloodshed was received with mixed feelings both here and in England. King George III and his followers were angry, and planned punishment, but other Englishmen who were working for democracy in

their own land were glad the colonists were standing up for their liberty. Horace Walpole declared, "If England prevails, English and American liberty is at an end." With this view Edmund Burke agreed, adding that he "certainly never could and never *did wish the colonists to be subdued by arms.*" But Parliament supported the king, and Britain made preparations for real war.

Among many of the merchants and landowners in the colonies there were shudders of horror at the news; their worst fears were now realized. But the less-favored classes, from New England to Georgia, especially in the newer America on the frontier, received the news with rejoicing. Some of North Carolina's settlers declared themselves independent. In the first gray light of another dawn less than a month after Lexington a force of New England frontiersmen commanded by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold crossed Lake Champlain from the Vermont shore and captured the king's fortress at Ticonderoga. When a British officer appeared only partly dressed and asked in astonishment by whose authority the fort had been invaded, Allen is said to have roared that he demanded its surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."

There is doubt as to what Continental Congress could be meant. All of the colonies except Georgia had sent delegates to the First Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. There the colonies had drawn up a Declaration of Rights to be sent to England, and had bound themselves not to trade with the mother country. The First

Continental Congress, however, had never directed Ethan Allen or anyone else to attack the king's forts. A Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, but Allen had already captured Fort Ticonderoga a few hours before that Congress met. *In session until March, 1781, the Second Continental Congress provided for resistance to British rule, and governed the new nation during all the years of the war.*

By June of 1775 twenty thousand armed New Englanders were camped around Boston, determined to drive the British garrison out of that city. They erected a chain of fortifications on the hills near by. The fortifications placed the British army of six thousand in a dangerous situation. As the red-coated officers watched the swarms of American militia mounting guns aimed in their direction, they realized that it was necessary to drive them out and secure possession of the heights for themselves. The result was a battle known as Bunker Hill. Twice the British redcoats advanced up a hillside, and twice they were thrown back by the deadly fire of New Englanders who waited until they could aim "at the whites of their eyes." On the third charge, however, the British were successful because the defenders had used up all their powder. The battle resulted in a British victory, but from one third to one half of the redcoats had been killed, and the raw, untrained colonial troops had proved their fighting ability.

Meanwhile, on June 15, the Continental Congress chose as the commander-in-chief of the patriot army George Washington of Virginia. It also issued a call for 75,000 volun-

teers. In that grave hour when American liberty hung in the balance, the nation found a worthy leader. It was while on his way to take command of the army at Cambridge that he heard the news of Bunker Hill. "Did the militia fight?" he was anxious to know. "Yes," was the welcome reply. "Then the liberties of the country are safe," he exclaimed with relief. He arrived at Cambridge on July 3, and promptly devoted his attention and great skill to creating real armies out of the untrained mobs of patriots.

Until the end of 1775, however, most of the colonists did not desire complete separation, or independence, from Great Britain. What they wanted most of all was to be allowed to govern themselves without so many restrictions and so much interference. They felt that the British government had treated them unjustly, especially in the matter of taxation. They thought that Britain did not allow them as much freedom as all Englishmen everywhere should possess. They were willing, however, to remain under British rule if allowed self-government. They continued to pray publicly for the king in their military forces. They wanted "redress of grievances," not independence.

As the king himself had said, however, the die was cast. In the colonies the Sons of Liberty erected poles called "liberty poles" to show their love of liberty just as we might wave flags to show pride of country. The king's soldiers regarded the poles as insults and cut them down. Then the Sons of Liberty would erect larger and stronger poles to defy the soldiers. There were riots, shots were

fired, people were killed, and bitterness increased. More and more colonists came to agree with Samuel Adams; greater and greater grew the response to the bugle calls of Patrick Henry. Great Britain was ready to compromise, but the hour was now too late.

The Declaration of Independence

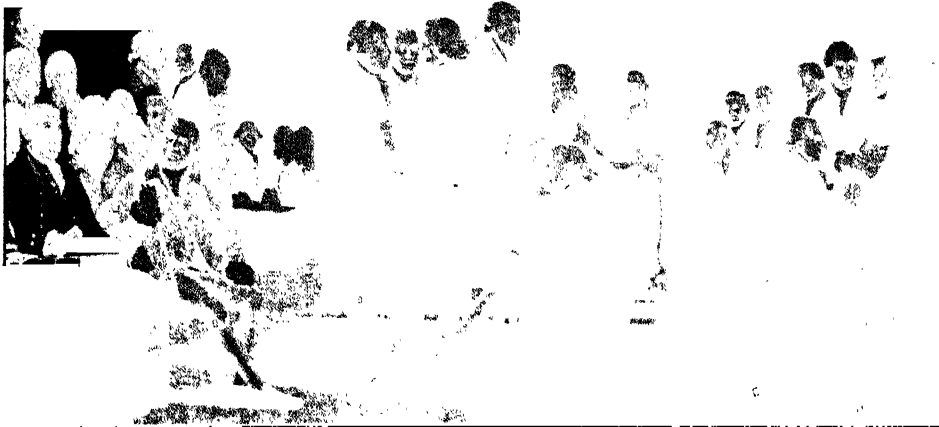
In the early days of 1776 people began to read the first copies of Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense*. "O ye that love mankind!" they read, "Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth!" . . . "Government by kings was first introduced into the world by heathens" — a form of government disapproved by the Almighty. "Of more worth is one honest man to society . . . than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." "Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind." Thus Paine put into words what many leaders in the colonies were actually thinking. Everywhere Americans eagerly read the pamphlets which he wrote, and were greatly influenced by his ideas. One important cause of the Revolution and American independence was Thomas Paine.

Finally, in June, 1776, Virginia decided to take the leadership in the movement for independence. In accordance with her instructions, Richard Henry Lee rose in the Continental Congress and moved that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and inde-



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City

Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Livingston, and Sherman in conference over the statements to be included in the Declaration of Independence.



Culver Service

Deliberating about the Declaration of Independence. From this unfinished painting, what can you tell about the delegates who were discussing the Declaration in the Continental Congress?

pendent states." The motion was seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. Several of the colonies, especially the middle colonies, were not yet ready to make such an important decision, but they soon changed their minds when news arrived from Europe that Britain was hiring German soldiers to put down the rebellion. The task of writing a Declaration of Independence to be adopted by Congress was given to Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. With only a few changes in what Jefferson wrote, the Declaration was formally adopted on July 4. It contained words that were to ring throughout the continent and ideas that were in time to be heard all over the world. For example:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

News of the Declaration of Independence spread rapidly through the colonies. It was received with great rejoicing by Americans who had become bitter toward the British government. Bonfires blazed, bells were rung in the churches, and the king's statue was pulled down in New York. These Americans called

themselves "Patriots," but the British called them "rebels." Americans who continued to feel friendly toward the British government heard the news of the Declaration of Independence with dismay. They felt that the action of the Continental Congress was rash and not justified. They were sad at the thought of rebellion against the mother country. They called themselves "loyalists," but the Patriots or rebels called them "Tories." Not only was the Revolution a war in which the former colonies fought for their independence against Great Britain, but it was also a kind of civil war between Americans. Throughout the struggle Patriots and Tories fought bitterly against each other—in some cases, neighbor against neighbor, or brother against brother.

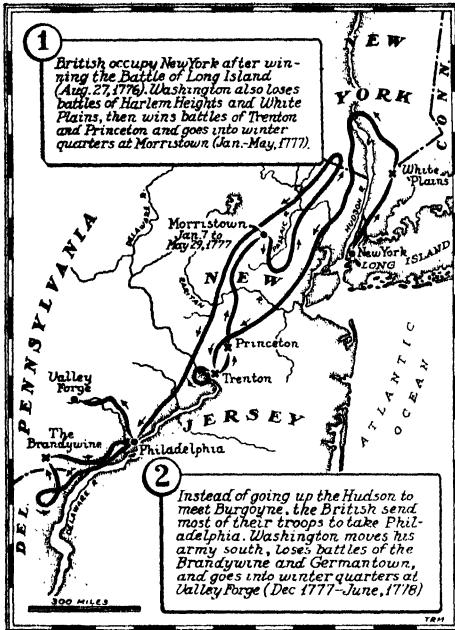
A great and rapid change had taken place in the fifteen short months ending in July, 1776. Hardly any Americans had seriously thought of independence before the fighting at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775. Even after Lexington and Concord the great majority of Americans had not desired independence. Yet on July 4, 1776, Britain's thirteen colonies became the United States of America. On that day a new nation was born. The American Revolution had become a war for independence.

SEVEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The War in the North

To conquer the colonies, British armies had to be transported and largely supplied across three thousand miles of ocean. They could attempt

invasion from the seacoast or from Canada. In either case there were serious difficulties to be faced. Even if a landing along the coast was successful, the British army might starve. The colonies really had no



Middle Atlantic Campaigns, 1776-1777

navy when the war started, but our government armed merchant ships and allowed them to become privateers. These privateers had a prosperous existence blockading ports held by the British and capturing British merchant ships seeking to bring supplies to the army. And if a British invasion should be attempted from Canada, it would be necessary to transport and supply troops through the wilderness.

The Americans had already, in 1775, determined to invade Canada before a large British army could arrive there, evidently deciding that the best defense was a good offense. An army led by General Montgomery had advanced northward over the Champlain Valley and succeeded in capturing Montreal in 1775. Then Montgomery's army was joined with that of Benedict Arnold, who had led an army on an incredible journey from the seacoast through the Maine

wilderness. The combined forces attacked Quebec in December, 1775, while a terrible blizzard was raging. They almost succeeded in capturing that city, but Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and the patriot army was so crippled by smallpox that it retreated southward in the spring.

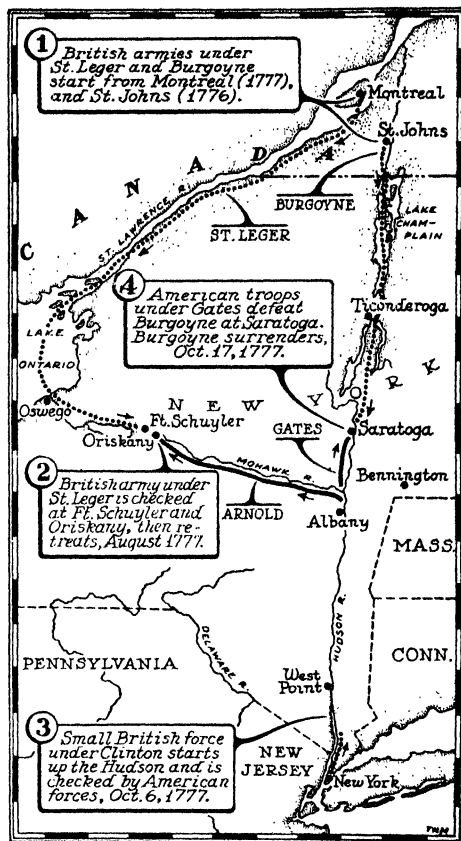
In 1776 the British attempted to cut the colonies in two by conquering New York. Large British armies defeated Washington in the Battle of Long Island and won possession of New York City; but the British invasion from Canada was delayed by American ships on Lake Champlain until too late in the season. In the same year a British expedition against Charleston, South Carolina, was repulsed in its attack on Fort Moultrie (mōl'trī). It was in 1776 that Nathan Hale was executed as a spy. He was a young Connecticut schoolteacher seeking to obtain information for Washington behind the British lines on Long Island. Just as he was about to escape with sketches of some of the British positions he was caught. When facing death he had the courage to say, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

The winter that followed was dark for the patriot cause. Washington had been compelled to retreat with his outnumbered and tattered army through New Jersey. To many men, both in America and in Britain, the patriot cause seemed all but lost; but not to Thomas Paine, who had been with Washington's army. "These are the times that try men's souls," was his message to those who wavered. "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his

country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." Then in December and January, like a ray of hope shining through the dark clouds of war, came news that Washington's army had captured the British garrison at Trenton, and had also won a battle at Princeton.

The easiest avenues of invasion were the waterways, and New York possessed these in abundance. If a British army could win possession of Lake Champlain and the Mohawk and Hudson rivers the colonies would be cut in two and then the British could fight each part separately. In 1777 the British tried desperately to cut the colonies in two, and very nearly succeeded. One large British army was to move from New York City northward up the Hudson; a second under St. Leger (*sānt-lěj'ēr*) was to come south from Canada by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley; the third and most important army, led by "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne (*bûr-goin'*), was to advance southward from Canada by way of the Champlain Valley. The three armies were to meet near Albany, completely cutting New England off from the other states.

Instead of moving northward, the bulk of the British army in New York City sailed away to Philadelphia. When the redcoats finally went up the Hudson, it was a case of "too little, too late." For a time the second army under St. Leger seemed to be on the road to success, but he was checked by Americans at Fort Schuyler and Oriskany, and was finally forced to retreat when his Indian allies melted away into the wilderness because of a clever trick



Northern Campaign, 1777

by General Arnold. Arnold allowed a prisoner to escape in return for a promise to tell St. Leger's Indians that the American soldiers were as numerous as the leaves on the trees. When the Indians heard this story they lost all interest in fighting Arnold and returned to their villages.

It was left for Burgoyne to suffer the worst defeat of the British invasion. After capturing Ticonderoga, he floundered in the wilderness but finally reached the Hudson. He was seriously weakened when a force which he sent to Bennington, Vermont, to obtain much-needed supplies, was crushed. At the same time the American army was becoming

larger and stronger, especially after news spread that Burgoyne's Indians were taking scalps. Finally two battles were fought which together have been called the Battle of Saratoga. The British were halted and then defeated, largely because of the fierce assaults led by Benedict Arnold. On October 17, Burgoyne surrendered his entire army to General Gates, the American commander.

The American victory at Saratoga was the turning point of the Revolution. The British now began to doubt their ability to conquer the "rabble in arms" as they called our tattered, half-trained, and poorly equipped troops. Americans were greatly encouraged. The King of France, who was interested in the war because he hated Britain, now saw a chance to obtain revenge for the defeat in the French and Indian War. The American victory at Saratoga was followed by an alliance with France. Without that, we might not have won our independence.

The treaty with France was especially pleasing to Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the American agents that arranged it. He had been abused and insulted by British officials in 1774 when in London. Now in 1778 he had an important part in making a treaty which would result in Britain's loss of much of her American possessions. At the signing of the treaty with France, he got out and wore the old blue coat which he had worn in London four years before.

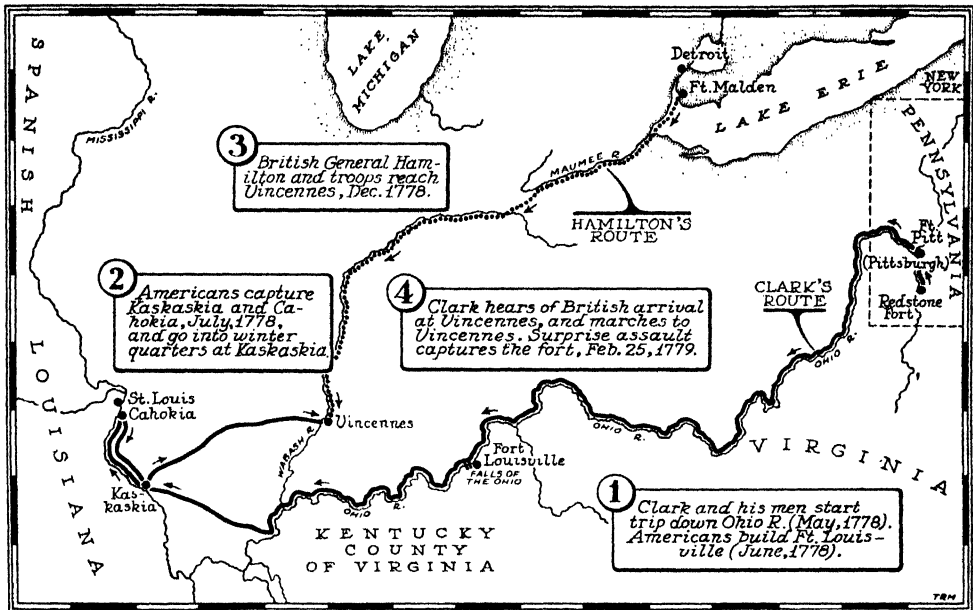
Later, the French king received the American agents at his court. This reception was a brilliant affair; all the great ladies and gentlemen wore court dress, with powdered wigs — that is, all but Franklin.

He had neither wig nor sword. He wore a simple brown suit with white hose, and carried a white hat under his arm. His hair hung loosely, and his spectacles rested on his nose. It was a dramatic scene as the simply-dressed Franklin walked through that brilliant crowd toward the king. The spectators were so impressed by Franklin's democratic simplicity that they forgot court etiquette and cheered loudly.

From the Battle of Saratoga to the end of the war only two events of military importance occurred in the north. In 1779 the patriots sent an army against the Iroquois Indians and punished them severely for their activity on the side of the British. Then, in 1780, the British tried once more to get possession of the Hudson, using gold where force of arms had previously failed. The commander of the American fortress at West Point was Benedict Arnold. Because he thought Congress had treated him unfairly and also because of the extravagance of his Tory wife, he agreed to sell the fort to the enemy. The plot, however, was discovered in time and the Hudson remained in American hands. Though a leader of great ability, Arnold was destined to bear forever the mark of a traitor.

In the West and on the Sea

West of the Appalachians, very important American victories were won. Led by George Rogers Clark, a small force of pioneers freed the entire Ohio Valley from British rule. They were forced to wade at times through icy waters in flooded lands, but their campaign ended with the capture of Vincennes (vín-sénz'), Indiana, in February, 1779. Except



Clark's Expedition, 1778-1779

for this victory, our western boundary might have been fixed at the Appalachians instead of at the Mississippi in the treaty which ended the war. But for the conquest of the Ohio Valley our nation might have continued to be hemmed in between the Appalachians and the Atlantic, a weak country with strong European nations possessing land in our rear.

From the sea in 1779 came news of a great American naval victory near the British Isles. John Paul Jones, who had already captured three hundred British ships, was commander of the *Bon Homme Richard* (bō-nôm' rē-shâr'). In a terrific hand-to-hand battle, his sailors forced the great *Serapis* (sê-rā'pīs) to strike her colors even though his own ship was sinking. There were many other thrilling encounters between single ships. More than two thousand American privateers roamed the seas at one time, many of them invading

the English Channel in search of British merchant ships. The French alliance brought the powerful French navy to our assistance, greatly increasing the difficulties faced by the British in maintaining armies in America. The presence of a French fleet was to make possible the final great American victory of the war at Yorktown, as shown on page 93.

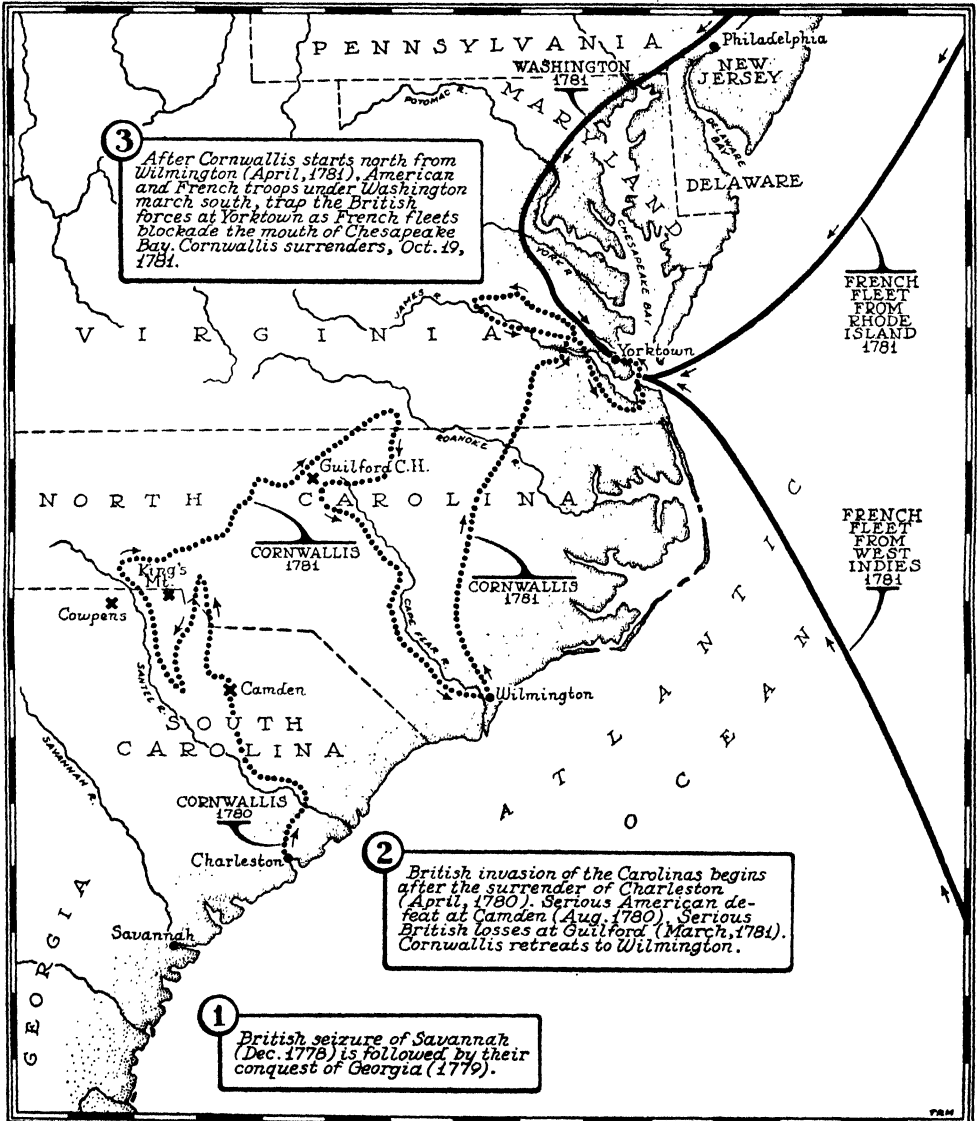
Victory Won in the South

It was in the South that American independence was finally won. The British made a strong effort to crush the South after losing their bid for control of New York's waterways. At the end of 1778 they began a campaign which ended when they overran the state of Georgia and restored the old royal governor to office. A year later they continued their efforts with a campaign against South Carolina. Buildings were burned, livestock killed, crops de-

92 COLONISTS IN THE AMERICAS FORM NEW NATIONS

stroyed, and patriot settlers placed in prison. Congress sent General Gates to halt the British, but he suffered a humiliating defeat at Camden in August, 1780. The patriot cause in the South seemed doomed until in October an army of backwoodsmen destroyed a British force at Kings Mountain. Small

bands such as that commanded by Marion (mă'r'i-ŭn), "the Swamp Fox," made life miserable for the redcoats. Marion had been obliged to seek refuge in forest and swamp. He had organized a band of about twenty men which increased until it numbered several hundred. His followers were usually farmers who



Campaigns in the South, 1778-1781



Handy Studios

The Surrender of Cornwallis is one of the four paintings by John Trumbull in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. Notice the American troops on the right and the French troops on the left.

worked part of the time on their farms but who went to fight at Marion's bidding. Their method of fighting was to surprise and capture small units of the enemy. Finally, in January, 1781, Daniel Morgan secured revenge for the defeat at Camden with a brilliant victory at Cowpens, South Carolina. Two months later the main British army suffered heavy losses in the battle of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina.

The British army under General Cornwallis then retired across North Carolina into Virginia. There it took up a position on the Yorktown

peninsula between the York and the James rivers. Cornwallis decided to wait for a British fleet and some British troops. He soon found himself in a trap, however; a fleet appeared, but it was French, not British. It cut off the British army from any assistance from the sea. Meanwhile a large army of Frenchmen and Americans under General Washington hemmed in Cornwallis from the rear. There was no way for the British to escape. Cornwallis surrendered his entire army at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. This great American victory meant that the war for independence was won.

WINNING THE PEACE

Britain's armies had been defeated. Her government no longer seriously

expected to continue the struggle. Americans, however, could not be

certain how much they would gain from their victory until the treaty of peace was signed in Paris in 1783, nearly two years later. The struggle to win the peace required but one third the time that had been necessary to win the war. Yet one struggle was just as important as the other. If the peace had been lost, there would have been but little benefit from the long years of warfare.

Should Peace Be Made Without France?

It would not have been very difficult to make the peace if Britain and the United States had been left to themselves. Because of the treaty of alliance made with France in 1778, however, we were pledged to help that nation fight and were not supposed to make peace until France was ready. The French government was not interested in liberty. It was as much opposed to freedom as was King George III of Britain. It hated Britain but did not love America. Its main concern was to use our country to strengthen France. Therefore, it was to the interest of the French government to keep our nation weak and small, so that it must depend upon France for protection. Also, France was allied with Spain and was anxious to look out for the interests of the Spanish king as well as her own.

France suggested that all of the territory south of the Ohio River, between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, should be reserved as Indian territory. Part of it would be under American control and the remainder Spanish. The land north of the Ohio was to remain in British hands. With such boundaries the

United States would have, at best, an uncertain future. The long, narrow territory east of the Appalachians would always be in danger of attacks from powerful neighbors in our rear. Our delegates could not and would not agree to the plan France suggested. They had no desire to sacrifice the welfare of the United States to further the ambitions of France. One of them wrote, "Let us be honest and grateful to France, but let us think for ourselves." Fortunately, also, Great Britain was willing to sign a treaty favorable to us to "regain the affections of America." The delegates finally decided to deal with Britain alone, without consulting France.

The Treaty of Paris

In the Treaty of Paris (September 3, 1783), Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States. No longer were Americans to be subject to the laws of the British Parliament or to the orders of British kings. They were to be completely free to set up their own government, make their own laws, and take their own place in the world family of nations. The treaty provided that the western boundary of our nation was to be the Mississippi River. The map on page 104 compared with the map on page 66 indicates the great difference the new western boundary made in the size of the new United States. On the north our nation was to extend to Canada; but so little was known about geography that the description of the eastern and far western parts of the boundary was vague. The uncertainty concerning the location of this boundary resulted in many disputes.

Many years were to pass before the exact boundary could be determined. On the south the boundary was to be the parallel of 31° if Florida remained in the possession of Spain, but farther north if Britain should succeed in keeping Florida. When it was finally decided that Florida would remain in Spanish hands, Spain would not (until 1795) recognize our claim as far south as 31° . Thus the Treaty of Paris resulted in a boundary dispute between the United States and Spain. Both Britain and the United States were to share the right to shipping on the Mississippi, and we were given

the privilege of fishing in the Newfoundland area.

Under this same treaty our nation promised not to interfere with efforts of British merchants to collect debts due them from American citizens. Also, our states were to restore property to the Tories or pay them for what they had lost. Our Congress was not strong enough to control the states, however, and this provision was never enforced. Britain complained bitterly of our failure and for several years refused to give up her forts along the Canadian border as she was supposed to do.

SUMMARY

In 1763 the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies had been loyal to Great Britain. In 1773 there had been few who actively favored independence. Then in 1775 had come the first armed conflict, followed by six or seven years of cruel suffering. Some Americans had taken up arms in behalf of King George III. There were others whose main thought had been their own personal profit. There was another group, however, who regarded liberty as more important

than life itself, and who had followed steadfastly in Washington's footsteps until final victory was won. No longer were the inhabitants of America British colonists, ruled from across the sea. They were members of a new nation and were their own rulers. The future of the United States was in the hands of the people who brought the new nation into being. The American people had established a new nation, and that nation was recognized as independent.

Study Activities

1. *An Outline of Tax Laws.* Make an outline of the material in this chapter on tax quarrels between the colonies and Great Britain. Show each of the major tax laws, the date it was passed, the reasons it was objectionable, and the ways in which the colonists opposed it.

2. *A Petition to Parliament.* At the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress of

1765 a Committee drew up a petition to Parliament against the stamp tax. Appoint a group of pupils to represent the Committee and prepare, in their own words, a petition to the Parliament about the tax.

3. *A Cartoon on Colonial Attitudes.* Draw a cartoon in opposition to the Townshend Act.

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4. A Radio Play. Read the story about the meeting of men from Massachusetts and men from Philadelphia at the time of the First Continental Congress in 1774, as told in *The Rights We Defend*, by Chester S. Williams (New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1940), pp. 41 ff. Dramatize the meeting as a scene for a radio play to be presented before the class or the assembly.

5. People Mentioned in Chapter 5. Make a list of all the people mentioned in this chapter. Be able to tell how each of them (1) helped develop the idea of independence, (2) helped fight the Revolutionary War, or (3) helped make the peace. Select the three people on the list about whom it is most important for people in modern United States to know. Have a committee of pupils consult the encyclopedias and biographies in the library and give special reports to the class on the three leaders.

6. Reading in Class. Read Patrick Henry's stirring speech on "Give me liberty or give me death" in Barnes, Bessey, and others, *Highways*, in "The Realm of Reading" series (American Book Company, 1940). Have a committee select the best passages from the speech. Memorize the passage which seems to you the best.

Read the Declaration of Independence on pages xxiii-xxv. Also, if you can, obtain a reproduction of the Declaration of Independence from the John Hancock Life Insurance Company in Boston, Massachusetts. Then dramatize the signing of the document.

7. Books about the Revolutionary Period:

Gertrude Crownfield, *Katherine Gordon, Patriot*, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932.

Walter D. Edmonds, *Wilderness Clearing*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1944

Edward Ellsberg, *I Have Just Begun to Fight! The Story of John Paul Jones*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942.

James Daugherty, *Poor Richard*, Viking Press, 1941.

Hildegard Hawthorne, *Give Me Liberty*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945.

Martha Mann, *Nathan Hale, Patriot*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1944.

Eleanor Sickels, *In Calico and Crinoline*, Viking Press, 1935.

Elsie Singmaster, *Rifles for Washington*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

C. S. Skinner, *The White Leader*, Macmillan Co., 1925.

E. A. Stackpole, *Smuggler's Luck*, Morrow & Co., 1931.

8. The Revolutionary War. Make an outline of the chief events in the Revolutionary War which are mentioned in this chapter. Divide your outline into the following major divisions: — (A) The Fighting around Boston, (B) War in the Middle Atlantic States, (C) War in the Hudson-Champlain valleys, (D) War in the West, (E) War at Sea, (F) War in the South. You will find the five maps in this chapter very helpful.

What do you think were the three most decisive battles of the Revolutionary War? Be able to describe each of the three, and explain your choice.

Make a list of the terms of peace in the Treaty of Paris (1763). Why are these terms of importance to the later growth of the United States?

9. Haym Salomon, Friend of Washington. One of Washington's staunchest supporters was Haym Salomon, a Jewish immigrant from Poland who devoted all his fortune to the cause of independence. Read either Howard Fast's fictionalized biography called *Haym Salomon* (Julian Messner, Inc., 1941) or the shorter account in Charles S. Hart's *George Washington's Son of Israel, and Other Forgotten Heroes of History* (J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937). Give a biographical report.

10. Defining Independence. What does it mean for a nation to become independent? In what ways were the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard different after they had won the Revolution? What new rights did they have? What new duties? What new problems?

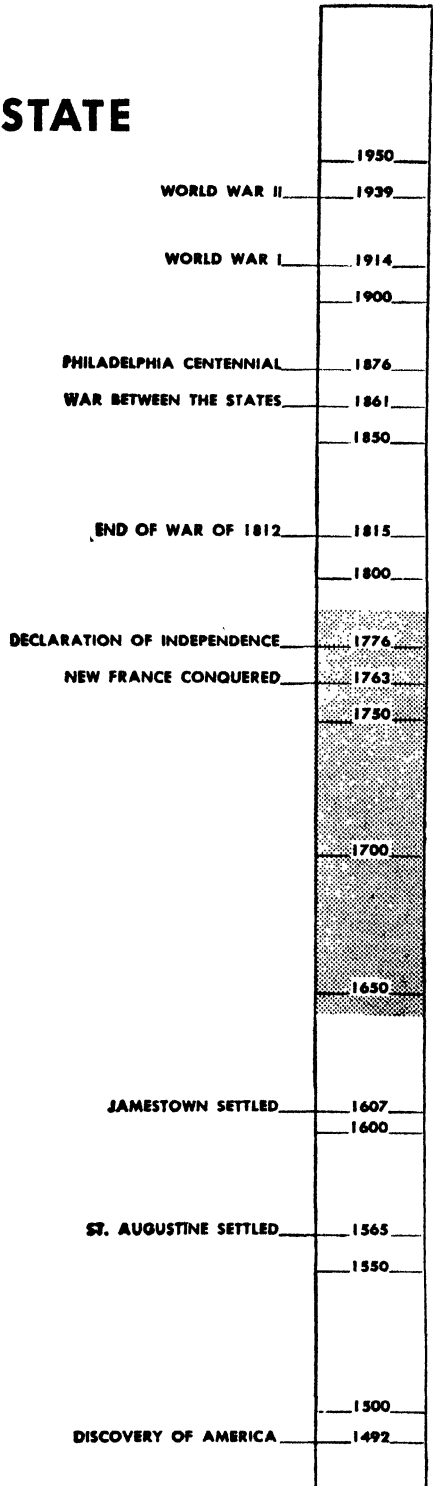
CHAPTER 6

BUILDING A SHIP OF STATE

1789 NEW GOVERNMENT UNDER CONSTITUTION
1787 CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
1781 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION ADOPTED
1754 FRANKLIN'S ALBANY PLAN OF UNION
1643 NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Preamble of the Constitution



THE PROBLEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

A nation's plan of government, or constitution, may be compared to a ship. Some constitutions and some ships are better and stronger than others. The success of our nation depended to a large extent upon what kind of ship of state our forefathers built. Building our ship of state was a very difficult task, for we were preparing to sail where men had never gone before. We had no desire to launch our ship into the well-known seas where kings and dictators ruled; rather did we intend to travel into the little-known sea called democracy where the people

were to be allowed to make their own government. We were not faced with a hopeless task, however, for Americans in 1787 had already had considerable experience as builders of government. Also, our ancestors had brought with them from Europe much experience on which Americans could build.

Each of the former British colonies had had a certain amount of self-government. The colonists had had ample opportunity to study the operation of colonial governments. They had witnessed the bitter quarrels between the representatives of the



Library of Congress

The Mayflower Compact, drawn up by the heads of the "Pilgrim" band and signed before leaving ship, is said to be the first written agreement ever made providing for the "government of the people by the people."

people and the King's governors. They had not forgotten how in 1687, about a century earlier, Governor Edmund Andros had attempted to take away the charter of Connecticut. On that occasion Andros had been foiled by Patriots, who hid the precious document in the hollow of an oak tree. On other occasions, however, royal governors had succeeded in restricting the rights of the colonists. No colony had been entirely free from such conflict. The colonists had become convinced that written constitutions were necessary to protect the people against unjust governors. Constitutions are statements of laws, or agreements, which tell how the people are to be governed and explain what the rights and duties of the citizens are.

Making State Constitutions

Most of the states made constitutions during the Revolution. At first these new state constitutions established forms of government which did not differ greatly from the old colonial governments; in fact, Connecticut and Rhode Island made no change at all. In general, the most important changes which were made in the new documents were concerned with the powers of the governors. Very little power was left in the hands of the governors, because Americans had come to look upon them as enemies of liberty. Most of the power was given to the legislatures, made up of the representatives of the people; but even their authority was limited in the constitutions.

Jefferson had written in 1776 that "all men are created equal," but the new constitutions left most of the

government in the hands of the richer people. It was necessary to own a certain amount of property in order to vote. In general a man had to own considerable property to be elected to state office, while in some states "none but a rich Christian could be governor." Equality in religion was not provided. The Carolinas and New Jersey required that members of their legislatures must be Protestants; and in Maryland and Massachusetts only Christians could hold office. Massachusetts allowed its voters to decide whether or not they wanted their new constitution; in Virginia, however, a constitution was made by a state convention and put into effect without ever being submitted to the people.

How Much Unity Was Needed?

It was generally agreed that there must be unity and co-operation among the thirteen new states, but nobody knew how firm a union was needed. As Benjamin Franklin observed on one occasion: "Everybody cries a union is absolutely necessary, but when they come to the Manner and Form of the Union, their weak noddles are perfectly distracted." The strongest argument in favor of unity was protection against a common enemy. As early as 1643 the New England colonies had joined together in a loose union or confederation to protect themselves from the Indians, the French, and the Dutch. Then more than a century later, in 1754, Franklin had proposed the Albany Plan of Union, as was previously noted. Franklin's plan had not been accepted, however, because Britain had felt that it

left too much power to the colonies, while the colonists had felt that it did not give them power enough. In 1765 representatives of the colonies had joined together in the Stamp Act Congress to defend themselves from the mother country. The great need for united action had led to the organization of the First Continental Congress in 1774 and of the Second Continental Congress in 1775. There was no constitution, however, for the new United States until after the battles of the Revolution were nearly over. The Second Continental Congress ruled the nation without a constitution until 1781.

It was very difficult for the Continental Congress to make a constitution. In the first place some of the leaders who had had experience with colonial government had become Tories and left the country. Second, many of the leaders who remained loyal to the new government preferred to serve their own states rather than to be members of the Continental Congress. It was more important to be a governor than a member of the Congress. Sometimes only a handful of members were present when the Congress met. Third, a constitution was not important unless we won the war. The Congress needed to devote its main attention to military matters rather than to constitution-making. Finally, efforts to obtain unity were made difficult because the people had a great fear of a strong central government. They generally trusted the leaders of their own state, but they did not wish the twelve other states to help rule them from New York or Philadelphia. They thought that each state should be mainly

concerned with its own interests except when fighting the war.

During these years Congress was faced with difficult problems which it had very little power to solve. Those who attended the meetings were chosen by the state governments and were supposed to vote as their states told them to. They felt a greater love for, and loyalty to, their states than they did for the nation as a whole. They were citizens of their own states first; Americans afterwards. Then whenever the Continental Congress reached a decision, there was no way to enforce the law. Each state could do as it pleased about obeying Congress.

It would be easy to criticize the Continental Congress for the way it ran the war and for the plan of government which it finally made. We know it was fortunate to accomplish what it did, however, when we realize what little power it possessed and the difficulties it faced. In general the members were patriotic; they made mistakes, but they tried to do what they thought was best.

Benjamin Franklin was one of our leaders who was most anxious to improve the form of our government. He compared government to a clock; Congress to the big wheel, and the states to the little wheels. He asked what was the value in keeping the small wheels in order if we neglected the great wheel that made the entire clock run.

Certain plans for the ship of state were presented to Congress in 1776, but it was near the end of 1777 before one was voted for by its members. This proposed plan of government, or constitution, was known as the Articles of Confederation. It was

not to go into effect, however, until every one of the thirteen states had approved it.

The chief reason the states were slow to accept the Articles of Confederation was a dispute over western lands. Some of the states claimed that their boundaries extended as far west as the Mississippi River. Others, such as Maryland, had no such claims at all. The states that had no western lands were dwarfs in comparison with their huge neighbors. They feared that they would have but little voice in the new national government. All of them except Maryland gradually agreed to accept the Articles of Confederation despite their fears. Maryland, however, refused to approve the new government

unless the large states would surrender their western lands. Finally the states with western claims did, one by one, give up to the national government their vast possessions northwest of the Ohio River. This result greatly strengthened our nation, because the western lands now belonged to the states jointly and were of common interest. This new national territory also provided a haven for colonists who were dissatisfied with the restrictions of the governments of the states. Here Americans established a more democratic type of government, where all men could vote and hold office. The Articles of Confederation, with Maryland's acceptance, became our first constitution on March 1, 1781.

FAILURE OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The Articles of Confederation provided the government of the United States with but little power. Our citizens were so jealous of their individual liberty and so afraid of a strong central government that they left most of the authority in the hands of the states. Our country was more like a league of thirteen small nations than one nation, during the years that it was governed under the Articles of Confederation.

The legislature or Congress was the most important branch of the national government. It represented the various states as the Continental Congress had done. In all matters the vote was by states, and each state, large or small, had one vote. In important matters nine of the thirteen states had to agree, while if any change was to be made in the

Articles of Confederation all the states would have to agree. Congress selected its own officers, but there was no president with power to carry out the laws of Congress as our Presidents do today. Obedience to the laws of the national government depended upon the states. Congress could declare war, but the states could not be forced to fight. Congress could make treaties, but could not make the states live up to them. Congress could borrow money, but it could not compel the states to raise the necessary taxes. Congress was like a beggar, hat in hand, waiting at the state capitals and receiving more kicks than coins.

Money Problems

The weakness of the national government under the Articles of

Confederation was clear from the beginning. One of the main problems of the period was money. "Hard" money, as we call gold and silver and other coins, was extremely scarce. Paper money, although plentiful, frequently changed in value. A dollar bill is the government's promise to pay a dollar's worth of hard money. So long as it is certain that the government can keep its promise people would as soon have the dollar bill as a silver dollar. During the Revolution, however, it had been necessary for the government to print large amounts of dollar bills. Much more paper money was printed than should have been, considering the amount of silver and gold on hand. The result was that soon a dollar bill was not worth a silver dollar. By 1780 it frequently took 40 paper dollars to equal one silver dollar. This difficult problem was inherited by the government under the Articles of Confederation when it took office, but it had no power to control the money. Congress was unable to obtain money to pay the soldiers of the Revolution who remained under arms. Finally the soldiers decided to take matters into their own hands. They threatened Congress and might have started a revolution of their own, just after the close of the war for independence, but for the influence of General Washington. On one occasion members of Congress fled in the night because they had no protection from a small group of disorderly soldiers.

The money problem grew worse instead of better as time passed. Prices went down and the farmer in particular suffered great hardships because he had to sell his crops at

lower and lower prices. He could continue to make ends meet if he was allowed to pay his debts with the cheap paper money, but his creditors insisted upon being paid in hard money and would not take the paper money. They went to the courts and demanded that officers of the law force the farmer to pay what he owed in hard money. Such attempts to collect money were called "suits" or "lawsuits." There were four thousand such suits for debts in one year in Worcester County, Massachusetts, even though the entire population of the county was only fifty thousand people. Farms could not be sold for enough to pay the farmers' debts.

The farmers sought to protect themselves and their farms in various ways. In some states they tried to obtain control over their state government. In Rhode Island they actually succeeded by their votes in winning control of the state legislature, and passed laws which made it possible for them to pay their debts with cheap paper money. In general these quarrels for control of the state governments were struggles between sections. Most of the farmers who were in debt were to be found in the interior of the states, while the more well-to-do lived along the sea-coast and the river valleys.

Bitterness Among Americans

There was armed rebellion in Massachusetts. In that state the farmers who were in debt were led by Daniel Shays. He had been a captain in the Patriot army during the Revolution. He and his followers tried to break up trials where attempts were being made to collect debts by law-

*Culver Service*

Shays's Rebellion led to tax and voting reforms in Massachusetts. It also showed the need for a stronger central government.

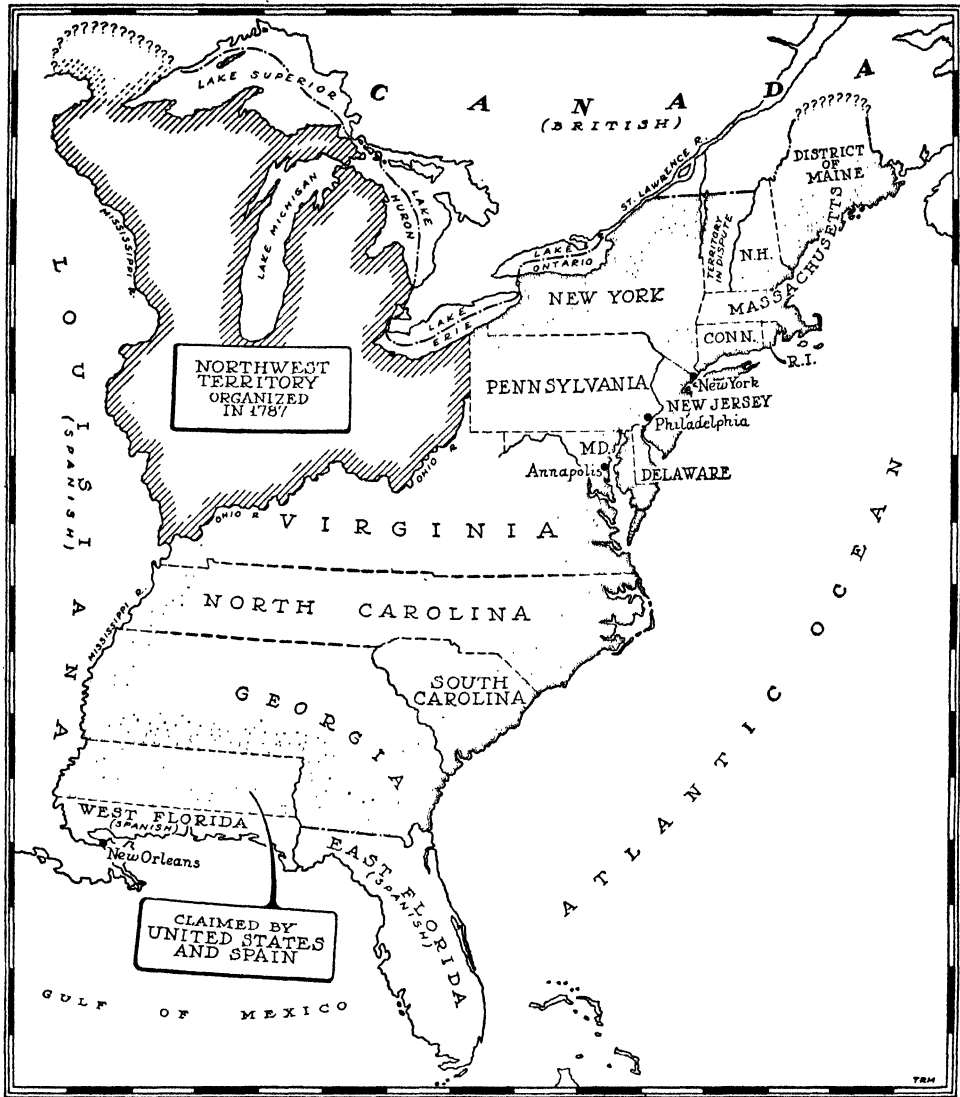
suits. They finally attacked a United States arsenal in search of more arms and ammunition with which to prevent the collection of debts. The national government was powerless to punish Shays. The state of Massachusetts was required to raise an army of four thousand men to put an end to Shays's activities. In severe winter weather the little bands of rebels were pursued until the revolt completely collapsed. Bitter rivalry, however, continued among Americans because of the money problem, and the national government under the Articles of Confederation was unable to do anything about it.

There was also considerable bitterness between states. Some of the ill feeling was due to the fact that states were permitted to tax goods which crossed their boundary lines. New Jersey especially had good reason to be angry. She was like a barrel tapped at both ends. Her farmers were required to pay taxes whether

they sent their cabbages to Philadelphia or to New York City. By these taxes about \$200,000 is said to have been squeezed out of New Jersey each year by her large neighbors, Pennsylvania and New York. Then there were other sources of conflict between states. Pennsylvania used soldiers to drive Connecticut settlers off land which she claimed, and New York sent armed forces into Vermont to drive out settlers from New Hampshire. The government that existed under the Articles of Confederation could do nothing to prevent this bitterness between states.

The United States was so weak at this time, due largely to its form of government, that foreign nations also had little respect for us. They treated us in any manner that suited their fancy. The union between the states was referred to as a "rope of sand."

Good things as well as bad can be said about the Articles of Confederation, however. Our country managed



The United States in 1788

to live through those years even with its lack of power; at the end it was stronger than at the beginning. The problems faced by our government then were such as would have been difficult for any young, small nation, whatever its constitution. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment under the Articles of Confederation was the Northwest Ordinance. This was a

law passed by Congress which determined just how territory west of the Appalachians should be divided into states and provided with government. We shall study the Northwest Ordinance in detail in a later chapter. It was a great step forward in the development of democracy. It provided self-government to westerners while the lands were sparsely settled, and

promised that new states were to be created equal in power to the older states. It also guaranteed to the settlers such fundamental American rights as freedom of religion and trial by jury.

Meanwhile, discontent with the government of the Articles of Confederation was growing. As early as 1784 Washington wrote, "I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving on crutches and tottering at every step." Our weak government was not respected, either at home or aboard. People who had feared giving the national government too much power were gradually becom-

ing convinced that it did not have enough power. The Shays' rebellion in Massachusetts was only one of the many incidents which demonstrated the need of a stronger national government. [When Washington heard of the Shays' rebellion, he exclaimed, "Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties may be secure, or let us know the worst." It was clear that the Articles of Confederation was not a seaworthy Ship of State. Our nation could not safely sail any farther on its journey into the great unknown Sea of Democracy until our Ship of State was replaced. A new constitution was absolutely necessary.]

THE GOOD SHIP CONSTITUTION

Delegates Meet at Philadelphia

At Washington's suggestion, representatives of Virginia and Maryland met at Mount Vernon in 1785 to settle disputes over navigation on the Potomac River, which separated the two states. It soon appeared, however, that Pennsylvania and Delaware also were interested in this question. Finally all states were invited to send representatives to a conference at Annapolis in 1786. Not many attended. [There it was suggested that a meeting should be held in Philadelphia in 1787 to consider the grave problems facing our nation.] Congress accepted this suggestion and invited all the states to send delegates to such a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

Many of the leading Americans of that day were present at the Phila-

delphia convention. Several of them were experts in making constitutions because of their experiences in framing state governments and in serving under the Articles of Confederation. Chief among the delegates was one of the greatest men of his generation, George Washington of Virginia. He was chosen chairman by the approval of all the members. He sat in a large, carved, high-backed chair on a raised platform. Because of his great dignity and quiet strength he was a commanding figure at the Convention. His influence was very great. When others suggested halfway measures more likely to find public favor, Washington insisted that the delegates face the issue squarely. Rising from his chair and drawing himself to his full height, he solemnly asked, "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us

*Culver Service*

Washington presiding at the Constitutional Convention. What issues do you think the little groups of earnest men are discussing? Can you find Franklin?

raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair.”

The oldest delegate was Benjamin Franklin, who was eighty-one. He used his great influence to smooth over quarrels among the other delegates. To check the fiery emotion of the members, he suggested on one occasion that the meetings should be opened each day with prayer. James Madison had the leading part in framing the new constitution, although only thirty-six years of age. He took an active part in the debates, and his opinions commanded respect. He also kept a diary of the meetings. Alexander Hamilton was only thirty years old, even younger than Madison. His arguments in favor of a strong government influenced the convention greatly, and no one was to work harder than Hamilton to secure the adoption of the new Constitution by the states. James Wilson was also one of the leading delegates.

Some of the nation's leaders did not attend. Among these was Patrick Henry, although he was chosen a delegate by Virginia. He refused to have anything to do with the Philadelphia meeting, saying that he “smelt a rat.” He was afraid that the new government would be too strong and that in time it would take away the liberty of the common people. Another leader who did not attend was Thomas Jefferson, who was abroad, representing our government in France. He was not enthusiastic when reports first reached Paris of the proceedings at Philadelphia. He, too, had fears that the President, aided by the army, might in time become a dictator. In the end, however, he decided that the new government was a glorious achievement.

This meeting at Philadelphia was the most important convention that ever met in the United States. The Articles of Confederation was a fail-

ure, and the eyes of the world were upon us. Would the Convention save the American republic? This time there had to be success, because we could not afford to fail a second time. As Madison said, the task before the delegates was "to decide forever the fate of the Republican Government." Some of the people were already saying that democracy would never work and were wondering who would finally be king. It was a case of "now or never."

Important Decisions

Some of the members wished to patch up the old Ship of State as they had been instructed by their states to do. Other members were determined to forget about the Articles of Confederation entirely and build a new Ship of State. The convention finally decided to make an entirely new constitution. The various members disagreed as to how the new ship should be constructed. No one member was to have his own way entirely. Everyone was forced to give in, at least a little, somewhere. Making the constitution was a hard job during that hot summer of 1787 in Philadelphia. Sentries were placed at the doors of Convention Hall to keep all but members away so that the delegates would not be disturbed. Dirt was spread on the pavement of the street in front to prevent noise.

In general the members desired a stronger national government than that of the Articles of Confederation. How much stronger, they did not agree. Some, such as Alexander Hamilton, wished the new national government to have tremendous power, with a President chosen for life, like a king. He did not have confidence in "the mass of the people who seldom judge or determine right"; he preferred to leave control of the government in the hands of the privileged few. Others had firm faith in democracy. As finally written, the new Constitution greatly increased the power of the national government, but limited it, in the interest of the people's liberty, far more than men like Hamilton desired.

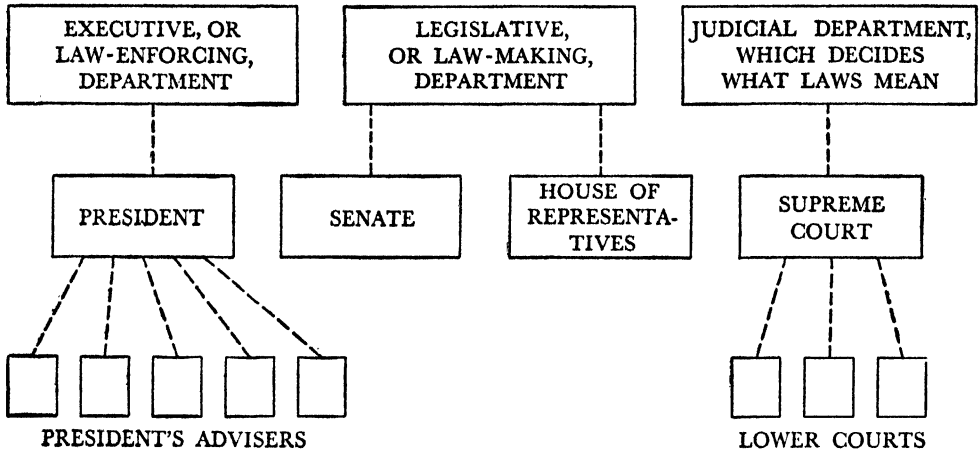
Perhaps the best estimate of the new government was given by Franklin. When the sessions were over, a woman asked him: "Well, Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?" "A republic," he replied, "if you can keep it." What he meant was that we could not take our democracy for granted even though the new Constitution left our government in the hands of the people. It was possible that some individual might take advantage of the great powers given to the national government to make himself king. We should need to be on guard against would-be kings or dictators.

HOW THE SHIP OF STATE WAS CONSTRUCTED

Division of Powers of Government Under the Constitution

The power of the national government was divided into three parts.

First there was a national legislature which could make any laws which were not forbidden by the Constitution. This legislature was to be called Congress and was to consist of two



The three branches of the national government

sections — the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate each state was to have two members. The purpose of allowing all states equal strength in the Senate was to protect the small states from the large. In the House of Representatives the number of members from each state was to depend on its population. Having members according to population would protect the interests of the large states. Second, there was our executive department, which was headed by the President, aided under later laws by such assistants as the Secretary of State, the Postmaster General, and others. The main duty of the executive was to carry out the laws of Congress and make sure the Constitution was obeyed. Third, there was the judicial department, which was made up of the Supreme Court and lower courts. The main duty of the judicial department was to decide how laws apply to particular cases and to determine whether or not they violate the Constitution.

The main purpose in dividing the power of the national government into three parts was to prevent any

one department from becoming so powerful that it might interfere with the liberty of the people. Under our present system each one of the three departments of government acts as a check on the other two, and in turn is checked by them. This way of dividing up the powers of government is called a system of "checks and balances."

One of the chief defects of the Articles of Confederation had been the difficulty of changing its provisions. No changes could be made unless every state was willing, and such general agreement was unusual. To make a constitution that would last it was necessary to have some way to change, or add to, its provisions to meet new conditions as they might arise. The Philadelphia Convention decided that such changes, generally called amendments, could be made in the new Constitution by a vote of three fourths of the states.

The members of the Convention that made the Constitution disagreed among themselves regarding the excellence of their work. Some were very well satisfied with their new ship

of state. Others were not so well pleased. They probably felt as did Luther Martin of Maryland when he exclaimed, "I'll be hanged if ever the people of Maryland agree to it."

The States Accept the Constitution

There were bound to be even greater differences of opinion among the people themselves than existed among the delegates. Not everybody agreed that the Constitution should replace the Articles of Confederation. The people who lived along the seacoast and the river valleys were most anxious to have the new Constitution. A strong central government would prevent the states from quarreling among themselves, would provide money that did not change in value from day to day, and could win much better agreements with foreign nations. All these things would make trade and commerce easier, and business would be more prosperous.

The people who objected most to the new Constitution were the farmers and the pioneers on the frontier. They feared a strong central government; the less government there was the better they liked it. They feared that the new national government would strengthen the well-to-do classes at the expense of the poor, and that it might find some way to prevent the use of cheap paper money which the poor farmers liked. Then too, nothing was said in the new Constitution about free speech, religious liberty, and fair trials. It had been the backwoods sections that had led the fight for human liberty. Was all that had been won with so much difficulty and sacrifice now to be taken away? They could not be certain about it. Most of them did not like

the looks of the new Constitution, and Patrick Henry agreed with them.

The new Constitution was to go into effect as soon as nine states accepted it. There were bitter struggles in most of the states before they approved the Constitution. A majority of the American people were probably opposed, but not all men could vote. New York was the only state which allowed all males to vote for delegates to a state convention which was to decide whether New York would accept or reject the new Constitution. In that state forty-six delegates were elected who were against the Constitution and only nineteen who favored it. In New York, however, and all the other states, a majority of the delegates finally voted to accept the new form of government. One reason for this change in sentiment was the appearance of a number of essays written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in defense of the Constitution. These essays formed a book entitled *Federalist*.

There was a growing conviction that something had to be done to overcome the weakness of the Articles of Confederation. Whatever the objections to the Constitution, it was to be preferred to a Ship of State that had proved itself to be unseaworthy. There was no advantage to be gained by remaining on a sinking ship. Besides, ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were to be added to the Constitution to quiet the fears of those who thought that the government would interfere with personal liberty. This Bill of Rights will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

Slowly but surely the individual states decided to accept the Constitution. The new government was made



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Signing the United States Constitution. Can you identify any of the signers?

certain in June, 1788, when New Hampshire became the ninth state to accept it. Its success was assured when the important states of Virginia and New York also accepted it. Rhode Island, however, did not accept the new Constitution until 1790.

It is always easier to judge the wisdom of our acts afterwards than at the time we do them. In our own day anyone would say that the Constitution was superior to the Articles of Confederation. All Americans are proud of the fine work accomplished at the Philadelphia Convention. One of England's great statesmen called it "the most wonderful work ever struck

off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The great men who made our nation had at last built a ship that was strong enough to survive any gale. The entire nation pinned its faith on the good ship Constitution. Wise old Benjamin Franklin knew that that faith was justified, far back in 1787. Looking at the figure of the sun painted on Washington's chair, he had thought of it in terms of the nation. As the Constitution was being signed, he said that he had been unable to tell whether that sun was rising or setting. "But now," he added, "at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Study Activities

1. *Background for Self-Government.* Review the story of American history prior to 1789 and make a list of all the *experiences in self-government* which the colonists

had had. How did these experiences prepare the people for the task of self-government after their independence was won?

2. *How Many Votes Should a State Have in Congress?* There were many questions to be decided before the independent American people could create a government that would work. "One great question," wrote John Adams just after the Declaration of Independence had been adopted, "is how we shall vote — whether each colony shall have one vote, or whether each shall have weight in proportion to its numbers or wealth, or imports or exports, or a compound ratio of all." What would you think of determining the number of Congressmen each state shall now have on the basis of (a) number of square miles in the state, (b) number of people in the state, (c) amount of wealth in the state, or (d) the amount of the state's trade and commerce with other parts of the Union? How was the question decided under the Articles of Confederation? Under the Constitution?

3. *The Critical Period.* Why is it accurate to refer to the 1780's as "the critical period" in our history?

4. *United States and United Nations.* Under the Articles of Confederation the powers of each state were safeguarded against the central government. Under the charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1945, the powers of the individual nations are safeguarded against the central world organization. Do you think that the nations of the world should all come under one government the way the states did in 1789?

5. *A Court Case about Money.* In the 1780's one of the main troubles was paper money. It was not worth as much as "hard money." By law in some states merchants had to accept paper money in payment of goods, but sometimes they broke the law. There were many court cases about the use of paper money at its "face value." In Providence there was a case against a

man named Weeden, "on information and complaint that he refused Paper Bills in payment for Butcher's Meat, in Market, at Par Specie." He was tried before "the Honorable Superior Court in the County of Newport, September term, 1786." Dramatize the trial, with lawyers presenting the case for and against Weeden. Make certain that the lawyers clearly define paper money (we sometimes call it folding money!), hard money or specie, par value or face value.

6. *A Definition.* What is the origin of the expression "not worth a Continental?" Write a definition of the expression.

7. *The Path to the Constitution.* Outline the last section of the foregoing chapter, showing the steps that led up to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

8. *Dramatic Moments in the Constitutional Convention.* After reading carefully the accounts of the Constitutional Convention, prepare a series of brief dramatic scenes which describe the most important moments of the Convention.

9. *Signers of the Constitution.* Fifty-five men participated in the Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. What they said and did that summer has influenced American life ever since. Study the following list, which gives the names of these men, the states they represented, and whether they signed the Constitution. Then answer the questions following the list.

		Signed	
Name	State	Constitution?	
Baldwin, Abraham	Georgia	Yes	
Bassett, Richard	Delaware	Yes	
Bedford, Gunning	Delaware	Yes	
Blair, John	Virginia	Yes	
Blount, William	North Carolina	Yes	
Brearley, David	New Jersey	Yes	
Broom, Jacob	Delaware	Yes	
Butler, Pierce	South Carolina	Yes	
Carroll, Daniel	Maryland	Yes	
Clymer, George	Pennsylvania	Yes	
Davie, William R.	North Carolina	No	
Dayton, Jonathan	New Jersey	Yes	

112 COLONISTS IN THE AMERICAS FORM NEW NATIONS

Name	State	Signed Constitution?	Name	State	Signed Constitution?
Dickenson, John	Delaware	Yes	Washington, George	Virginia	Yes
Ellsworth, Oliver	Connecticut	No	Williamson, Hugh	North Carolina	Yes
Few, William	Georgia	Yes	Wilson, James	Pennsylvania	Yes
Fitzsimmons, Thomas	Pennsylvania	Yes	Wythe, George	Virginia	No
Franklin, Benjamin	Pennsylvania	Yes	Yates, Robert	New York	No
Gerry, Elbridge	Massachusetts	No			
Gilman, Nicholas	New Hampshire	Yes			
Gorham, Nathaniel	Massachusetts	Yes			
Hamilton, Alexander	New York	Yes			
Houston, William	Georgia	No			
Houston, William C.	New Jersey	No			
Ingersoll, Jared	Pennsylvania	Yes			
Janifer, Daniel of					
St. Thomas	Maryland	Yes			
Johnson, William S.	Connecticut	Yes			
King, Rufus	Massachusetts	Yes			
Langdon, John	New Hampshire	Yes			
Lansing, John	New York	No			
Livingston, William	New Jersey	Yes			
Madison, James	Virginia	Yes			
Martin, Luther	Maryland	No			
Martin, Alexander	North Carolina	No			
Mason, George	Virginia	No			
McClurg, James	Virginia	No			
McHenry, James	Maryland	Yes			
Mercer, James F.	Maryland	No			
Mifflin, Thomas	Pennsylvania	Yes			
Morris, Gouverneur	Pennsylvania	Yes			
Morris, Robert	Pennsylvania	Yes			
Paterson, William	New Jersey	Yes			
Pierce, William	Georgia	No			
Pinckney, Charles	South Carolina	Yes			
Pinckney, Charles C.	South Carolina	Yes			
Randolph, Edmund	Virginia	No			
Read, George	Delaware	Yes			
Rutledge, John	South Carolina	Yes			
Sherman, Roger	Connecticut	Yes			
Spaight, Richard D.	North Carolina	Yes			
Strong, Caleb	Massachusetts	No			

How many of these men have you heard about earlier in your study of history? How many signed the Constitution? How many refused? Were they unpatriotic in refusing?

From what states did all the delegates sign? From what states did a majority not sign? What percentage of the Northern delegates and what percentage of the Southern delegates signed? How many from the big states and how many from the little states signed?

What members of the Convention were most important in its discussions? What members were especially helpful in securing ratification of the Constitution?

10. A Modern Constitutional Convention.

If a Constitutional Convention were held in the United States today how would it differ from that of 1787? Where would you vote to hold such a convention today? Do you think 55 people would be enough to represent the people of the country? If a convention were held, would there be women as well as men in it today? How would modern radio, telephone, press, motion pictures, and education affect a Convention today?

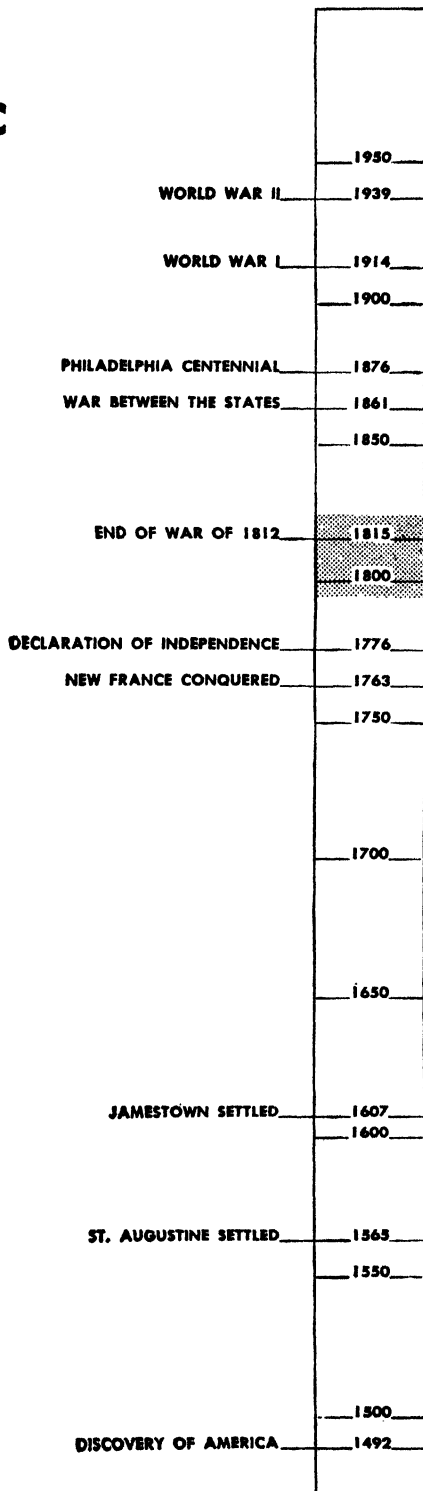
CHAPTER 7

THE YOUNG REPUBLIC MAINTAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE

1823 MONROE DOCTRINE
1815 END OF WAR OF 1812
1807 EMBARGO ACT
1803 LOUISIANA PURCHASE
1795 IMPORTANT TREATIES

"The American continents . . . are
henceforth not to be considered as
subjects for future colonization by any
European powers."

James Monroe



EARNING THE RESPECT OF OTHER NATIONS

A Critical Period

During the years just after the Revolution, it was not at all certain whether the new nation could continue to exist. As shown in Chapter 6, the new states were engaged in quarrels among themselves and paid but little attention to laws passed by Congress. The weak, new nation had to find some way to solve many serious problems. If it failed it might not survive. The difficult years which followed the Revolution are often called the "Critical Period" of our history.

Our government was so weak that foreign nations did not have much respect for it. When we tried to make a trade treaty with England, we were asked with sarcasm whether thirteen treaties should be made or one. We were unable to pay even the interest on money which Dutch bankers had loaned to us. Pirates on the African shore of the Mediterranean plundered American ships at will. Americans who had settled west of the Appalachians had to pay duties to the Spanish in New Orleans when they sent their produce down the Mississippi River to market.

Thus although the new America had succeeded in obtaining its independence, there was considerable doubt whether our country would manage to keep what it had won. In comparison with European nations, we were so weak that Jefferson wrote from France, "We are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe." The infant republic could not

become much stronger abroad until it put its own house in order, as it did by adopting the new Constitution in 1788. Under it, the first Presidents and Congresses used their power wisely and did much to establish the reputation of the United States in the eyes of other nations. Even then, however, the good reputation of the new nation could not be won all at once; it had to be earned.

The new Constitution went into effect in 1789. In that year George Washington became the first President. He held office for eight years, and his record as President, like his record as General of the Revolutionary Armies, was very good. He was succeeded in 1797 by John Adams, a lawyer from Massachusetts who had had much experience in our dealings with several European countries. In 1801 Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, author of the Declaration of Independence, became President. Like Washington, he served two terms. So did James Madison, another lawyer from Virginia, who occupied the White House from 1809 to 1817. Then James Monroe, another Virginian, was President from 1817 to 1825. John Quincy Adams, son of John Adams, was President from 1825 to 1829.

All of these men helped to organize and develop the government of the United States. In this chapter we shall see how they solved some of the problems of our relations with other nations. Fortunately for us, all the men who occupied the White House between 1789 and 1829 were experi-

enced in international relations. Most of them served as Secretary of State before becoming President; most of them had represented the United States as ambassadors abroad.

The Indian Problem

Our first problem was concerned with the western Indian nations. These Indians had become greatly alarmed because of the large numbers of white settlers moving westward across the Appalachians. They had grown bitter as white men had taken their lands and pushed them farther and farther westward. Because of the bitterness of the Indians, no American settlement on the frontier was safe from attack. Indians tried desperately to keep American pioneers from building homes in the territory north of the Ohio River. Thus the first important challenge to our nation's safety came from our own wilderness.

In 1791 our government felt ready to accept that challenge. President Washington sent an army under General Arthur St. Clair to conquer the Indians. The American force, however, was completely surprised one morning just before daybreak and severely whipped. The humiliating defeat of St. Clair encouraged Indians in the southwest also to attack our settlers. Finally in 1794 another American army set out to conquer the Indians. This time it was commanded by General Anthony Wayne, known to the red men as "the Chief who never sleeps." He laid waste the Indian villages, and brought the chieftains to their knees after the great American victory at Fallen Timbers, near the site of the present city of Toledo. As a result the tribes in 1795 signed the Treaty of Greenville which

provided that the lands north of the Ohio were to be United States territory. The peace that followed lasted for sixteen years.

Relations with European Powers

Another important problem facing the new government centered around our relations with Spain. The American settlers on the frontier were bound to the United States by ties of ancestry, nationality, and religion, but geography connected them with the nation that controlled the Mississippi River. The mountain ranges on the east, like a great barrier, shut off trade with the Atlantic coast, while all the rivers flowed toward the Gulf of Mexico. Any nation in possession of the mouth of the Mississippi River was destined to control the lives and well-being of nearly all who built homes between the Appalachian Mountains and the Rockies.

At first Spain, which controlled the mouth of the Mississippi, paid little attention to the United States. Then she changed her policy. In 1795 Spain became afraid that Britain and the United States might become allies and conquer Spanish America. She therefore determined to win the friendship of our government. We had been asking for the right to use the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans without paying duties. In a treaty which Charles Pinckney made for us with Spain in 1795, Spain gave us about all we could ask for. Americans could use the Mississippi without hindrance; American river boats could land at the Spanish port of New Orleans and load their goods on ocean vessels without paying any tax; and the southern boundary of the United States was placed at 31° where we



Wirth, "The Development of America"

New Orleans as it appeared in 1803. The American eagle, a "symbol" in our history, has sometimes been described as an unlovely boaster.

wished. The Pinckney treaty ended one serious menace to the future of the United States. The settlers between the Appalachians and the Mississippi were to be citizens of the United States, not of Spain.

Meanwhile we continued to have trouble with our former mother country. Neither Britain nor the United States had done all that it had agreed to do in the Treaty of Paris. We had not paid our debts. Americans were continually angered by British assistance to Indians who were making attacks on our frontier settlements. Then our anger increased because British captains stopped American ships on the ocean, seized our cargoes, and forced our sailors to serve in the British navy. The British government argued that a man was always a citizen of the country in which he was born and could not be "naturalized" as a citizen of another country. Americans were angered for many years over the highhanded way in which some British captains "im-

pressed" American seamen, claiming that these men were really British citizens. [Dispute over this question, as well as disputes over boundaries and aid to Indians and matters of trade, made relations between Britain and the United States very strained.

Anxious to settle these disputes by peaceful means, Washington sent John Jay to England in 1794 to make a treaty. He returned with the best terms he could obtain, but the most that can be said in favor of the Jay treaty is that it was better than war. Nothing was said about stopping our ships and impressing our sailors. Britain, however, agreed to give up her fur posts around the Great Lakes, and some other points in dispute were to be settled by arbitration. The treaty was very unpopular in this country. Jay was accused of selling out his nation for British gold, while Alexander Hamilton was stoned in the streets of New York when he dared to speak in its favor. Finally, however, our Senate ratified the



The Bettmann Archive

The impressment of American seamen was for a long time an unpleasant memory of our relations with Great Britain. "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," said the British at that time.

treaty, and war with Great Britain was avoided for the time being.

Our chief difficulties, however, were with our former ally, France. In 1778 we had been glad to make a treaty with King Louis XVI; we had won our independence with his help. We had quarreled while making a treaty of peace in 1783. Then in 1789 a great revolution occurred in France. King Louis lost his throne and then his head. Those who condemned him believed in democracy and tried to make France a revolutionary republic. The government of France was continually changing after 1789. To make matters more complicated, France and Britain were at war again.

The new French government pointed to our old treaty of alliance and asked the United States to help her against Britain. In our country there was great difference of opinion concerning what our answer should

be. Many of our citizens hated Britain and were ready to say yes. Many more who loved liberty and hated kings were happy that the French people had established a republic, but hesitated to say yes. Many Americans wanted to be friendly with Britain. Some were filled with horror by the cruelty and bloodshed of the French Revolution. Of most importance, a large group, led by President Washington, thought we should settle our own problems without going to war with any nation.

In order to obtain our aid France sent to the United States an agent named Genest or Genêt (zhě-ně'), who persuaded some Americans to do things that were not neutral. He hired George Rogers Clark to attack Spanish America and even tried to turn the American people against Washington. In this he failed, however, and finally our government

asked France to recall him. Relations between the United States and France became more strained.

Actual war between the United States and France threatened when John Adams was President. We sent agents to France to try to preserve peace but they were greeted by insults. Some French officials said no business could be done until we paid bribes, and until our President should apologize for a speech he had made to Congress. Adams would not submit to these demands, and published them, with the letters "X, Y, and Z" substituted for the names of the officials. Americans became furiously angry over the "XYZ" affair.

Then John Adams learned that France would treat our next ambassadors with more respect. In spite of the popularity of war, he sent new agents to France. They were well received, and made a friendly agreement. Adams's action was not popular, but years later he was still proud of it; he asked to have engraved on his tombstone the statement that "He kept us out of war with France."

Washington's Farewell Advice

Washington's chief purpose in all his dealings with foreign governments was to keep the struggling new nation out of war and to give it time to grow and develop. He would let Europe settle her own quarrels. He wanted the young United States to be free to concern itself with American problems as much as possible. In his

Farewell Address to the American people he strongly advised them "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the world." This advice was accepted by Adams and most of the other Presidents who have followed Washington.

In Washington's day our nation was small and weak. The countries across the sea were much more powerful. Europe was ruled by kings who were jealous of their authority. Certainly they were not anxious to see our tiny republic become a success. The people of America had yet to prove that they were capable of governing themselves. Then, too, when Washington was President, the Atlantic Ocean was not so much an easy path of travel as it was a barrier. Behind it America could feel rather secure against attacks from other continents. The age of the giant ship and the airplane had not yet arrived.

When the new government under the Constitution had gone into effect, disputes with other countries faced us on every hand. By 1800 these quarrels seemed nearly settled. War had been avoided at a time when our greatest need had been peace. A treaty with Spain had opened the mouth of the Mississippi River. A treaty with Britain had prevented one war, and an agreement with France had prevented another. Washington and Adams had wisely won for us the respect of other nations. The future of the United States, however, was still uncertain.

MAINTAINING OUR INDEPENDENCE

As the nineteenth century opened, France and Britain were engaged

in a terrific struggle. Napoleon had made himself the dictator of France

The territory of Louisiana passes under American control. Can you tell whether the flag being raised over New Orleans was "up-to-date" in 1803?



State Museum of Louisiana

and was soon to become Emperor. He and the French armies had overrun much of Europe. The British navy ruled the sea. It became more and more difficult for the United States to continue its policy of neutrality. It is not easy to remain at peace when other nations are at war.

The Louisiana Purchase

Napoleon alarmed us by forcing Spain to give all of the Louisiana territory, including New Orleans, to France. Spain had allowed our settlers free use of the Mississippi River for their commerce after the treaty of 1795, but now the port of New Orleans was closed again. The great number of Americans who had settled west of the Appalachians were once more cut off

from the sea. The furious settlers clamored for war, and organized expeditions to seize New Orleans. President Jefferson was greatly worried over the situation. He knew that the settlers required the use of the Mississippi, but he did not want war. He felt that our nation had little reason to fear Spain as a neighbor, but that New Orleans in the possession of the great French conqueror was a grave danger to the future of the United States. He decided to try to buy New Orleans from France.

It was our good fortune that Napoleon just then was in desperate need of money to fight Great Britain. Moreover, Napoleon's navy had been defeated by the British in the battle of Trafalgar (träf-äl-gär'), in the

ocean southwest of Spain, and he was afraid that the British would seize his American possessions. In that case he would get nothing. He suddenly decided that it was to his advantage to sell Louisiana to the United States. For weeks our agents in France had tried without success to buy the port of New Orleans and the land near by. Now they were suddenly asked, "What would you give for the whole of Louisiana?" Our agents listened in amazement, for Louisiana at that time was an immense territory equal in size to all the United States of that day. Finally it was agreed that the United States would buy all of the Louisiana territory (as shown on the map on page 124) for \$15,000,000. This purchase of land, in 1803, settled disputes over the use of the Mississippi River and made us immensely stronger as a nation. As one of our agents in France remarked, "From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank."

The Louisiana Purchase resulted in a dispute with Spain. Although Louisiana now belonged to the United States, Florida was a possession of Spain. There was considerable doubt regarding the boundary of Florida. The territory between the Mississippi and the present state of Florida was claimed by both Spain and the United States. Finally American officials went into the disputed area and took possession. Spain was angry but made no serious effort to prevent them.

The Road to Another War with Britain

Meanwhile, France and Britain were trying to starve each other out. Britain declared that she would seize

any neutral ships that dared to trade with European ports under Napoleon's rule. Napoleon answered that he would seize any ships that headed for the British Isles or allowed themselves to be searched by the British navy. If we obeyed the rules of either nation we were headed for trouble with the other. Our commerce was large and if it should be driven from the seas there would be hard times in the United States, especially in New England, from whose ports most of the ships sailed.

The first serious trouble arose in 1807 when the British halted an American warship, the *Chesapeake*, on the open ocean and took off four of the crew who were claimed as deserters from the British navy. At the time, the *Chesapeake* was in no condition to defend herself. She was compelled to give in after the British had fired a broadside, killing three Americans and wounding eighteen more. As a result, the entire United States was excited and angry, but Britain would not stop searching our ships and impressing our sailors.

Jefferson considered the situation carefully. Our ships carried an enormous amount of commerce. He did not see how Europe could get along without it. So in December, 1807, he persuaded Congress to pass an Embargo Act which prevented American ships from sailing to foreign ports. Although he disliked to stop profitable trade, he felt that after a short time Britain and France would be forced to leave our ships alone. He knew that the loss of our trade would not be as expensive as the cost of a war. But the embargo did not work; it seemed to harm our own nation more than it harmed France and Britain.

Our merchants lost their profits or became smugglers, our workers were thrown out of jobs, and our farmers saw their markets disappear. Finally, in 1809, the Embargo Act was repealed, and goods were allowed to go to all countries except France and England. Although this was an improvement, the restrictions that remained were harmful to our prosperity. A year later, we allowed ourselves to be tricked by Napoleon. He led us to believe that he was yielding to us, while at the same time he was encouraging us to deal more harshly with Britain. Before President Madison realized what Napoleon was about, we were on the brink of war with the British.

The ships which were stopped and searched were mainly from New England, and the sailors who were impressed came from the same section of the nation, but New England was not anxious to go to war. The Americans who desired war most of all were those who lived on the frontier. They hated the insults to their flag on the high seas, and war would not affect their prosperity. Then in 1811 there occurred a great Indian uprising in the Northwest. An American army led by William Henry Harrison finally defeated the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe (tĭp-ĕ-kā-nōō'). Among the supplies captured by Harrison, according to reports, were British guns and powder. This news made the American frontiersmen more anxious than ever to fight Great Britain.

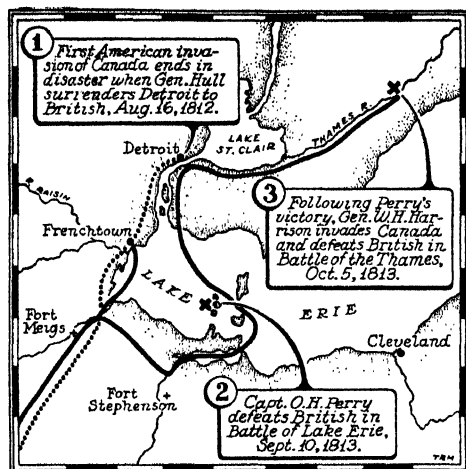
The leaders who represented the frontier in Congress were known as "War Hawks" because they wanted war. Chief among them was a young man from Kentucky named Henry

Clay. Clay was an imposing figure. It has been said that he was always erect, and in debate even more erect. He was tall, yet with his long arms upstretched he seemed even taller. He was kind and friendly by nature and was regarded with deep affection by great numbers of his fellow citizens. He was one of the most influential public speakers in our history. He spoke of wrongs committed by the British, and also declared that it would be easy for United States troops to seize Spanish Florida and British Canada. When Congress finally declared war at the urging of the War Hawks, it was not only to win freedom of the seas but also to obtain more territory.

The War of 1812

Henry Clay's dream of easy conquests turned out to be a nightmare. Part of our nation, especially New England, would not fight. Our troops refused to cross the Canadian border, even to rescue American comrades being destroyed on the other side. Campaigns were poorly planned, and some of our generals behaved in astounding fashion, as when Hull surrendered Detroit to the British without a struggle. Americans would fight in defense of their own homes, but their hearts certainly were not in favor of conquering their neighbor. The Canadians had no desire to become American citizens, and fought bravely to protect their homeland from invasion.

The greatest American successes were won by the navy. Our ships were overwhelmingly outnumbered on the ocean, but they were a continuous annoyance to the British and they won many notable victories in



Battles in and near Lake Erie.

fight between single ships. On Lake Erie, Oliver H. Perry won a great battle over a British fleet in 1813. This success, combined with General Harrison's victory in the Battle of the Thames (tēmz), north of Lake Erie, was a blow to the British in that region. During the same year American troops raided York (later renamed Toronto) and burned the government buildings there.

It was 1814 before the British made their main effort to invade the United States. From the battlefields of Europe came soldiers who had fought against Napoleon. The British prepared to advance southward from Canada by way of the Champlain Valley. They could not go far, however, until their ships had won control of Lake Champlain. In their path waited an American fleet under Thomas Macdonough. On September 11 a short but furious naval battle ended in an American victory. The British troops returned to Canada, and the threat of British invasion from the north vanished.

This 1814 was also the year when the British attacked Washington and

Baltimore. An army of 4,000 soldiers was landed on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. It captured Washington without great difficulty and set fire to the Capitol and the White House. Then a British fleet bombarded Fort McHenry at Baltimore.

On board one of the British ships was a young American prisoner, Francis Scott Key. Throughout the night of September 13 he watched the furious battle between the British warships and the American fort. Would Fort McHenry fall and Baltimore be captured? Key waited anxiously through the darkness, listening to the roar of the guns. Then in the gray of the early dawn he was at last able to see the American flag waving in the breeze. Stirred by the sight before his eyes he wrote the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," our national anthem.

The war with Great Britain was ended by the Treaty of Ghent, signed in December, 1814; but news of it did not arrive until after another important battle had been fought. At the beginning of 1815 an army of American frontiersmen led by Andrew Jackson was victorious over an army of trained British redcoats near New Orleans. In the short space of twenty minutes, the British commander and two thousand of his men fell before the frontier rifles.

The Treaty of Ghent contained no provisions of importance besides ending the war. Nothing was said about the seizure of our ships and sailors. The British, however, had no reason to interfere with our commerce, because Napoleon had been defeated in Europe. We had failed entirely to conquer Canada and Florida as Clay had planned. We had been able,



The Battle of Fort Mifflin. The day after his stirring experience, Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner" appeared as a handbill, and a week later was printed in a Baltimore newspaper.

however, to maintain our independence as a nation. Thus neither the

United States nor Great Britain really won the War of 1812.

MAKING OUR INDEPENDENCE MORE SECURE

Treaties with European Nations

James Monroe became President in 1817. He appointed John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts as Secretary of State, to have charge of foreign affairs. During the eight years in which Monroe and Adams were in office together many agreements were made with other nations. These agreements helped to make the independence of the United States more certain and secure.

In 1817 both Great Britain and the United States pledged themselves not

to keep warships on the Great Lakes. This agreement has been faithfully kept ever since, a period of more than a century and a quarter. In 1818 another treaty was signed which established part of the boundary line between the United States and Canada. From near Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains the boundary was to be the parallel of 49°.

Our relations with our Spanish neighbor on the south were not so pleasant. Runaway slaves from American plantations in Georgia and other near-by states would frequently

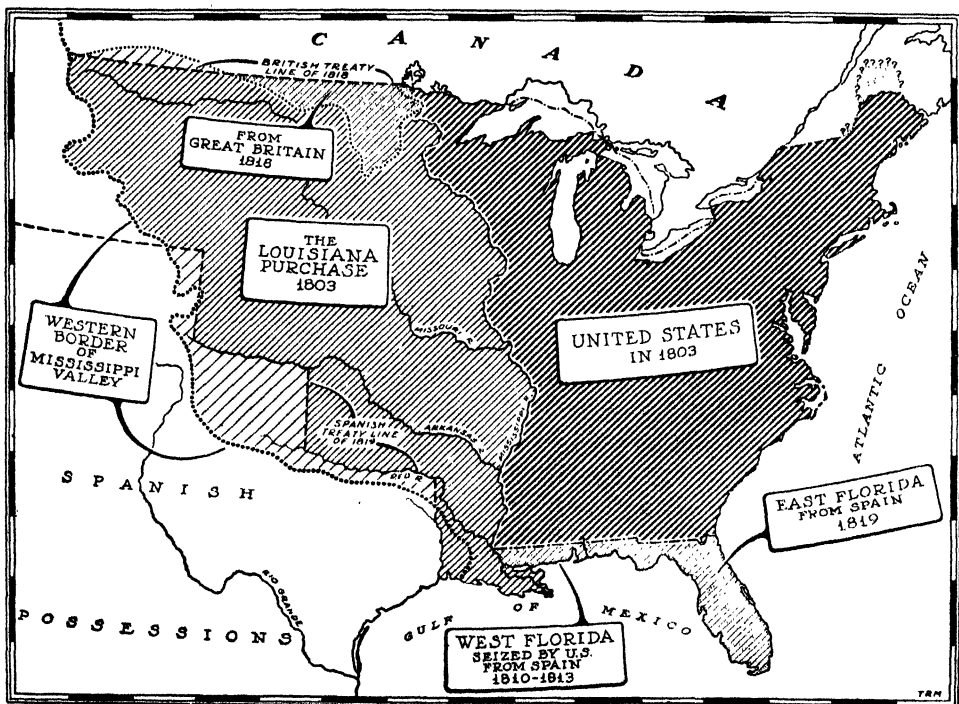
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escape into the swamps of Spanish Florida. There they would sometimes join pirates and Indians in raiding settlements in territory belonging to the United States. Spain did little to prevent such raids. In fact, Spain was really unable to control, or even find, the inhabitants of the swamps. Spain's entire American empire was collapsing and she was in no position to govern or to defend Florida. Spain sold Florida to us in 1819.

At this time, we found ourselves in rivalry with other nations for possession of the Pacific coast. The Spanish claimed not only California which they had long possessed, but also other lands to the north, including what are now the states of Oregon and Washington. Britain claimed all the coast north of California, and Russia also had claims in that general area.

As early as 1792 Captain Robert Gray of Boston had entered the mouth of the Columbia River. In 1803 Jefferson had purchased the Louisiana territory which we thought extended to the Pacific. American explorers led by Lewis and Clark had made their way to Oregon by overland routes. Before the War of 1812 John Jacob Astor had set up the fur-trading post of Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. We felt that the Pacific coast belonged to us.

Many years were to pass before our possession of the Far West was to be finally assured, but Adams did much to strengthen our claims to that section. He made an agreement with Britain whereby the two nations were to have joint control of the "Oregon country." Then he made an agreement with Spain whereby that na-



The United States in 1819.



Handy Studios

The birth of the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe is discussing with his cabinet the message he is planning to send to Congress. Monroe was the last President to wear colonial clothes.

tion gave up all claims north of the parallel of 42°, and we agreed that territory which today includes some of our southwestern states should remain under Spain. Finally in 1824 Adams made a treaty with Russia which limited her claims on the north. When Adams became Secretary of State, our nation was one of the four which claimed the "Oregon country"; when he left office, Britain was the only rival that remained.

The Monroe Doctrine

Meanwhile, the peoples of Latin America had been struggling desperately to throw off the rule of Spain and Portugal, as we shall see in the next chapter. Most of them succeeded in becoming independent while Monroe was President of the United States. Some of them were

establishing republics similar in government to our own nation. Would the kings of Europe allow these infant nations to remain free and independent? Rumors spread across the Atlantic that the kings were making plans to send new armies across the ocean, stamp out liberty, and hand all of Latin America back to Spain and Portugal. There were also rumors that Russia intended to send forces to occupy the Pacific coast of North America.

Both Britain and the United States objected to the conquest of Latin America. If our neighbors on the south were free, Britain could profit from their trade, but if Spain and Portugal won them back, much of that commerce would be lost; so Britain objected for economic reasons. There were some Americans who,

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like Henry Clay, were thrilled by the "spectacle of eighteen million people struggling to burst their chains and to be free," and wanted to help them. Moreover, our nation objected to the plans of Europe's kings because we feared for our own safety. So long as the other American republics should remain independent we were in little danger. The presence, however, of large European armies trying to reconquer them would be a threat to us as well as them.

In 1823 President Monroe, in a message to Congress, declared the policy which has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. It stated once more our intention not to interfere in any way with the nations of the Old World, but its most important provision declared "that we should consider any attempt on their [European powers'] part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety." It meant that if European nations at any time should attempt to get additional territory in the New World we would strive to prevent it.

This was the original Monroe Doctrine. It served to protect us and helped to keep the other American republics free. There have been some occasions when our nation should have followed the Monroe Doctrine but did not do so. Then, too, some of our nation's leaders since 1823 have sought to make the original doctrine into something quite different (Chapter 30).

The Monroe Doctrine was an important milestone, however, in the development of our nation. In 1776, thirteen British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard had declared their independence from their mother country. For a long time thereafter there had been grave doubt whether they would be able to remain independent. Now, in 1823, less than half a century after its birth, the United States felt strong enough to challenge the powers of Europe. After the War of 1812 and the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, there was no longer any doubt that the United States would endure as a free and independent nation.

Study Activities

1. *Presidential Administrations.* List the Presidents of the United States who held office in the period 1789-1829. Under the name of each President list the events of his administration which are discussed in this chapter.

2. *An Explanation.* Why is the period from about 1783 to 1788 often called the "critical period" of our history? Why is the period from 1789 to 1823 called "a critical period in international relations"?

3. *Historical Newspapers.* In a "newspaper history of the United States"

called *News of the Nation*, edited by S. Hoffman and C. H. Sutton for schools (Garden City Publishing Co., 1943), the headlines for the issue of 1783-1787 are "Crisis Grips Nation; Constitution Debated," and "Troops Crush Shays' Revolt." To what do these headlines refer? If possible, secure a copy of *News of the Nation*. Have the class prepare a similar "newspaper," putting in its own selection of events of 1800, 1812, and 1823.

4. *An Outline.* Prepare an information outline for the section on "Earning the

Respect of Other Nations," on pages 114-118 of this chapter.

5. Important Treaties. Construct a chart having four vertical columns. In the first column list all the treaties with other nations which are discussed in this chapter. In the second column give the date each treaty was ratified. In the third column list the arguments made against each treaty, and in the fourth list the arguments in favor of it.

6. The Farewell Address. Washington's "Farewell Address" is sometimes referred to as "the cornerstone of American foreign policy." In the "Address" Washington wrote: ". . . observe good faith and justice toward all nations . . . the great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political relations as possible. . . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. . . . We may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies." Was this a wise policy for the time it was written? Would it be a wise policy for the United States today?

7. Adams and Peace with France. At the time of the XYZ affair, war fever was high against France in the United States. Alexander Hamilton wanted to lead an army against France, and the fleet was ready to fight. As long as President Adams spoke against France he was popular—more popular than he had ever been before. Yet Adams refused to ask Congress to declare war. He believed in peace, and found a peaceful means to solve the immediate problem. He lost his popularity; his party turned against him; he was not re-elected. Yet he was proud of his record, and asked to have carved on his tombstone "He kept us out of war with

France." In class, discuss Adams's action and decide whether he was right.

8. Book Reports. A member of the class should read and report on L. E. Richards, *Abigail Adams and Her Times* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931). Another interesting book is R. S. Holland, *Freedom's Flag: the Story of Francis Scott Key* (Macrae Smith Co., 1943).

9. The Jeffersonian Embargo: Pro and Con. Divide the class into two groups. One group should draw cartoons and posters against Jefferson's embargo plan, and the other group should draw cartoons and posters defending Jefferson's plan. Arrange an exhibit and "picture debate" of the best drawings.

10. The War of 1812. (a) Make a list of the reasons why the United States entered the War of 1812. (b) What were the most significant events of the War of 1812? Did the war settle the questions which had started it? (c) Secure a copy of George Brown's *History of Canada* (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1943), an excellent textbook used in many Canadian schools; compare the account of the War of 1812 given there with the account found in several United States history textbooks.

11. Growth of the United States. Construct maps of the United States as it existed in 1789 and also as it existed in 1825. For help in making your maps study carefully the maps on pages 104 and 124. What territories had been added? Be able to tell how each addition was made.

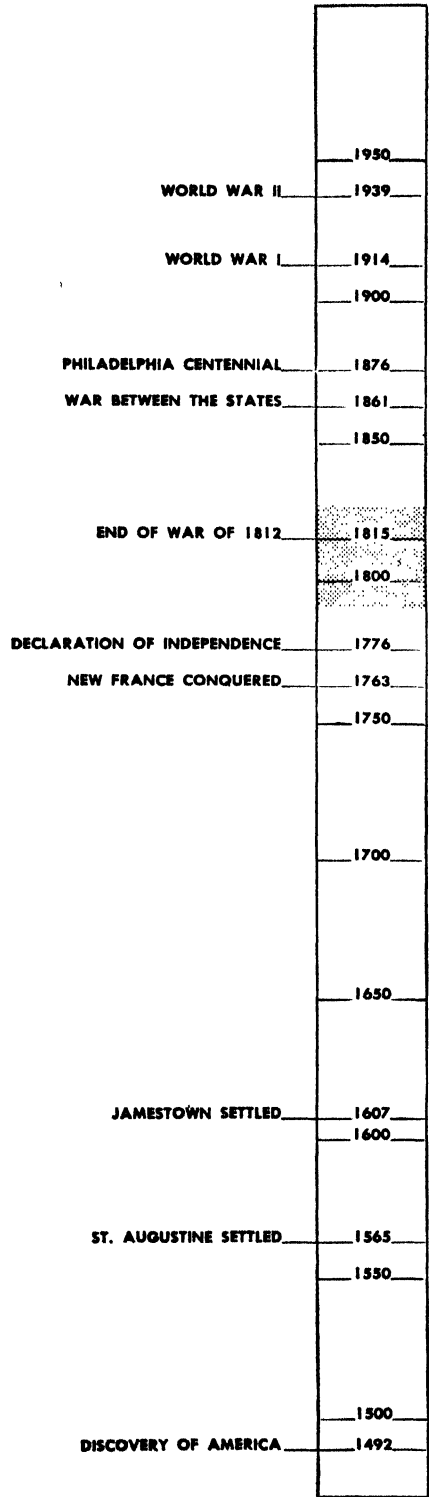
12. The Monroe Doctrine. Make a drawing or series of drawings illustrating the meaning and importance of the Monroe Doctrine. Is it justifiable to refer to the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 as a "second Declaration of Independence"? Explain.

CHAPTER 8

THE BIRTH OF SISTER
REPUBLICS

- 1826 PANAMA CONFERENCE
- 1825 ALL SPANISH AMERICAN COUNTRIES FREE
- 1822 BRAZILIAN INDEPENDENCE IS WON
- 1810 ARGENTINE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE BEGINS
- 1791 HAITIAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE BEGINS

"The sun never shone on a cause of
greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a
city, a county, a province, or a
kingdom; but of a continent."
Thomas Paine



A LONG UPHILL STRUGGLE

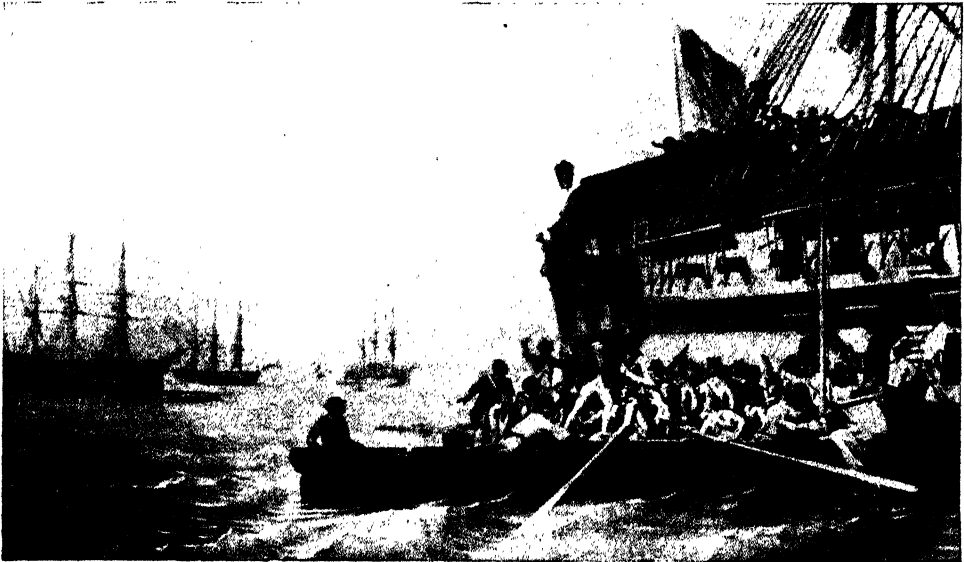
The Revolutionary War by which the United States won its independence was the first of a whole series of revolutions which separated most of the Americas from Europe. During the early years of our own nation the colonies of Spain, Portugal, and France were fighting for their independence. As we have seen, many of the international problems of the United States were influenced by events in Latin America. The story of the establishment of all the American republics is closely related to our own history. Our relations with these American neighbors have been important throughout our history.

The First Successful Revolts

The first successful American revolt against European control, after our

own, occurred in the island of Hispaniola — often called Haiti (hā'tī), — part of which belonged to France. There, in 1791, a hundred thousand slaves rose against their masters. They were led by Toussaint l'Ouverture (tōō-săn' lōō-vēr-tür'), a man of extraordinary ability. Several years of warfare and bloodshed followed, but the result was a success. It appeared that Toussaint had overcome all obstacles and established the independent Negro nation of Haiti.

In 1799, however, when Napoleon Bonaparte gained control of the government of France, he decided to put down the revolutionary government of Haiti. He sent an army of twenty thousand men to defeat Toussaint and to restore slavery. Toussaint was captured by treachery and sent to



Schoenfeld Collection, from Three Lions

A Haitian insurrection of 1791. The revolutionists here are being repelled, but they were successful in later engagements.

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Revolts and Revolutions in Latin America.

France, where he died in 1803, but his followers were never conquered. The Negroes fought with great heroism. Yellow fever killed large numbers of French troops. Finally Napoleon was forced to order his whipped army home; and the independent nation founded by Toussaint continued to exist. These events had an important effect on the history of the United States. With the loss of the French army in Haiti, Louisiana was left undefended against Britain. It was partly for this reason that

Napoleon was willing to sell Louisiana to the United States.

The next revolt to achieve success began in 1810 in the Plata region that is now part of Argentina. Here, as elsewhere in Latin America, there had been much grumbling because of the way in which Spain had regulated trade and business. Here the men who had come from Spain were becoming Spanish Americans instead of Europeans, just as in our land our English ancestors had gradually become Americans instead of Euro-

*Brown Brothers*

Signing the Venezuelan Declaration of Independence. Venezuela was the first South American colony to declare itself free from Spain (July 14, 1811).

peans. Here, as elsewhere in Spain's possessions in America, there seemed less reason to remain tied to the mother country after news arrived that Spain had been conquered by the French emperor, Napoleon. There were at least two good reasons why the Spaniards in Argentina set up a separate government before independence came elsewhere in Spain's possessions. One important reason was that the Spanish living in the Plata region of Argentina already had more self-government than did other Spanish colonists. In their centers of local government, they managed many of their own affairs. They enjoyed the liberty they possessed; they wanted more. The second important reason why independence came early in Argentina was Mariano Moreno (mā-rê-ä'nō mō-rā'nō). He believed completely in democracy; and, like Thomas Paine in our own country,

he was able to influence deeply the minds of his fellow citizens. On May 25, 1810, a new form of government for part of the Plata region now in Argentina resulted from his tireless effort. Although this government remained weak for several years and did not actually achieve independence until 1816, Moreno's work made that independence possible. Meanwhile, Paraguay had won her independence with little difficulty in 1813.

Early Revolts That Failed

Elsewhere there were revolts that met with little success. As a rule, they collapsed speedily and their leaders were executed. Revolutionists facing death found consolation in hopes for the future. Murillo (mōō-rēl'yō), the leader of an unsuccessful revolt in Bolivia in 1806, could exclaim with considerable truth: "I die; but the

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torch which I have lighted no one will be able to extinguish.”

The most famous of the unsuccessful leaders was Francisco Miranda (mẽ-răn'dä), a great Venezuelan patriot. Much of his life was devoted to the task of freeing his fellow Americans from Spanish rule. In 1811 and 1812, it seemed that he might succeed in Venezuela, but his efforts were doomed to failure. At a time when both sides were struggling desperately, an earthquake destroyed cities held by Miranda's troops and failed to harm those held by the enemy. The revolt collapsed. Miranda, himself, was carried away to Spain, a prisoner.

In 1810 an important revolt occurred in Mexico. The leader was a sixty-year-old priest named Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (mẽ-gěł' ě-däl'gō ě kōs-tě'yä). He, like many other revolutionists in America, had read the books of French writers. He, like so many others, had been greatly influenced by their idea that all men should be free and equal. Hidalgo was deeply concerned with the wel-

fare of the Indians. He organized a small force, and marched toward the capital to fight the Spaniards. So many people joined him that when he arrived near Mexico City he had eighty thousand followers. A terrific battle took place. Fortune frowned on the rebels, however, as in Venezuela. Just as cries of victory were arising from patriot lips, an explosion set fire to the grass in the field around Hidalgo's position. Soon flames and smoke spread toward his troops so that they were compelled to flee. A terrible butchery followed. The heads of Hidalgo and his leading officers were cut off and placed in iron cages for the people to see as a warning against further revolt.

Revolutions against the rule of Spain occurred in other lands, but the only parts of Latin America that had succeeded in winning their independence by 1816 were Haiti, Paraguay, and the Argentine province of La Plata around Buenos Aires. Until 1816 the fight for freedom in Central and South America had been a long uphill struggle.

INDEPENDENCE IS WON

The desire for freedom grew stronger all the time even though most of the revolts had been failures. No Spanish official knew just where it would suddenly flare up next. Dreams of liberty were in the hearts of men in all America. Leaders were arising whose lives were to shine like beacons through tyranny's gloom.

The "Liberator of the South"

One of the brightest beacons was José de San Martín (hō-sä' dā sãn

mär-těn'), the "Liberator of the South." He was born in a village on the Argentine frontier. Although he spent most of his life in Spain and served in the king's army for twenty years, he became deeply interested in the independence of Spanish America. He returned to Buenos Aires in 1812 and soon began to train an army to free Chile and Peru. He was then only thirty-four years old.

San Martín was an unusual character. He had no interest in winning

glory or power for himself. Nor did he have much faith in the ability of common people to rule. He preferred that the new countries in South America should be ruled by European princes. He made no effort to win friends; he was cold and distant, and no one felt drawn to him. No one, however, could turn him from his main purpose, which was to throw off the rule of Spain. In his black eyes there was sincerity, and in his long chin there was determination. His faith was a safe, sure rock upon which those who desired independence could stand.

San Martín realized that the future of Argentina was uncertain so long as Chile and Peru remained in the possession of Spain. In 1817 he set out to invade Chile. More than 9000 mules and 1600 horses were required to carry his supplies over the Andes Mountains. His army numbered less than four thousand. Day

after day his soldiers climbed up the rocky slopes of the mountains, making their own roads as they climbed. They tugged their heavy equipment upward to passes that were 12,500 feet above sea level. They crossed the mountains in three sections over trails so narrow that the men had to go in single file. Scores of the soldiers died, and half of the animals perished, but finally the troops who survived found their way out of the mountains into Chile. The Spaniards were confused and surprised because the invaders had come by more than one pass. At Chacabuco (chä-kä-bōō'kō), San Martín and his army won a great victory. The invaders then entered Santiago in triumph. San Martín was offered the privilege of ruling Chile, but he declined. Bernardo O'Higgins, a Chilean leader who had been working for independence for many years, was made ruler.

San Martín next attempted to free



The Belmann Archive

The battle of Chacabuco. After the amazing march up the Andes, the Argentinian General San Martín and the Chilean O'Higgins defeated the Spanish forces and thus freed Chile.

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Peru, with the support of both Argentina and Chile. Peru was difficult for an army to reach, however. San Martín needed a fleet to carry his troops northward. Not until 1820 were the required ships assembled under the command of Lord Cochrane (kŏk'răn), a former British naval officer. Even then progress up the coast was slow, and more than a year passed before Cochrane's fleet captured Callao (käl-yä'ô), the port of Lima. Meanwhile, San Martín had been landed below Callao and had gone overland to Lima, the capital, which he had entered at the invitation of its inhabitants. He had convinced the people of Peru that he had no desire to conquer them, and that his only interest was to free them from Spanish rule. Week after week the Spanish authorities had become less powerful until they finally had fled. Peru declared her independence from Spain on July 28, 1821.

The "Liberator of the North"

While San Martín was earning his title of "Liberator of the South," Simon Bolivar (bŏl'ĭ-vēr)¹ was becoming known as the "Liberator of the North." Like San Martín, he was a fine patriot of great courage and ability. Bolivar was born in Venezuela, of wealthy parents. At the age of fifteen he went to Europe, where he lived for a few years in extravagant fashion. Meanwhile he became strongly influenced by the French writers who wrote in behalf of liberty. In 1805 he took an oath to devote his life to freeing America from the rule of Spain.

Like Napoleon, he was a small

¹ The Spanish form of this name is Bolívar, pronounced bô-lē'văr.

man, being only five feet six inches tall. He was not handsome. His face was oval-shaped and tapered toward his chin, and he had a long nose and heavy lips. Whiskers covered most of his face. He had impressive eyes, and his look was like the glance of an eagle. By many he was referred to as the "Eagle."

Bolivar was a great leader of armies, and a great thinker and student as well. He seemed to be able to do all things well. While moving across mountain ranges or through jungles at a speed which would have killed most men, he would at the same time be thinking about other campaigns, planning the creation of nations, drawing up constitutions, thrilling men with his powers of speech, carrying on literary discussions, and attending to a great mass of details. The darker the clouds, the greater his strength, for he was most dangerous when he was apparently cornered. Although he was born rich, Bolivar died poor, having spent a fortune that South America might be free.

Unlike San Martín, Bolivar was loved at the same time that he was feared. Unlike San Martín, also, he was proud and very ambitious for power. And while San Martín dreamed of the new nations being ruled by European princes, Bolivar looked forward to the day when all of South America would be one vast republic, probably with himself as president. The Argentine patriot was interested in independence, not democracy, while the Venezuelan patriot was interested in both independence and democracy.

Bolivar had been connected with revolts before 1816 and had taken

San Martín and Bolívar, the two great leaders of South America's revolutions against Spain, met in Ecuador in July, 1822, after which San Martín retired from fighting. Does this striking picture of their meeting bear out the description of the two South American heroes on pages 132-136?



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part in Miranda's attempt to free Venezuela, but his great successes were won after that date. In that year he returned to the land of his birth and organized an army which included English, Irish, and German as well as Spanish and Indian volunteers; and by 1819 he was ready to begin his conquests. The patriots made their way across the flooded plains of the Orinoco. Then tired, cold, and tattered, they struggled over the snowy crests of the Andes into Colombia. Under the leadership of Bolívar and a great Colombian general, Francisco de Paula Santander (frán-sēs'kō dā pou'lā sän-tän-dâr'), the invaders won a glorious

victory at Boyacá (bō-yä-kä') on August 7, 1819. Three days later the army marched into Bogotá, the capital. At Bolívar's suggestion Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador were to be one nation called the Republic of Great Colombia. Independence was not assured, however. The Venezuelan part was not completely freed until June 24, 1821, when another victory was won at Carabobo (kā-rä-bō'bō). The battle of Carabobo was to Venezuela what Boyacá had been to Colombia and what Yorktown had been to the United States.

Meanwhile Antonio José de Sucre (än-tō'nyō hō-sä' dā sōō'krä), the

greatest of Bolivar's generals, had begun the conquest of Ecuador, which he finally succeeded in adding to the growing Republic of Great Colombia. The victors entered Quito (ké'tō) on May 25, 1822.

During the summer that followed, San Martín and Bolivar met at Guayaquil (gwī-ä-kél'), in Ecuador. Here the two "liberators" held three interviews behind closed doors. No one will ever know what was said. San Martín became convinced, however, that "Peru is not big enough to hold Bolivar and me." Most of Spanish America was already free. It seemed to San Martín that his task was practically done. There was nothing left to do but what Bolivar could do alone. Having no desire to increase his own personal glory, San Martín decided to withdraw from the struggle. Soon afterwards the great Argentine patriot sailed to Europe, where he lived in exile until his death in 1850.

The chief Spanish stronghold remaining in South America was Peru, which San Martín had entered but had not conquered. The conquest of Peru, however, was not an easy task, two and half years being required to complete it. On December 9, 1824, the decisive battle of Ayacucho (ī-yä-kōō'chō), high up in the Andes, 11,600 feet above sea level, was won by Sucre, who, despite being greatly outnumbered, overwhelmed the Spanish forces. In 1825 Sucre invaded southeastern Peru and defeated the last Spanish army in South America. Here he created a republic which he called Bolívar but which later changed its name to Bolivia. Sucre became its first president, and its capital city was named after him.

In 1825, Bolivar was at the peak of his career, but now that independence had been gained, his power soon began to decline. He was not successful in welding the liberated regions into a strong nation. The Latin-American nations had their "critical period" just as we had had. The United States had undergone years of bitterness, stubbornness, and rivalry between the various states before union was successful. The revolutions of Latin America won independence from Europe, but union of the various Latin-American states was never successful. For many years there were conflicts among the newly established Latin-American governments themselves. Bolivar became a bitterly disappointed man. His officers revolted and tried to kill him. The nations he had set free cast him aside. Men laughed at his plans and criticized his ambitions. When he died in 1830, he was certain that his life had been a failure, declaring, "He who dedicates his services to revolution, plows the sea." Today, however, he is regarded along with Washington as one of the great men of the Western world.

Other Independence Movements

Meanwhile Portugal's great empire in America had also become independent. In 1807, when Napoleon invaded Portugal, its ruler, Dom John, fled to Brazil. He remained there until 1821, although he had become King John VI in 1816, when Napoleon was forced out of Portugal.

When he returned to Portugal, King John VI found that the mother country was controlled by people who were anxious to take away some of the freedom which Brazilians possessed. On the American side of the

Atlantic, however, the desire for independence was growing rapidly. Soon there was revolt, this time led by King John's own son, Dom Pedro, who on September 7, 1822, stripped all Portuguese emblems from his uniform, shouting: "It is time! Independence or death! We are separated from Portugal!" Brazil declared her independence and within a month Dom Pedro became Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil. In 1823 a constitution was made under which a government was formed similar to Britain's. Thus, without a full-fledged war, was born the nation of the largest size in the New World. Furthermore, the new government proved to be strong. There were no important revolutions in Brazil until 1889, two thirds of a century later.

In Mexico, as well as Brazil, revolts resulted in independence but not democracy. The two leaders were Vicente Guerrero (vē-sĕn'tā gĕr-rā'rō), who led the remnants of Hidalgo's former army (page 132), and Agustín de Iturbide (ä-gōōs-tĕn' dā ē-tōōr-be'thā), who had been a cruel and bitter foe of the rebels. These two leaders had a conference and came to an agreement with the result that Spanish rule was overthrown rather easily. Mexican independence was won in 1821, exactly three hundred years after Cortez and his Spaniards had conquered Montezuma. It was not a victory for democracy, because certain privileged classes remained in control of

the government. Instead of a Spanish king across the sea, the Mexicans now had a new emperor, Iturbide.

During the same year, 1821, Guatemala declared its independence and won it without a battle. At that time Guatemala included all of Central America north of Panama. In 1821 also the eastern part of the island of Hispaniola declared its independence from Haiti and for a time was called Santo Domingo. It did not succeed in maintaining its independence until 1844, after which it was called the Dominican Republic.

If we compare the revolutions in Latin America with our own, there are great contrasts. Our success was attained by united effort under Washington; their success was won by the armies of various generals operating independently of one another. In Central and South America, the obstacles of geography were much the greater. The land was of tremendous size, and included difficult mountain ranges, treacherous jungles, and great deserts. It is a question whether the United States could have become independent without the aid of France, and our neighbors in Latin America had no allies upon whom they could depend. Their revolutions lasted from 1810 to 1825, more than twice as long as our own, and resulted in much greater expense and loss of life. It is only after making all these comparisons that we can really appreciate what was accomplished in the name of freedom in Latin America.

CO-OPERATION AMONG AMERICAN NATIONS

In the minds of Americans of all nations, the New World differed from

the Old. The new countries had much in common. They all, at one

time or another, had been colonies belonging to European nations; they all had declared their independence from their mother lands; most of them had set up a republican form of government, and all of them were finally to be republics; and throughout all America, democracy had made great gains.

But how far would the American nations go together? Would they find some way to co-operate? Would they unite to form a common destiny? Or would each nation seek to find its way alone?

The Beginning of Pan-Americanism

The movement to increase co-operation among the nations of the New World is known as Pan-Americanism. Since the beginning of the struggle for independence in South and Central America, most of the leaders had favored the idea of American unity. In 1797 Miranda founded a political society in London called "The Great American Union." As early as 1810 Bolivar suggested the forming of a Spanish-American League of Nations. The ideas and aims of some Latin Americans were clearly stated by Pedro Gual (pā'drō gōō-äl') of Colombia when he recommended "that the American states ally and confederate themselves perpetually, in peace and in war, to consolidate their freedom and independence." Even in the United States there were a few voices raised in favor of co-operation. Henry Clay suggested "a human freedom league," extending from Hudson Bay to the southern tip of South America.

Simon Bolivar desired greater unity among the American nations. In 1815 he declared: "I desire more than

anybody else to see the formation in America of the greatest nation in the world, not so much as to its extension and wealth as to its glory and freedom." In 1818, he continued to dream of a united America which was to be "Queen of the Nations and Mother of Republics." In 1822 and 1823, Great Colombia made treaties with Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Mexico — treaties of "Perpetual Union, League, and Confederation." Finally Bolivar called a great congress of American nations to meet at Panama in 1826 to complete plans for co-operation.

At first, the United States was not invited to the conference at Panama. Bolivar was somewhat afraid of our country and its growing power. Besides, he feared that if Latin America became too friendly with the United States, Britain would be offended. He preferred not to injure British pride, because the British navy might be needed to keep the new nations independent. He had no desire to bar us, however. When we were finally invited to the conference, he wrote: "I am glad that the United States sends delegates to the Isthmus, be it as it may."

Britain was very much interested in the type of league that might be formed at Panama. She favored a union of Latin-American nations, especially one that would be under British influence and protection. She was very much opposed, however, to the United States being a member. Britain and the United States were rivals for the trade of Central and South America. They had recently been at war with each other and both were now trying to win possession of Oregon. Britain felt that the United



The Panama Congress of American Nations met in 1826, more than half a century before the Pan American Union was finally formed.

States desired a league that would be completely under our control, and feared that her trade would suffer. She had a representative at Panama while the Congress was in session, and did what she could to decrease our influence in Latin-American affairs.

So far as the United States was concerned, our nation had but little interest in the Panama Congress. In 1826 we were absorbed in other affairs. John Quincy Adams was President and Henry Clay was Secretary of State. Clay was in favor of attending, and dreamed of a league under the leadership of the United States, but he found little support. Adams was willing to send delegates to the Congress, but he felt that it was better to keep the other American nations separated and weak. He cer-

tainly did not wish to see his own nation become involved in the affairs of our neighbors. We had no desire to control this hemisphere to shut off British trade. Our chief fear was that Britain might get such a strangle hold on South American commerce that our neighbors would be controlled from London. Our nation was too busily engaged in settling our own West, building factories, and running plantations to become greatly interested in Bolivar's dream of a united Western Hemisphere. The United States Senate finally approved sending agents to Panama, and two actually started. One died on the way, however, and the other failed to arrive before the Congress ended.

Brazil, Argentina, and Chile sent no delegates to Panama, for various

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reasons, although they approved the purpose of the meeting. Those nations which actually did attend were Great Colombia (including what are now Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, and Ecuador), Central America (including Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador), Mexico, and Peru.

Results of the Panama Conference

The most important accomplishment of the Congress was a Treaty of Perpetual Union, League, and Confederation. All American nations signing the treaty were to join together to guarantee the independence of each, to protect each other against foreign invasion, and to secure everlasting peace in this hemisphere. An army was to be formed to defend

America against all enemies. No nation could go to war without consulting its neighbors, nor could it make a separate peace. Disputes between American nations were to be settled by peaceful means.

Unfortunately, however, this treaty never became effective. Of the four nations present at Panama, Great Colombia was the only one that even partly approved of the work done there. Each nation had its own ambitions and dreams of future greatness. Generally there was as yet too much selfishness to join together in a common cause. So Bolivar's great dream was at first a failure; but in time it was to come closer to realization, first in the Pan-American Union and then in the organization of the United Nations.

A BACKWARD LOOK

Great changes had come over the American continents in the years between 1492 and 1826. Competing nations of Europe had tried to gain possessions in the Western world. Sweden was driven out by Holland; the Dutch possessions in North America were taken over by the English, and some of those in South America were taken by the Portuguese. By 1763 France had lost all her lands in North America except two small islands off the Canadian coast. Twenty years later the Americans themselves drove the forces of Britain out of the thirteen colonies, and established a new nation, the United States. By 1822 Spanish Americans and Portuguese Americans had severed the ties that bound them to their mother lands.

The American peoples had established American nations. European traditions, languages, manners, culture still existed on American land, but the American peoples, after struggle and sacrifice, were on their own.

In 1826 the various American nations were too deeply absorbed in their own growth and development to think of working together. Co-operation among them was not extensive. But their relations with one another have been a part of the history of each of them; the need for co-operation steadily become more obvious. The unsuccessful Pan-American Conference at Panama in 1826 tried to deal with problems which American statesmen were considering very carefully a century and more later.

Study Activities

1. A Class Map of Latin America. As a class project make a large wall map of the Americas south of the Rio Grande. Indicate on the map in colors the present-day countries and chief cities of Latin America. Be able to locate on the map the chief events described in Chapter 8. On each country write the date on which it became an independent nation. For help with the map, see the map on page 130, and maps in your geographies. For good accounts of Latin America, see:

Brown, Bailey and Haring, *Our Latin American Neighbors* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1944)

Frances Carpenter, *Our South American Neighbors* (American Book Company, 1942)

Inman and Castañeda, *A History of Latin America for Schools* (The Macmillan Company, 1944)

Rippy and Perrigo, *Latin America: Its History and Culture* (Ginn and Company, 1944)

2. Great Leaders in Latin America. Be able to write sentence biographies of Toussaint l'Ouverture, Mariano Moreno, Francisco Miranda, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, José de San Martín, Bernardo O'Higgins, Simon Bolivar. Francisco de Paula Santander, Antonio José de Sucre, Dom Pedro I, and Agustín de Iturbide. See who can write the most accurate and descriptive sentence about each person. Make certain that you are pronouncing each name as it should be pronounced.

3. Comparing Washington and Bolivar. George Washington was a wealthy Virginia planter; Simon Bolivar was the son of a wealthy Venezuelan. Each was the liberator of his country; each was offered a crown and refused it. Have two pupils compare the two men as to background, career, character, and place in history. See such books as Belle Moses, *The Master of Mount Vernon* (D. Appleton & Co., 1932) or Helen Nicolay's *The Boy's*

Life of Washington (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931), and Nina Brown Baker's *He Wouldn't Be King: The Story of Simon Bolivar* (Vanguard Press, 1941), collections of biographies, and encyclopedias.

4. Special Reports. Members of the class should choose one Latin American of the liberation period about whom to report to the class. Good biographical material can be found in

Delia Goetz, *Neighbors to the South*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941.

Marion Lansing, *Liberators and Heroes of South America*, L. C. Page & Co., 1940.

Walt Stewart and Harold F. Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*, Harper & Brothers, 1942.

5. The Wars of Liberation. Compare the revolutions against Spain in Central and South America with the revolution against Great Britain in North America, as to: (1) time of occurrence, (2) leaders, (3) number of people involved, (4) experience of the people in self-government, (5) aid received from outside, (6) aims of revolution, and (7) reasons for success.

6. Influence of Latin American Revolutions on the United States. Make a list of all the ways in which the United States was interested in or influenced by the revolutions in Latin America. How did those revolutions influence the purchase of Florida? the Monroe Doctrine?

7. What Should the United States Have Done? Write a letter such as Simon Bolivar might have written to John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, inviting this country to participate in the conference of the American republics at Panama in 1826. Write a statement such as Adams might have entered in his diary explaining why the United States was so hesitant about participating. Debate in class whether it would have been wiser for the United

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States to have co-operated more wholeheartedly with the Latin American republics in 1826.

8. *Materials for Class Use.* For use in connection with Chapter 8 and later in

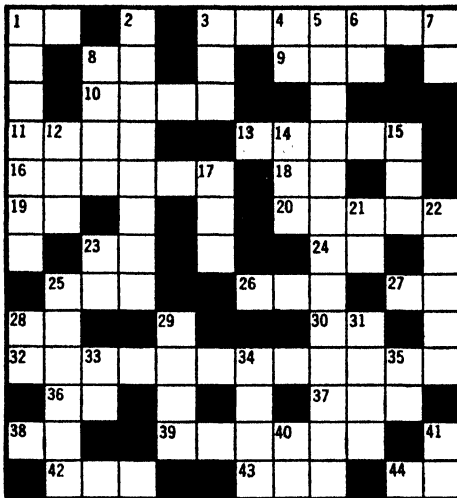
the course in United States history, be certain that your school or classroom library has secured for school use the publications of the Pan American Association, Washington, D.C. Many of the pamphlets are very interesting.

Review Exercises for Unit II

1. *A World War?* It is sometimes said that the Napoleonic period (1780-1815) was "the time of the first great world war." On the basis of what you have studied in Unit II, list all the arguments for and against the statement.

2. *A Combined Time-Line.* Study the time-lines at the beginnings of Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, and combine the chief events on all of them in one large time-line on the blackboard.

3. *A Crossword Puzzle.* The following crossword puzzle contains many words



and names and abbreviations of names you have read in Unit II. Copy the puzzle on a separate sheet of paper, and then see if you can work it.

Key: Across:

1. The initials of a prominent colonial leader from Pennsylvania who helped write the Constitution.

3. The first man to sign the Declaration of Independence.
8. The initials of the 26th President of the United States.
9. An adverb.
10. To fly.
11. Modern name for Persia.
13. A man's first name often used in colonial times.
16. A whirlpool.
18. A point on the compass.
19. A preposition.
20. The man who kept us out of war with France in 1800.
23. A verb.
24. Abbreviation for the head of a newspaper staff.
25. A thick, dark, sticky substance distilled from coal.
26. Initials standing for the name of an organization of women whose ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War.
27. Abbreviation for the last of the thirteen English colonies to be settled.
28. Abbreviation for the one of the thirteen colonies with the shortest shore line.
30. A preposition.
32. The basic law of the United States.
36. A possessive pronoun.
37. A colonial hotel.
38. Abbreviation for the continent on which Hidalgo and Washington lived.
39. The 5th President of the United States.
42. What the British called Nathan Hale.
43. Metal used in making pewter.
44. The state in which Ethan Allen lived. Abb.

Down:

1. A South American patriot often called "the liberator."
2. The section of the country between settled and unsettled areas.

3. A pronoun showing possession.
4. Abbreviation for the ninth state to ratify the Constitution.
5. What the colonies tried unsuccessfully during the "critical period."
6. An ejaculation.
7. The state into which Daniel Boone led early settlers. Abb.
8. Ruler of Russia before 1917.
12. To decay.
14. What the Constitution created. Abb.
15. Nickname of the man who started Committees of Correspondence.
17. Initials given to certain French officials who asked bribes of American representatives in the time of John Adams.
21. One kind of notice in a newspaper.
22. The country with which we negotiated a treaty about trade at the mouth of the Mississippi.
23. Initials of an American general in the Revolution who became a traitor.
25. First name of the author of the Declaration of Independence.
28. The twelfth state to join the Union.
29. The smallest, explosive unit of matter.
31. A prong of a fork.
33. The state in which Alexander Hamilton lived.
34. A canvas dwelling.
35. A preposition.
40. The last of the thirteen colonies to ratify the Constitution.
41. An impersonal pronoun.



UNIT III

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES MORE DEMOCRATIC

OVERVIEW

Unit II described how the United States won and maintained its independence during a period of international quarrels and uncertainty. Unit III focuses attention on some of the things that were happening within the United States during the years from 1789 to about 1840. Unit III tells of some of the great founders and organizers of the nation — Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson. All of these, with many other leaders, succeeded in organizing the new government, in making the national union more important than the separate states, and in making the new government more and more democratic.

When Washington was sworn in as the first President, the United States existed “only on paper.” He and the first Congress selected officials and put them to work. The offices of the government were first in New York, then in Philadelphia, and — in John Adams’s time — moved to the newly created city of Washington on the Potomac River. In the meantime, following the plans of Alexander Hamilton, the government had succeeded in raising the money it needed. Taxes were levied, and a system of coinage agreed upon.

A system of courts was created. All these gave the government greater strength and won for it the support of all parts of the Union. They created a national feeling among American citizens, and kindled the fires of loyalty to the Union.

As the frontier was pushed westward, the territory west of the Appalachians was organized into states. These states, admitted to the Union equal in rights with the original thirteen states, were deeply loyal to the national Union.

Along with the growth of national feeling, came the growth of democracy in the new republic. The addition of the first ten amendments to the Constitution established a workable American Bill of Rights. The quarrels over the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the firm support Jefferson and his followers gave to democratic ideas, strengthened democracy and safeguarded personal liberty. The democratic spirit of the frontier came into power with the election of Jackson to the presidency in 1828. Jacksonian ideas built on Jeffersonian ideas to strengthen democracy. By Jackson’s time it was certain that the new nation would endure and that democracy was to be its ideal.



Philip Stokes Collection, New York Public Library

Washington, D. C., as it looked in 1833, when Jackson was President. Notice the Capitol in the distance. How does it differ from the Capitol of today?

Unit III tells of events during the first thirteen presidential administrations of our history. These events shaped the course of later development of the United States. The work of the first half century of our national life was a sure foundation for later growth. The events of these early years were varied; it will help in understanding them to keep in mind the two great directions of growth — growth in national feeling, and growth in democratic living. These are the signposts for understanding Unit III.

Questions Answered in Unit III

1. What was the United States like in 1789?
2. What were the chief problems of the newly created United States of America in 1789?
3. How did Washington and his associates organize a government and make it work?
4. Why did popular support for the national government increase between 1789 and 1840?
5. What is meant by "Jeffersonian democracy"?
6. How was "the West" organized in states and brought into the Union?
7. In what ways did the national government become more and more democratic between 1789 and 1840?
8. What is meant by "Jacksonian democracy"?

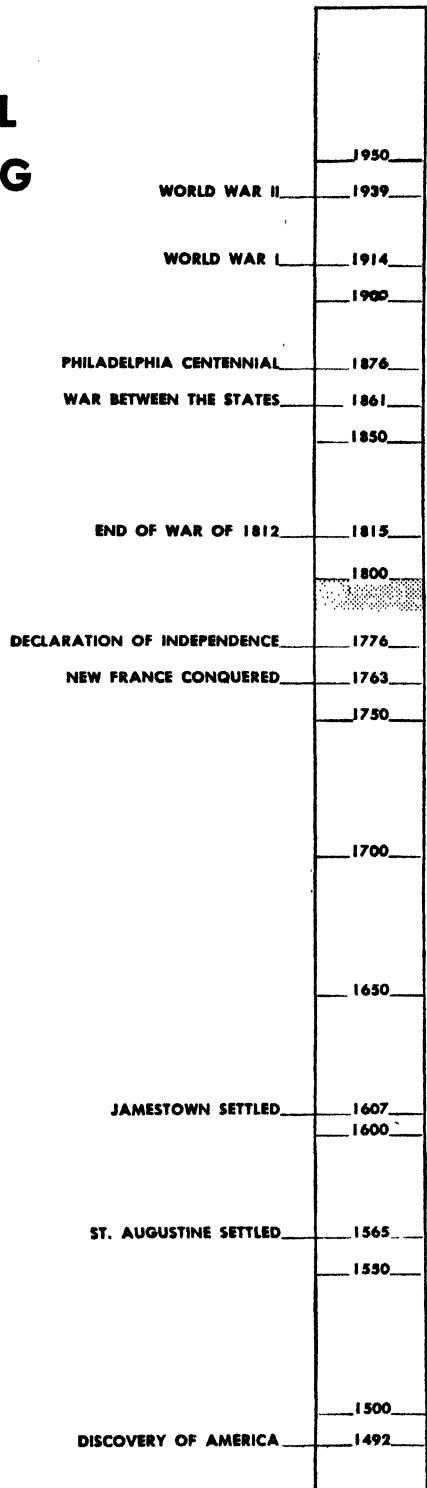
CHAPTER 9

MAKING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STRONG

1800 WASHINGTON BECOMES THE NATION'S CAPITAL
1798 SEDITION ACT
1797 INAUGURATION OF JOHN ADAMS
1791 BILL OF RIGHTS ADOPTED
1789 INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow





ORGANIZING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

When most of the states had accepted the Constitution described in Chapter 6, plans were made to put the new form of government into operation. The first Wednesday in March, 1789, was set for the meeting of the new Congress in New York City. It was impossible, however, for the new government to begin its work on the day appointed. Bad travel conditions and delays prevented the newly elected members of Congress from reaching the capital city on time. It was April before enough members were present in New York City to organize the new Congress.

One of the first duties of the new Congress was to count the votes for President, sent to it from the "electors" of each state. Then, as now, our chief executive was not elected directly by the people. Instead, each state was to select a certain small number of "electors," whose duty it was to decide who should be President. According to the original plan each elector voted for two men, and the man who received the largest number of votes from the electors was to be President, and the man with the next highest number of votes was to be Vice-President. As we shall see, this arrangement caused trouble later, and had to be changed. But in 1789 all of the electors voted for George Washington, who therefore became our first President, while the next highest number of votes was for John Adams, thus chosen for Vice-President.

Washington himself would have

preferred to remain at his home at Mount Vernon. He had served his country faithfully for many long years and had earned the privilege of enjoying his last years in peace. When Congress officially notified him of his election, he answered the call of duty, however, and agreed to become the first captain of the new Ship of State.

After many delays Washington finally began the journey from Mount Vernon to New York to take office as the first President of the United States. As he rode northward, every village and city through which he passed turned out with parades and speeches and banquets to honor him. New York City itself thrilled with excitement. Washington was known to be a gentleman of simple tastes, but some of the leaders of New York society expected him to conduct himself somewhat like a king. They looked forward to a social life similar to that found at the court of Great Britain. The approaching inauguration of Washington was the main topic of conversation.

The evening before Washington was to enter the city, people poured in from near-by farms and villages. They groped their way through the crooked, poorly-lighted streets. A few were victims of highwaymen. A man was fortunate who did not stumble over a pig, have a collision with a town pump, or fall in the mud of the poorly-paved sidewalks. Many of the newcomers paused at taverns to rest themselves.



The inauguration of Washington as first President of the United States was one of the most colorful moments in the long history of New York's many celebrations. Notice the arrangement of the thirteen stars in the flags. Compare with the later flag pictured on page 119.

Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

The next morning ordinary occupations were forgotten. Huge crowds gathered at the water front and waited in the rain for the approach of Washington. Cannon roared and bells were rung when his barge was finally sighted coming across the Hudson River. The water seemed almost covered with all kinds of boats decorated with flags. Deafening cheers rose from the crowds, and bands joined in the welcome. When Washington descended the crimson-covered stairs, there was more noise than old New York had ever heard before.

A gorgeous carriage awaited Washington, but he chose to walk in the procession with his fellow Americans. The cheers and the tumult continued so loud that it was almost impossible to hear the music of the bands or the church bells as the great man, tall, erect, with bared head, marched through the streets of the capital.

The inauguration took place on April 30. Washington had shown his democracy by walking when he had first entered the city. At the inauguration he showed how important the new government and the office of President were by the dignity

with which he participated in the ceremonies. He rode in stately fashion in a beautiful coach drawn by four horses. The chair reserved for him at Federal Hall stood under a canopy of crimson velvet.

The people cheered so loudly when Washington appeared on the balcony that he was overcome with emotion. He was at first unable to speak, and had to sit with his head in his hands for a few moments. When he regained his self-control, he went again to the front of the balcony. There he took the oath which every President of the United States has since taken:

"I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

At the end he added, with emotion, "So help me God."

Then, kissing the Bible, Washington re-entered the Senate's meeting place and made a short speech. After that, accompanied by other officials, he went to Saint Paul's Chapel to ask the blessing of God on the new government. He was to guide the new Ship of State skillfully during the next eight years.

THE UNITED STATES IN WASHINGTON'S TIME

In the nation which Washington had been summoned to govern in 1789 there were living about 3,200,000 white people and 600,000 Negro slaves, scattered throughout the thirteen states from Massachusetts to Georgia. Philadelphia, with a population of 42,000 inhabitants, was the largest city. New York, which was to be the capital for ten years, was next in line. The only other cities with more than 10,000 people were Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. Most of the people lived near the Atlantic seacoast, but the movement of settlers across the Appalachians, which had been a mere trickle before the Revolution, now showed signs of becoming a great wave. Many boats could be seen descending the Ohio River carrying settlers and their horses, cattle, and sheep (picture, page 152). There were about 100,000 people already living in Kentucky and Tennessee. North of the Ohio River, settlement was delayed by 45,000

Indians who wanted the land for themselves and who were friendly with the British. The entire nation, however, when Washington became President, had only about half as many people as can be found today in New York City. It was bounded on the south by Spanish Florida, on the north by British Canada, and on the west by the Mississippi River and the vast unsettled lands possessed by Spain.

New Victories for Democracy

Important changes were taking place in the way Americans lived, as well as in government. Before the Revolution many colonists had believed in primogeniture. Primogeniture was the practice, brought to our country from England, by which the oldest son inherited all the family property. This idea was undemocratic, and unfair to the younger children of the family. The struggle to abolish primogeniture was led in



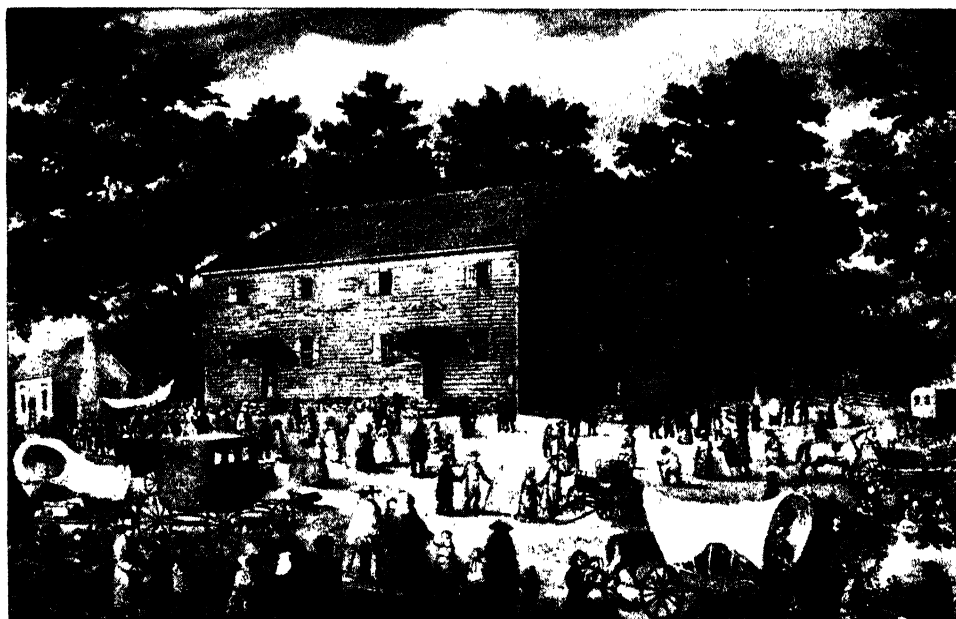
Flatboats, loaded with settlers and their belongings, floated down the Ohio and the Mississippi. Some flatboats were fitted up as stores, and made yearly visits to the villages and towns along the rivers.

this country by Thomas Jefferson. By 1789 this fight had been nearly won, and the idea of equal inheritance was accepted throughout the United States. The old estates with their tenant farmers were gradually disappearing, although much land continued to be owned in huge tracts by the well-to-do. When men bought large amounts of land in 1789 it was mainly for the purpose of making money by reselling the land. Those who tilled the soil were generally free farmers, not tenants.

There was a similar movement toward democracy in religion. At the outbreak of the Revolution nine of the colonies had each favored one church more than others. Each had collected taxes from all the people to provide for the support of one denomination, or form of religion. In New York, for example, the Episcopal Church had been given special favors although not one tenth

of the people had belonged to it. In Massachusetts, it had been the Congregational Church which received support from the taxes paid by all the people. During the Revolution, some of the states had provided that all churches should be treated in the same way. Even after the Revolution, however, churches had not become equals in all the states. The Carolinas and New Jersey required the members of their legislatures to be Protestants, while Delaware required that they be Trinitarians. Yet the movement toward democracy in religion was continuing in 1789. The church and the state were no longer closely connected.

The Revolution had held back the Episcopal Church and the Quakers. In 1776 the Episcopal Church had had stronger ties with the mother country than had any other religious group. Its clergy had tended to support the Tories, and its members



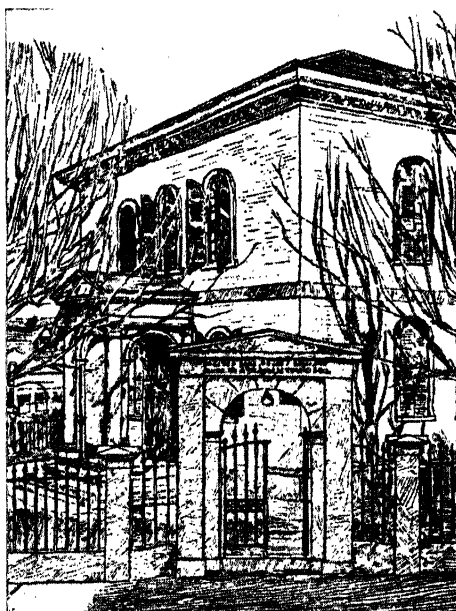
The Bellmann Archive

Quakers going to meeting in North Carolina. The simplicity of Quaker meetinghouses gave them dignity and charm, and the uprightness of Quaker lives gave grace to their plainness of speech and clothes.



Maryland Historical Society

St. Thomas Catholic Church and manor house at Port Tobacco, Maryland. It is said the manor house was built about 1743 and the church some years later.



American Jewish Society

Jewish Synagogue at Newport, R. I. Jews from the other colonies and Europe found religious freedom in Rhode Island and in 1763 built this synagogue.

to favor the King. The Quakers taught that all war was wrong. They had tried to remain neutral in the Revolution. If they had favored any side, however, it was not the side of the revolutionists. The result was that the Episcopalians and Quakers had become unpopular for the time being. On the other hand, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had become more popular because they had formed the backbone of the Patriot armies. The Methodist Church had gained rapidly, under the outstanding leadership of Francis Asbury. The Methodists and Baptists were especially numerous on the frontier when Washington became President. Their clergy built no fine churches but preached from stumps and in barns. The early settlers of our nation were mostly Protestants, but the members of the Roman Catholic Church were increasing in number. In 1784 the Catholic Church in the United States had been formally established, with Father John Carroll at its head. In 1790 Father Carroll became the Bishop of Baltimore, and later the first Archbishop in the United States. The first Jewish synagogue in North America had been established in New York City near the end of the seventeenth century; in 1790 there were between two and three thousand Jews in the United States. As

years went by there was less conflict and more tolerance and co-operation among all the churches.

Meanwhile other changes were taking place. The Revolution had not changed the legal condition of Negro slaves, but many men felt that slavery was not very profitable. A good many slave owners, especially in the North but also in the South, set their slaves free. Virginia masters alone freed about ten thousand slaves within a few years. During this same period, laws were passed to provide milder punishment for criminals, and jail conditions were improved. All kinds of criminals had been confined together, but now murderers were less likely to share cells with those whose only crime was stealing bread.

Americans living in 1789 realized their need of greater knowledge. There was an increased interest in education, although schools did not change greatly. Many of our leading men were trying out better methods of farming, as was but natural in a country where nine tenths of the people lived on farms. George Washington, himself, was one of our leaders who desired to know more about farming. He made many experiments on his lands at Mount Vernon, Virginia, and was one of our first breeders of mules. He was one of the most careful and prosperous farmers in all the Americas.

OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES

Washington as President realized the importance of selecting the best possible assistants if the new Constitution was to be a success. He was anxious to iron out all bitterness and

suspicion among Americans and unite them in the common cause. As his Secretary of State to have charge of affairs with other nations, he selected Thomas Jefferson, who had had

experience as our representative in Europe, and was regarded by many Americans as a liberal, democratic leader. As his Secretary of the Treasury to save the nation from bankruptcy, Washington chose Alexander Hamilton, who had the complete confidence of businessmen. As his Secretary of War, he selected General Henry Knox, an old soldier from Massachusetts. As his Attorney General he chose Edmund Randolph, a former governor of Virginia and leader of the Virginia delegation at the Constitutional Convention. These four assistants were Washington's cabinet.

Facing Bankruptcy

The money problem was very important. Our nation was nearly bankrupt in 1789; it did not have the money needed to pay its debts. It owed large sums of money to foreign bankers who had loaned money to us in our time of great need. It owed other great sums to its own citizens. Then too, the various states had their own debts because of the war. Some states had tried hard to pay these debts, while others did not seem to care. Our paper money was hardly worth the paper it was printed on, because the people doubted whether the state and national debts and obligations would ever be paid.

It had become necessary for the government to do exactly what an individual would need to do if nearly bankrupt. It had to raise more money. It had to use as much of it as possible to pay debts. It had to show the world that we keep our promises. It had to gain the respect of other nations and keep our money

from changing in its stated value if our nation was to be strong. A nation whose money is sound is like a house built on a rock; a country threatened by bankruptcy is like a dwelling built on shifting sands.

Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was given the difficult job of solving our money problems. He was a young man of thirty-two years whose great ability nobody could deny. It is true that he was not tactful and did not get along well with other men. It is also true that he was never trusted by the common people, because he believed that the privileged classes should rule. At times, people even suspected that he was seeking to overthrow our republic and set up a king. It was largely due to him, however, that we were saved from bankruptcy. He became for a time the most influential man in the United States next to Washington himself.

Hamilton declared that the honor of the nation demanded that all our debts should be paid in full. No one objected to paying what we owed to foreign bankers, but Congress argued bitterly about paying our own citizens. At first this seems strange, but many of our citizens had been forced by hard times to sell their paper money and government certificates at a great loss. Sometimes they had obtained only fifteen cents on a dollar. Gamblers and speculators had bought the certificates at a low price on the chance that the government might finally pay in full. Thus, Hamilton's plan would make gamblers wealthy. This did not seem right to the poor people. It did not seem right to Hamilton himself, but he felt that the credit of the

government was the most important thing to consider. Finally, Congress agreed with him. It was voted to pay "hard money" for all the paper money which had been issued.

Hamilton also wished to have the nation pay debts owed by states for funds borrowed in the Revolution. This also seemed unfair because certain states had already paid their debts, while others had not. There was great opposition to paying the state debts. Hamilton was forced to obtain assistance from Jefferson in getting the bill passed by Congress. He agreed to use his influence to have the new national capital located on the banks of the Potomac in order to win Jefferson's support of the payment of state debts. Both men realized that the bill was not entirely fair, but both agreed that it was needed to protect the nation's reputation.

Money was required to pay these debts. Some money could be obtained from the sale of government land in the west; some was to be raised by import taxes on goods coming into our country from other nations; also there were to be taxes on goods produced in this country, such as whisky. There was strong objection to the whisky tax. Most of the western farmers found great difficulty in shipping grain to market, but when they made their grain into whisky, it was more easily carried across the mountains. They made but little profit at best; a whisky tax meant even smaller profits. Many farmers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the tax and finally started a revolution. Washington ordered the army to put the revolt down, and the Whisky Rebellion

rapidly ended. More and more westerners, however, began to wonder whether so much power in the hands of the national government was a good thing.

Hamilton favored a National Bank to handle all the government's money. He asked Congress to establish such a bank. He argued that it was necessary because the banks which already existed were not strong enough. The National Bank would be run by the wealthy and experienced bankers of the seacoast cities. Jefferson and his followers, however, feared these great bankers. They thought that it was not democratic to give so much power to a few men of the privileged class. Jefferson pointed out that the Constitution said nothing about such a bank; because this was so, he claimed that Congress had no right to create one. Hamilton replied that the Constitution did not say the bank could not be created. He declared that, in any case, all governments had the right to provide methods of caring for their money as they saw fit. Hamilton's views were finally accepted.

Our First Political Parties Are Born

Our first political parties came into being largely because of this difference of opinion over the National Bank. Hamilton and his followers were generally the prosperous people of property. They had never had much confidence in the ability of ordinary people to rule. From the beginning, they had always favored increasing the power of the national government as much as possible. They had always felt that Congress could do anything that was not

denied to it by the Constitution. On the other hand, Jefferson and his followers had always defended the common people, and believed in democracy. They wanted all citizens to share in the rights and the duties of government. They had always felt that the national government should do only those things which the Constitution listed, because they wanted the states to be strong enough to prevent the national government from interfering with people's liberty.

Washington managed to prevent serious bitterness between the two leaders and their followers until they began to quarrel over the bank. Now even Washington was unable to keep the followers of Jefferson and Hamilton on friendly terms. Those who believed as Hamilton did were known as Federalists. Those who agreed with Jefferson were called Anti-federalists or Republicans.

Both political parties supported Washington while he remained President. But when he announced in 1796 that he would not accept a third term, they became active rivals for the control of the nation. When it came time to elect a President to take Washington's place, the Federalists selected John Adams of Massachusetts as their candidate. Adams did not hesitate to declare that he feared the masses of the people as much as he did any king. The Republicans selected Thomas Jefferson of Virginia to oppose Adams. Jefferson had written the Declaration of Independence and believed completely in the ability of ordinary people to rule themselves. There was great bitterness during this campaign. The Republican leaders charged that Adams intended to overthrow our

republican form of government and set up a king. In return the Federalists called Jefferson an atheist and an anarchist, meaning that he was opposed both to God and to orderly government.

At that time the President and Vice-President were not balloted for separately by the electors. Each elector was instructed to vote for two candidates for President; the candidate who received the most votes was to be President, and the next highest candidate was to be Vice-President. Under this plan Adams became President, and Jefferson became Vice-President. Adams was disgusted with the election of Jefferson because the two leaders disagreed on many of the problems of their time.

As Washington made his way homeward to the peace and quiet of Mount Vernon, he was puzzled and perplexed at the bitterness between the Federalists and the Republicans. He was anxious as he thought of the future. He had every reason, however, to feel satisfied with what he had contributed to the building of the nation. He had been "first in war" because to him more than any other individual was due our independence as a nation. He had been "first in peace" because of the part he had played in making the Constitution and in guiding the Ship of State during his two terms as President. He and his cabinet had skillfully steered it past the shoals of bankruptcy, and beyond the reefs where rebellion threatened. We had won the respect of other nations. Washington was, and remains, "first in the hearts of his countrymen," because of his greatness as a man.

THE STRUGGLE OVER CIVIL LIBERTIES

Men have labored, fought, and died in search of human liberty for many centuries. Our British ancestors slowly but surely won rights for individual citizens in their struggles for liberty in Great Britain. Immigrants from the British Isles and Europe here continued to struggle for liberty, at first against royal governors, and finally against the mother country herself.

The Bill of Rights

There was no certainty that freedom would endure even after the Revolution had ended. Our form of government was an experiment that might, or might not, work. There were many citizens of our own country who felt that democracy could not succeed. Doubts of its success increased during the period of the Articles of Confederation. The Constitution said hardly anything about human liberty when it was first made in 1787. It provided for a stronger form of government, but this would be of little value if Americans had no freedom. Some states had refused to ratify the Constitution until it was agreed to add amendments listing the rights of American citizens, such as freedom of religion, free speech, and trial by jury.

The first ten amendments, called our Bill of Rights, were all a part of the Constitution by 1791. All ten are worth your careful reading, as shown on pages xxxiii and xxxiv.

The Bill of Rights is the foundation upon which our American democracy rests. Americans will be free so long as its provisions are respected.

But once any of these hard-won rights is taken away, the foundations of freedom are weakened. The entire structure of liberty may then fall to earth like a house of cards. These ten amendments were mainly the work of James Madison, Jefferson's close friend. They became a part of the Constitution largely because of the demands of Jefferson's followers. The Federalists were not enthusiastic about the Bill of Rights and voted for it mainly in order to get the Constitution accepted. It remained to be seen whether the rights of the ordinary citizen would always be respected by his government.

The Alien and Sedition Acts

As we have seen, rivalry between the two political parties was becoming very bitter during Adams's administration, from 1797 to 1801. The Republicans under the leadership of Vice-President Jefferson were becoming more powerful as time passed. President Adams, Hamilton, and other Federalist leaders had reason to fear that the Republicans might win control of the government. They felt that such an event would be a great calamity to our nation. They were certain that the people that made up most of the Republican party were too ignorant to make wise decisions in government. They thought that the welfare of the nation demanded that the Federalist party should remain in power.

One reason why the Republicans were becoming stronger was that most of the immigrants who entered our country became followers of

Jefferson rather than of Hamilton or Adams. In order to weaken their rivals, the Federalists persuaded Congress to pass the Naturalization Act. Before this a foreigner had been allowed to become an American citizen after living in this country only five years; afterwards (until a later law was passed) he could not become a citizen until he had been here fourteen years. Congress had the right to make such a law because it was not contrary to the Bill of Rights or any other section of the Constitution. The Naturalization Act, however, led to increased bitterness between the parties. It also showed to what extremes the Federalists were willing to go to keep their rivals out of office.

Congress also passed the Alien Act. An alien here is a foreigner in our country who has not yet become a citizen. The Alien Act provided that the President could send away from the United States any alien who he thought was dangerous. This act was intended to favor the Federalist party, because President Adams was a Federalist and the aliens were mostly Republicans. Even this act was not contrary to the Bill of Rights, however, or any other part of the Constitution; but the President never made use of it to send any aliens away.

Congress also passed the Sedition Act. This act provided that anyone who wrote anything criticizing the President, Congress, or the government of the United States could be punished by a heavy fine or by being sent to jail. This act meant that Jefferson's followers could not criticize President Adams, although they disagreed with nearly everything he

was doing. They could not criticize the other Federalist officers, but the Federalists could attack them. The Sedition Act was not only unfair; it was directly contrary to the Constitution, especially the first amendment in the Bill of Rights which guaranteed free speech. The wiser Federalist leaders such as Hamilton and Adams realized that their party had gone too far and that a mistake was being made. Hamilton warned, "Let us not establish tyranny." Most of the Federalists, however, were so bitter against the Republicans that they voted for the Sedition Act just the same. Had the long fight for human liberty been in vain? Was our great experiment in democracy to end in failure?

Matthew Lyon

Matthew Lyon of Vermont was among the most fiery of the Republicans. His father before him had paid for his patriotism on the gallows in Ireland. The son became a member of Congress and was a thorn in the side of the Federalists. They objected not only to the way he talked but to his behavior. They had threatened at one time to expel him from Congress. No Sedition Act could keep him from criticizing the Federalist officers, and it was not long before he was arrested and brought to trial.

It was not a difficult matter to prove him guilty of criticizing the Federalist officers. The court sentenced him to four months in jail and to pay a fine of one thousand dollars. To add insult to injury, he was not placed in a decent jail. Instead, he was carried forty miles away to a foul-smelling cell, sixteen



Buller Library, Columbia University

The only known portrait of Matthew Lyon.

by twelve, which was generally used for the lowest type of criminals. It contained no stove to keep out the chill of cold autumn nights, and at first Lyon was not even allowed pen and paper.

The Vermont hills were aflame with fury. Mobs gathered to tear the jail apart, but Lyon asked them not to do so. There were not enough jails in Vermont to hold those who talked "sedition." When election time came around the Republicans again named the "convict" as their candidate for Congress. On election day, Lyon defeated his nearest opponent by a vote of more than two to one. On the day when the jail sentence was ended, Senator Mason of Virginia rode into town with his saddlebags bulging with gold, and paid the fine.

Lyon began his return to Congress. Everywhere parades formed in his honor. Seated in a sleigh, his wife beside him, he was followed by a

procession said to be twelve miles long at one place. He was the hero of the hour as he continued on his way across New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania to Philadelphia, which was the nation's capital from 1790 until 1800, when the national government moved to Washington, D. C. Meanwhile other Republicans were being accused of criticizing the government; there were many other Matthew Lyons.

The Federalists ground their teeth in rage. Was there no way to keep such "rogues" out of Congress? They were in despair as they thought of the future.

Meanwhile the common people had become very angry. How did the Federalists dare to trample on their rights and take away their liberty? Of what advantage was the Constitution if the governing officers could disobey it whenever they saw fit? Some of the states which were not controlled by the Federalists began protesting to the national government. Virginia and Kentucky, in particular, bitterly attacked the Alien and Sedition Acts. The legislature of Kentucky declared that whenever Congress passed any act which was contrary to the Constitution, any state could refuse to obey that law. This right which Kentucky claimed is called "nullification."

The Federalists had given to our national government much needed strength and we may be grateful for that service. They went too far, however, in their zeal to make the nation strong. They had guided the Ship of State safely during Washington's two terms as President; but they nearly wrecked the ship against the rocky shores of tyranny while Adams

was President. There is generally some good to be found, however, in all unhappy experiences. A finer type of democracy was born out of the dark days of the Sedition Act. Of most importance was the fact that the people triumphed over the Federalists by votes rather than by war; — by ballots instead of bullets.

That was the democratic way of settling the dispute. Franklin had not been certain at the close of the Philadelphia Convention whether we would "keep" our republic. He probably would have been much more certain that we would keep our republic if he could have been alive in 1800.

Study Activities

1. *A Radio Script on the First Presidential Inauguration.* Washington's entry into New York and his inauguration in 1789 were dramatic events in the history of the United States. Read carefully the first section in Chapter 9, and then write a short play about Washington's arrival and inauguration. Write the play in the form of a radio-script and present it as an assembly program.

2. *Problems of the New Government.* Make a list of the problems faced by Washington's new government. Include in your list all the problems of foreign affairs, mentioned in Chapter 7, as well as the problems within the nation, mentioned in Chapter 9.

3. *What Does the Oath of Office Mean?* Explain in your own words the meaning of the oath of office taken by the President of the United States at the time of his inauguration.

4. *An Early Cabinet Meeting.* Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, Major-General Henry Knox as Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph as Attorney-General were appointed by Washington as his first cabinet members. Choose five members of the class to represent the President and his official advisers, and have them dramatize a meeting of the Cabinet in the early 1790's. Let each member tell of the

"state of the country" as he saw it. Let them discuss the problems of the new government which are described in Chapter 9.

5. *Studying Population Figures.* The figures in the following table are taken from the report on the first census taken in 1790. (Maine was then a part of the state of Massachusetts; it did not become a separate state until 1820. Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791, and Kentucky in 1792.) Study them carefully, and then follow the instructions given after the table.

	Free		
	Persons	Slaves	Total
1. Vermont	85,523	16	85,539
2. New Hampshire	141,727	158	141,885
3. Maine	96,540	0	96,540
4. Massachusetts	378,787	0	378,787
5. Rhode Island	67,897	948	68,825
6. Connecticut	235,182	2,764	237,946
7. New York	318,796	21,324	340,120
8. New Jersey	172,816	11,323	184,139
9. Pennsylvania	430,636	3,737	434,373
10. Delaware	50,209	8,887	59,096
11. Maryland	216,692	103,036	319,728
12. Virginia	454,983	292,627	747,610
13. North Carolina	293,179	100,572	393,751
14. South Carolina	141,979	107,094	249,073
15. Georgia	53,284	29,264	82,548
16. Kentucky	61,247	12,430	73,677

(a) Construct a bar graph showing the population of each state. Let one inch on each bar stand for 100,000 people. Shade the part of each bar showing free citizens; leave the part of each bar

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showing slave population unshaded. Arrange the bar graphs of the states in the ranking order of total population. For a good example of a bar graph see page 288 of this book.

(b) Can you calculate the percentage of population in each state which was slave? Which state had the largest proportion of slaves?

(c) The first six states listed in the table are in New England. The states numbered 7, 8, and 9 are the Middle Atlantic states; all the others except Kentucky are the South Atlantic states. Figure out the total population, free and slave, in each of these three sections.

6. Which Is Which? Below are two paragraphs made up of sentences quoted from Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925). One describes Hamilton and the other Jefferson. Which is which?

A. "It was rather in his soldierly erectness and the dignity of his bearing that he impressed. . . . The war was to prove his genius not as a soldier, but as a writer and constructive thinker on governmental matters. . . . His ideal of government was the rule of gentlemen. . . . As a party leader he was singularly lacking in tact . . . often insulting . . . and dictatorial. He did not consult,—he directed."

B. "He did not look the commander so much as the rather shy philosopher. . . . He was . . . courteous and kindly, modest and tolerant. . . . His dislike of the aristocratic system amounted to a prejudice. . . . He was a humanitarian ahead of his time. . . . He was the most resourceful politician of his time. . . . He teemed with ideas."

7. Important Words to Know. One of the major problems before the new government was that of finances. Read carefully the sections of Chapter 9 which tell of Hamilton's financial policies. On the basis of the material in the textbook, formulate in your own words definitions of the following terms. After you have written your own definitions consult the

dictionary, and make any necessary corrections in them.

financial	credit
national debt	import taxes
paper money	tax
hard money	National Bank

8. The Record of the Federalists. The administrations of George Washington and John Adams are known as the Federalist period; with the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800 the Federalist period came to a close. At that time feeling ran high between Federalists and Republicans. Looking back at the period today we can be fairer in our judgments. Draw up a Balance Sheet according to the model form suggested below, and list all the achievements and failures of the Federalist period. Review Chapter 7 as well as Chapter 9 in making the Balance Sheet.

Balance Sheet of the Federalist Period

<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Failures</i>

9. A Citizen's Rights and Responsibilities. On pages xxxiii and xxxiv of this book, read Articles I–X of the Amendments to the Constitution. Why were they adopted? Why are they sometimes called "the American Bill of Rights"? Following are the "rights" listed in those ten amendments. Why did each right seem especially important in 1790? In order to maintain each right what *duties* or *responsibilities* does each citizen have?

- I. Freedom of Religion
 - Free Speech
 - Free Press
 - Free Assembly
- II. Freedom to keep and bear arms.
- III. Freedom from soldiers quartered in private homes.
- IV. Security from unwarranted search and seizure.

- V. Right of life, liberty, and property.
- VI. Right to a fair and speedy trial.
- VII. Right to trial by jury.
- VIII. Protection against excessive bail.
- IX. Powers reserved to the people.
- X. Powers reserved to the states or people.

10. *An Issue of Civil Rights.* Explain carefully what the Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts passed by a Federalist Congress were. What civic rights did they seem to violate? Explain Jefferson's attitude toward these acts.

11. *A Dramatic Trial.* Matthew Lyon wrote in his newspaper, called *The Scourge*, about the "aristocratic hireling from the English Porcupine (meaning Hamilton) . . . and the dirty hedgehogs and groveling animals of his race in this and neighboring states who are vomiting forth columns of lies, malicious abuse and deception." He wrote of Adams's "continued grasp for power," and commented on "the bullying speech of your President and the stupid answer of your Senate." When he was brought to trial for his "seditious" writing and speaking, many angry Vermonters came to his defense. When Lyon was sentenced to jail they almost caused a riot in court. Dramatize the trial, imprisonment, and release of Lyon, and present the play in the school assembly.

12. *A Summary.* Write a one-paragraph summary of Chapter 9. Read carefully the key sentences in the most important paragraphs of each section in the chapter to prepare your summary.

13. *Portraits of Washington.* "Like Patience on a monument" Washington said he sat for the many artists — American, British, French, Italian — who wished to make his portrait. Charles Willson Peale, who knew Washington well from pre-Revolutionary-War days, made at least seven different paintings from life and some sixty copies of his famous subject. Young Rembrandt Peale, his son and an abler artist, made a famous painting of Washington in 1795. Gilbert Stuart, although he knew Washington only during the last four years of his life, made six portraits from life and some forty copies of his life studies. Copies of Stuart's unfinished portrait of Washington hang in many school rooms and public buildings of our country. It, of course, shows Washington as he looked toward the end of his life when he had changed considerably in appearance.

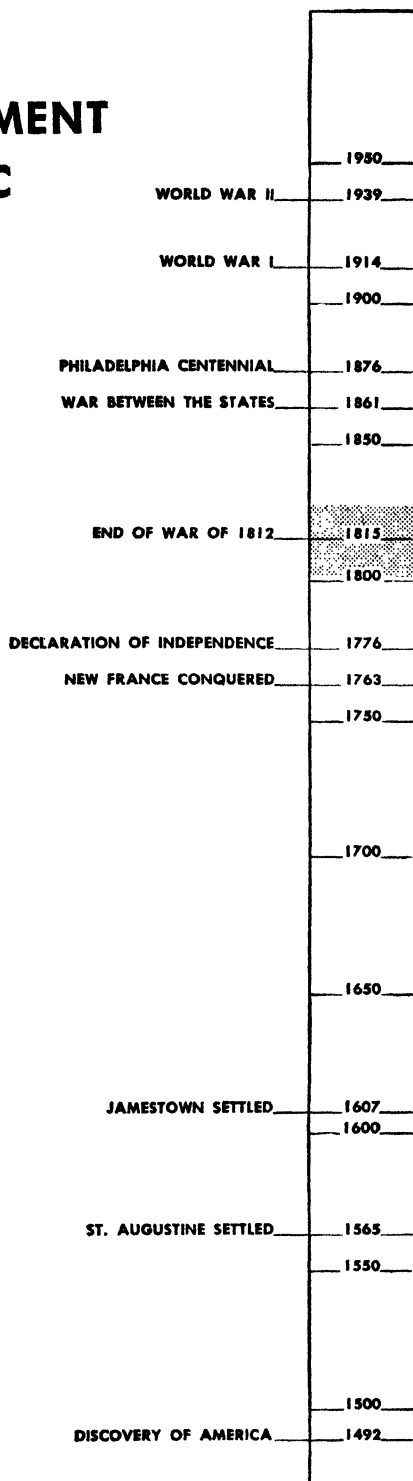
On page 148 is the portrait of Washington as Robert Doremus has painted it for this book. Doremus shows us Washington as he probably appeared in the days when he was commander-in-chief of the Continental troops. Compare it with as many portraits as you can find in American history books, collections of pictures, even our dollar bill. Appoint a committee to display as many portraits of Washington as can be found. Try to include a picture of the statue of Washington by the French sculptor Houdon. His statue stands in the capitol at Richmond, Virginia, and is considered one of the best likenesses of Washington.

CHAPTER 10

MAKING THE GOVERNMENT MORE DEMOCRATIC

1826 THE NATION'S FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
1817-25 "ERA OF GOOD FEELING"
1814 HARTFORD CONVENTION
1803 LOUISIANA PURCHASE
1801 JEFFERSON BECOMES PRESIDENT

"Government of the people,
by the people, for the people."
Abraham Lincoln



THOMAS JEFFERSON COMES TO POWER

The election of 1800 was one of the most bitter in all our history. It was our fourth presidential election, and political party lines had become very strong. The Federalists selected Adams, and the Republicans selected Jefferson as their candidates for President. Each party felt that the future of the United States depended upon its own success in the election. The Republicans pointed to the Sedition Act and declared that tyranny would result if the Federalists won. The Federalists said that no man, woman, or child would be safe from the rule of mobs if the Republicans won. During the campaign there were bitter arguments, threats, violent speeches, and fist fights. The West and the entire South as far north as Maryland supported Jefferson, as did also Pennsylvania and New York. Most of Adams's votes came from New England. The Republicans were victorious.

It was the will of the people and of the electors that Jefferson should be President and that Aaron Burr should be Vice-President. However, because each elector had two votes and because each Republican elector voted for both Jefferson and Burr, the result was a tie, with the election to be made by the House of Representatives, voting by states. Burr knew that he was expected to be Vice-President, but so low was his sense of honor that he tried to win the higher office. He hoped that the Federalists might help him in order to defeat Jefferson, whom they disliked.

Hamilton and the other Federalists

were in a position to decide the dispute between Jefferson and Burr. Hamilton had often disagreed with Jefferson, but he had greater respect for Jefferson than for Burr. He helped Jefferson to win election as President, and Burr's trickery did not succeed. The elections of 1796 and 1800, however, had demonstrated the need of changing our system of electing the President and Vice-President. The Twelfth Amendment, adopted in 1804, provided that the President and Vice-President should be voted for separately and that each elector should have one vote for each.

Jefferson's Character and Beliefs

Thomas Jefferson was born on the Virginia frontier on April 13, 1743. He entered William and Mary College at the age of seventeen, just as the French and Indian War was ending. He became a member of Virginia's House of Burgesses at the age of twenty-six. He was a leader of the frontier section of Virginia in its attempt to obtain greater democracy; he was also leader of the thirteen colonies in their opposition to British taxes and regulations. In 1776 at the age of thirty-three he wrote the Declaration of Independence. He was a member of the legislature of Virginia from 1776 to 1779, Governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781, member of the national Congress from 1783 to 1784, minister to France from 1784 to 1789, and Secretary of State under Washington from 1790 to 1793. He was fifty-seven years old when elected President in 1800.



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

Thomas Jefferson was painted from life by the English portrait artist Robert Field at Philadelphia in 1797.

Jefferson was tall and slim, with reddish hair and grayish hazel eyes. His manner was friendly and kind. His friends considered him handsome and felt a deep affection for him. He was not as greatly concerned about his dignity and appearance as were most men of his position and importance. He preferred to ride horseback rather than travel in coaches of state. He was his natural self to all men. He was opposed to all foes of liberty everywhere. In 1800 he wrote: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of men." His chief pride was not in winning high political office for him-

self, but in obtaining freedom for others. He was a successful farmer, and preferred our nation to be a republic consisting mainly of free, land-owning farmers.

Jefferson, like Benjamin Franklin, was of importance in many fields besides government. He was a successful lawyer. He was an able architect and designed the buildings of the University of Virginia, which he founded. The home he designed for himself at Monticello in Virginia is still one of the most interesting and attractive houses in America. He did much to encourage science, and made various inventions, including an improved plow. He was a noted scholar and

found time, despite all his other activities, to translate Greek books into English.

We should be justified in calling Jefferson's election in 1800 a political revolution. Until that year the United States had been ruled by the Federalists, many of whom believed that the nation should be governed by the well-to-do and educated classes. The Federalists were never to elect a President again. After 1800 the United States was to be ruled by other parties that had faith in the ability of the common people to govern. The change from the rule of the Federalists to the rule of the Republicans was in some ways as great a change as had taken place in 1776 from the rule of England to independence.

Jefferson's Inauguration

Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated in Washington, D. C. The new capital was a struggling village, its houses separated by mud roads which were not entirely free from stumps. Calling on neighbors was dangerous after darkness had settled down over the homes and frog ponds. When Mrs. Adams made her first journey from Baltimore to Washington she and her party got lost in the woods. They wandered around for two hours before being rescued.

The election had been a bitter blow to the vain Adams. So hurt was his pride that he drove away from Washington in the early morning of inauguration day without waiting to congratulate his rival. When the time approached for the ceremony, Jefferson did not ride in an elaborate coach but walked from his boarding house to the Capitol. At noon cannon were

fired. By this time the Senate chamber was crowded with a thousand people. The ceremony that followed was simple but dignified. Then came the President's speech. This he read in a low tone that was heard by only a small portion of his audience. His address, however, included some fine advice for his countrymen. He sought to bring an end to party bitterness, and tried to convince his foes that they had no reason for fear. He promised "equal and exact justice to all men." He declared that "though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable," and that the rights of the minority must be protected. He described the United States as "a rising nation" with a great future. He expressed his belief that our form of government was strong enough to solve the great problems that would face the nation. In fact, he called it "the strongest Government on earth."

The United States in 1800

As Thomas Jefferson made his inaugural address in 1801 the people who had voted for and against him were living in sixteen states — three more than the original thirteen. The new states were Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The city of New York had about 60,000 people in it. From New York it was possible to travel to Philadelphia, partly by stage and partly by boat, in a day and a half, but the coaches that went from Philadelphia to Baltimore required twice as long. A letter mailed in Maine might arrive in Georgia twenty days later. One million Americans, or one fifth of our entire population, were living west of the Appalachians

— in Kentucky and Tennessee and in territory that had not yet become states. To travel into those western lands, in most cases one had to walk or ride a horse or drive a wagon across the mountains. Beyond the western slopes of the Appalachians, however, it was easy to travel down the rivers in flatboats. It seemed as if every little village along these rivers — Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, for example — had dreams of becoming a future center of wealth and population. The villages would need to change considerably, however, if they were ever to be as large as such

great cities as Boston or Charleston. There seemed to be prosperity wherever one looked. Even the Federalists spoke of the prosperity, although they feared that the nation might be ruined under Jefferson.

Jefferson himself did not lack self-confidence. Calling our Ship of State the *Argosie*, he wrote: "The tough sides of our *Argosie* have been thoroughly tried. Her strength has stood the waves into which she was steered with a view to sink her. We shall put her on her Republican tack, and she will now show by the beauty of her motion the skill of her builders."

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY AT WORK

The First Acts of the Republicans

The people ruled, instead of the privileged classes, when Jefferson was President. They were the crew of his Ship of State. They did not destroy the improvements that the Federalists had accomplished. No effort was made to tear down Hamilton's plans for solving our money problems. The National Bank and the tariff were left unchanged, at first. The Republicans, however, repealed the whisky tax, which had been a hardship to the farmers of the frontier. Then too, all who had been sent to jail under the Sedition Act were pardoned. The Federalists now criticized Jefferson more bitterly than Adams had ever been criticized, but the new President never interfered with the freedom of his enemies to say and write what they pleased. The Naturalization Act also was repealed, and once more an immigrant could become a citizen in five years.

The increased power of the people in the new government was shown when clerks or reporters began to report the debates of Congress. In the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 the only record kept had been Madison's diary, and all the sessions had been in secret. In the administrations of Washington and Adams it had not been considered necessary to take all the people into the government's confidence. Now, in Jefferson's administration, the everyday affairs of government were reported to the people. Members of Congress gave increased attention to the wishes of the voters who elected them.

Results of the Louisiana Purchase

Jefferson's government purchased the Louisiana territory in 1803. This purchase greatly strengthened our nation in foreign affairs, as was shown in Chapter 7. It also had other very important results. It doubled the area of the United States and pro-

vided western commerce with an outlet to the sea. We gained tremendous wealth from the Louisiana territory, partly from its fine, rich soil, and timber which covered some of it, and partly from the great mineral wealth beneath. These riches have gone far to make us the richest nation the world has ever seen; they have made it possible for Americans to pay for schools and colleges, books, works of art, bridges, parks, churches, inventions, experiments in science, and social security.

The Louisiana Purchase also led to angry words between Republicans and Federalists. The followers of Jefferson believed that the national government should have only those powers which the Constitution said it had. They had complained bitterly when Hamilton had established the National Bank, because the Constitution did not clearly say that he could do so. Yet neither did the Constitution say that our national government could pay the people's money to a foreign government to buy land. Under these circumstances it may seem surprising that Jefferson agreed to the Louisiana Purchase without first securing an amendment to the Constitution. He felt about this much as Hamilton did about the bank, however, — that it was necessary to the welfare of the nation. He could not wait to get the Constitution amended. That would take time, and Napoleon might withdraw his offer.

The Federalists were very bitter about the Louisiana Purchase. "You have no authority to throw the rights and property of this people into the 'hotchpotch' with the wild men on the Missouri," one of them thundered. "Do you suppose the people of the

Northern and Atlantic states will, or ought to, look on with patience and see Representatives and Senators from the Red River and Missouri pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard 1500 miles, at least, from their residence?" This was exactly what they were to see, however. The Senate finally voted in favor of the Louisiana Purchase. One of the opposing Senators mourned, "The grand old republic is lost." Some even talked of seceding from the Union. Others felt that if the Constitution could be changed so that the President and Senators would inherit their offices and hold them for life, the United States might even yet be a success. The mass of Americans, however, approved of the purchase. In the next election, held in 1804, the Federalists lost even in Massachusetts, where many of their leaders lived, and Jefferson was stronger than ever.

Jefferson sent an expedition under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the Louisiana territory. They started up the Missouri River in May, 1804, and did not return until September, 1806, more than two years later. They made their way across plains, deserts, and mountain ranges of which very little was then known. They were menaced by hostile Indians, wild animals, and treacherous river currents. They ascended the Missouri River almost to its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and then followed the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. They received valuable assistance from an Indian squaw named Sakajawea (să-kă-jă-wă'ă), or "the Bird Woman," who was our first important woman explorer. The discoveries made by

this expedition contributed much to our knowledge of the Louisiana territory and the Oregon country.

The Powers of the Supreme Court

We have seen (in Chapter 6) how the Constitution divides our government into three parts. The duty of the legislative department, consisting of Congress, is to make laws. The duty of the executive department, consisting of the President and his assistants, is to enforce the laws passed by Congress. Both of these departments were controlled by the Republican party after 1800. There was a third department of government, however, called the judicial, consisting of the Supreme Court and lower courts. Part of its duty is to decide what the Constitution means and to explain laws passed by Congress. The national courts continued to be controlled by Federalists after 1800, because the judges were appointed for life. Jefferson and the Republicans in Congress regarded many of the Federalist judges as enemies. Some of these judges had sent Republicans to jail because of the Sedition Act while Adams was President. Other judges had been hurriedly appointed by Adams during his last hours in office so that the judicial department would be filled with Federalists.

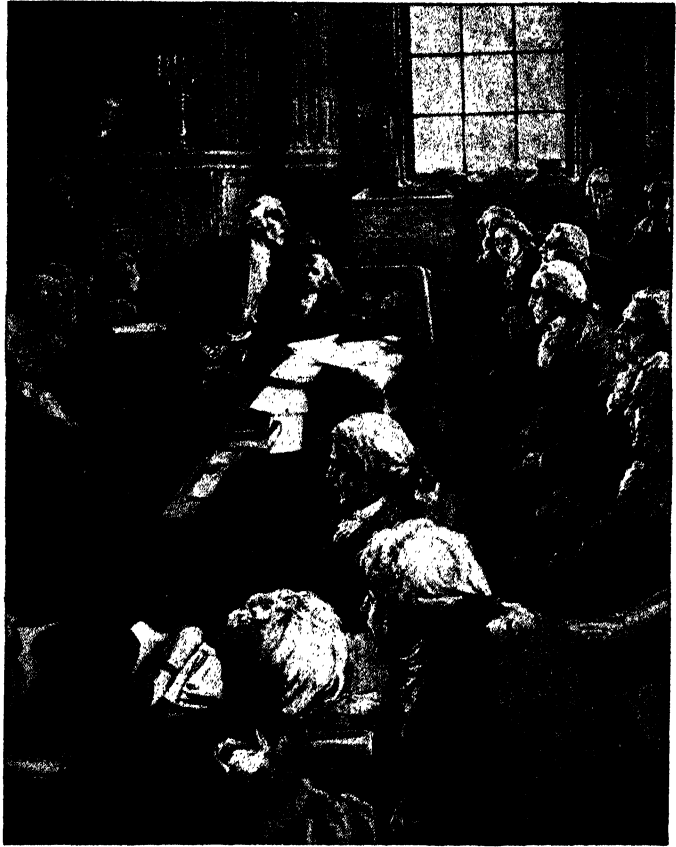
Jefferson objected to the judges whom Adams had appointed. He claimed that these appointments had not been properly made. The dispute was finally left to the Supreme Court to decide in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. The leader of the Supreme Court was John Marshall. He and the other judges were Federalists. Would Marshall and the Supreme Court decide in favor of their Fed-

eralist friends or their Republican rivals? The Supreme Court's decision agreed in general that the appointments had not been properly made. Of much greater importance, however, the Supreme Court declared that a certain law passed by Congress in 1789 was contrary to the Constitution.

The Republicans said that the Supreme Court had no authority to decide that a law of Congress was contrary to the Constitution. Nowhere in the Constitution were the judges given the right to say which of the laws of Congress had to be obeyed. It was not democratic for a few judges in office for life to decide what laws could be passed by the people's representatives in Congress. The Supreme Court had never claimed that it had so much authority in the fourteen years since Washington had become President. Why should it suddenly claim so much power now?

It was generally agreed, however, that the Supreme Court had the power and duty to interpret the meaning of the Constitution. If Congress passed a law which the Supreme Court felt was contrary to the Constitution, should not the judges say so? Marshall could answer that the Supreme Court was the watchdog of the people's liberty; that it existed to prevent Congress and the President from breaking the Constitution and taking away the rights of the people. Americans of our own day continue to disagree whether the Supreme Court should have such power. Ever since the decision in *Marbury vs. Madison* (1803), however, the judges have claimed and used the authority to decide whether a law is constitutional.

The trial of Aaron Burr resulted in acquittal. To the end of his life Burr maintained that he had not been guilty of attempting to separate the West from the United States.



Brown Bros.

The Nation Lives Through a Period of Disunity

The United States was not firmly united while Jefferson and his successor, Madison, were Presidents. Aaron Burr was a leader whose loyalty to the national government could be questioned. He became friendly with some Federalists who planned that New England should secede from the Union and form a new nation. He was to become president of this new nation if he could persuade New York to leave the Union. This plot failed because of the opposition of Alexander Hamilton. So much bitterness resulted that a duel was

fought between Burr and Hamilton in 1804. Hamilton was killed and Burr fled to the frontier, where he started new plots. We cannot be sure whether he intended to conquer Mexico, establish a colony, or make a new nation out of Spanish and American territory. He was finally arrested, however, and brought to trial on a charge of treason. Treason means making war against one's own country or giving aid to its enemies. In other words Burr was accused of being a traitor. He was not proved guilty at his trial, but many Americans felt certain that he was disloyal to his country.

There were many other cases of

disloyalty. In the years preceding the War of 1812, Jefferson persuaded Congress to pass the Embargo Act which prevented American goods being shipped to foreign ports. Its purpose was to starve England and France to the point where they would respect our rights on the ocean, but it failed to do so. It led to hard times at home and caused much disloyalty. Smuggling was to be found all along the coast. When officials sought to prevent ships from sailing, crowds gathered on the wharves and interfered with the officers. The situation was even worse along the Canadian border. The settlers of northern New York and Vermont did not possess good trade routes southward. They had to carry on commerce with Montreal or not at all. Obedience to the Embargo Act meant ruin and starvation for them. So rafts loaded with flour and corn, and guarded by gunmen, continued to sail from Lake Champlain in the direction of Montreal. Even after war with Great Britain began in 1812, some American farmers sold food to British redcoats in Canada who were preparing to invade the United States.

In 1800 the Federalist party had lost control of the national government because of its mistake in passing the Sedition Act. The party had continued to be strong in New England, however. Then, during the War of

1812, it became more unpopular than ever. The Federalist party came to be regarded by many as disloyal to the nation because New England was opposed to the War of 1812 as being unwise and unnecessary, and because many of New England's leaders were Federalists. Whether or not the Federalists deserved to be called disloyal, their opposition to the War of 1812 wrecked their party. Never again was the Federalist party to be of any importance in the history of the United States.

The last act of the Federalists was a meeting at Hartford near the end of the War of 1812. There they drew up seven amendments which they wished to have added to the Constitution. These amendments would have decreased the power of the South and West in the government, and would have strengthened New England. Before the Federalist agents had time to reach Washington with the proposed amendments, however, news arrived of Jackson's great victory at New Orleans and of the Treaty of Ghent which brought peace. Everywhere rejoicing filled the air, and the Federalists realized that in all this celebration no one desired to listen to their demands for changing the Constitution. They soon were home-ward bound, and their party was no longer able to challenge the Republicans.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

The Republicans were victorious nearly everywhere in the election of 1816. Their candidate for President, James Monroe, received the votes of all but three of the states that then

composed our nation. Monroe traveled around the country after the election and was received everywhere with enthusiasm. He was welcomed even in New England, which

formerly had had little use for Jefferson's friends. Four years later he was elected again for a second term. On this occasion he received the support of every state and had all of the electoral votes but one. Because of the absence of party conflict Monroe's eight years in office have been called the "era of good feeling."

In 1809 Jefferson had retired to his mansion at Monticello, but he continued to be one of the most influential men in America. He served as chief adviser of his close friend President James Madison from 1809 to 1817. Now from the peace and quiet of Monticello he influenced greatly the career of President James Monroe. Jefferson did not seek to dictate to the Presidents who followed him; rather it was they who came to him for advice. From the democratic "Sage of Monticello," as he was called, came words of wisdom to which the whole nation listened with respect.

Americans Become More Firmly United

During this period there was a strengthening of the ties that held Americans together. There was a lessening of state jealousies, as settlers from the older states continued to mingle in the rapidly growing West. Virginians, New Yorkers, and families from other states were all mixed up together on the western frontier. Their loyalty to states from which they had moved became less and less. Their tendency was to think of themselves as Americans rather than as Virginians or New Yorkers or people of any other state. Our citizens everywhere were more likely to think in terms of the welfare of the nation as a whole, or at least of their section.

Meanwhile even the Republicans had lost much of their suspicion of a strong central government. After the War of 1812 was over we find them doing things for which they had bitterly criticized Hamilton a quarter of a century before. They had declared that his bank was contrary to the Constitution, but finally they established another bank which was very much like Hamilton's. The Republicans also framed a law which made taxes higher on goods from other countries. These taxes increased the cost of living, thus falling heaviest upon the poor. They were of most benefit to some of the businessmen, against whom the followers of Jefferson had once been strongly opposed.

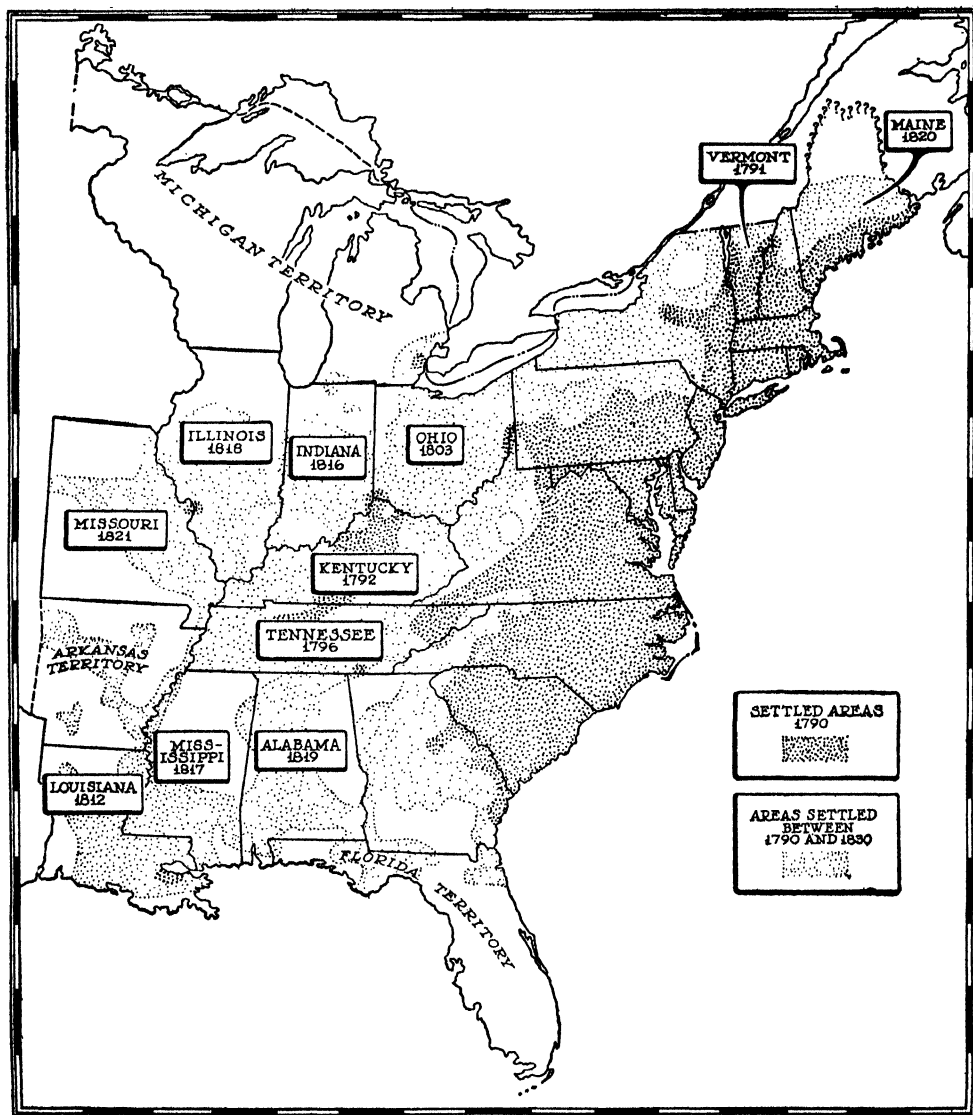
Some of the Republican leaders were more in favor of a strong central government than were others. Both Madison and Monroe felt that the building of roads and canals by the national government was contrary to the Constitution. They agreed that such internal improvements should be left to the states. Henry Clay did not agree with such views. In fact Clay felt that the national government could do anything which was not clearly prohibited or prevented by the Constitution. So finally the Republican party divided into two groups. Those who followed Henry Clay were called National Republicans. Those who were mainly concerned with the welfare of the common man and who were even yet inclined to distrust a strong central government gradually became followers of the hero of the Battle of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson.

The growing tendency among Republicans to favor a strong central government was pleasing to the mem-

174 THE UNITED STATES BECOMES MORE DEMOCRATIC

bers of the Supreme Court. John Marshall and the other judges felt that the powers of the national government should be much greater than the power possessed by the states. It was generally agreed that the Supreme Court had the right to decide whether state laws were contrary to the Constitution and the laws of the

nation. The Court, under the leadership of Marshall, used this right to increase the powers of the nation and decrease the authority of the states. The judges overruled Georgia in 1810, Virginia in 1816, New Hampshire and Maryland in 1819, and New York in 1824. The nation accepted these decisions of the Supreme



The Settled Parts of the United States in 1830



Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

An early Fourth of July celebration in Philadelphia. The anniversary "ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illumination . . .," wrote John Adams.

Court because most Americans had come to believe in a stronger national government after the War of 1812. By the time Monroe ceased to be President in 1825 the states were accustomed to accepting the authority of the Supreme Court. We looked more and more like a strongly united nation than a loose union of almost independent states. The Ship of State was stronger than ever before.

Celebrating Our Fiftieth Anniversary

In 1826 Americans were planning to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The United States of 1826 was quite different from the United States of 1776. There were now twenty-four states, nearly twice the original thirteen. Two, Louisiana and Missouri, were (one mostly and the other entirely) beyond the Mississippi River.

Population had increased very rapidly. In 1776 there had been less than three million people in the entire nation, but by 1826 this number had risen to nearly thirteen million Americans. There were now more people living west of the Appalachians than had lived in all the thirteen original states in 1789. The North was growing much more rapidly than the South. Charleston continued to be the South's leading seaport even though its population was only 30,000. New York City, which in 1790 had been only double the size of Charleston, was now about eight times as large, with a population of 242,000 inhabitants. Progress was taking place in science and the arts, as we shall see in Unit V.

Yes, America was growing at a fast pace, and important changes were taking place within our nation. Fifty

years before, as the thirteen colonies, divided within and among themselves, had prepared to fight for independence, no one would have considered such rapid growth possible. Instead of being a small, weak nation with straggling settlements along the Atlantic coastal plain, we were now a giant among nations in the size of our possessions.

The Fourth of July, 1826, arrived. Americans everywhere celebrated the great occasion. At noon on that day, in Philadelphia, the Liberty Bell once more pealed out its joyous message — the message that had come fifty years before from the pen of the wise man from Monticello. On that day there were speeches and parades and celebrations all over the United States. There were people still living who could remember the nation's birthday, half a century earlier. And all who were living in 1826 were proud of the new nation and of the way it had weathered its early storms.

On July 4, 1826, as John Adams lay dying in Massachusetts, his thoughts turned to the thrilling days

of 1776. He had been a member of the committee (headed by Thomas Jefferson) which had framed the Declaration of Independence. After he retired from public life to Massachusetts and Jefferson retired to Monticello, the two old rivals became strong friends. They wrote letters regularly to each other, discussing the stirring events that they had taken part in, and writing about the future of the nation they both loved. On his deathbed Adams murmured, "Jefferson yet lives." He did not know that Jefferson had died only a few hours before on the same day. Jefferson had watched over the progress of the nation for a half century since writing most of the Declaration of Independence. He was satisfied with what had been accomplished in that time; he had bright hopes for the future of the nation. As these two founders of the nation died, while their fellow citizens celebrated the nation's fiftieth anniversary, an era came to an end. Other Americans had to carry on the work which such leaders as Adams and Jefferson had begun.

Study Activities

1. *A Review Chart of Presidential Administrations:* Make a chart showing the presidential administrations from 1801 to 1829, with the chief events of each administration. Read Chapter 10 carefully and review earlier chapters in the book in preparation for constructing the chart.

2. *Dramatizing a Bitter Campaign.* Dramatize the campaign, the election, and the inauguration which followed the choice of a President in 1800. The campaign was one of the bitterest in our history; the election was unique because

of the tie between Jefferson and Burr; the inauguration was the first to be held in Washington. One scene may show the debate in Congress over the choice of President, and may refer to Hamilton's statement made to Gouverneur Morris. "If there is one man in the world I ought to hate, it is Jefferson. With Burr I have always been personally well acquainted. But the public good must be paramount to every consideration."

3. *The Story of Thomas Jefferson.* On the basis of all you have read in the text thus

far, as well as by consulting encyclopedias and reading biographies, write a theme about Thomas Jefferson. Few other men have been as influential as he in shaping the growth of the United States. Your theme should include answers to the following questions:

What were Jefferson's greatest contributions to the growth of the United States?

What is meant by "Jeffersonian democracy"?

How successful was he as President?

Would you have liked to know him?

4. *Changes in the Country between 1790-1800.* On pages 167-168 in Chapter 10 is a paragraph on "The United States in 1800." Beginning on page 151 in Chapter 9 is a section on "The United States in Washington's Time." Read the two and make a list of the ways in which the country at the time of Jefferson's inauguration was different from the country at the time of Washington's administration.

5. *Good Books to Read.* Excellent to read about this era are *The Codfish Musket*, by Agnes Banforth Hewes (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1936) and two biographies of Jefferson—*Thomas Jefferson*, by Gene Lisitsky (Viking Press, 1933) and *Thomas Jefferson*, by Hendrik W. Van Loon (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1943).

6. *A Class Map of the Louisiana Territory.* In Chapter 7 was the story of how the Louisiana territory was purchased from France in 1803. The importance of the new territory to the development of the United States is suggested in Chapter 10. Make a large class map of the Louisiana territory. Show the route Lewis and Clark followed in exploring this region. Consult your geography books and show on the map the natural resources of the region. Show what states were later carved from it. What were the Federalist arguments against the purchase? Were they justified?

7. *Books to Read.* *Free River — A Story of Old New Orleans*, by Myrna Lockwood (E. P. Dutton & Co., 1942), will be of interest to many members of the class. It is an exciting tale of intrigue and adventure, telling how the old Spanish-French city became American. Interesting accounts of the Lewis and Clark expedition can be found in *No Other White Men*, by Julia Davis (E. P. Dutton & Co., 1937), and *Trail Blazers* by Mary Wade (Little, Brown & Co., 1924).

8. *The Decline of the Federalist Party.* Make a list of all the reasons why the Federalist party weakened and ceased to exist in the period between 1796 and 1815.

9. *What's in a Name?* Is "The Era of Good Feeling" a good name for the period between 1816 and 1825? James Truslow Adams (in *The March of Democracy*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, Vol. I, p. 259) says, "Largely from absence of any opposition party, his [Monroe's] eight years of office have been called 'the era of good feeling.' Rather it may be called the era of slack water, of pause before new and violent controversies were to be aroused by the problems and personalities now coming to the front." Can you think of a better name for the period than "era of good feeling?" List all the arguments for and against the name.

10. *A Changing Country.* Write a paper on "The United States in 1825," showing how the United States was different then from the way it was in 1800.

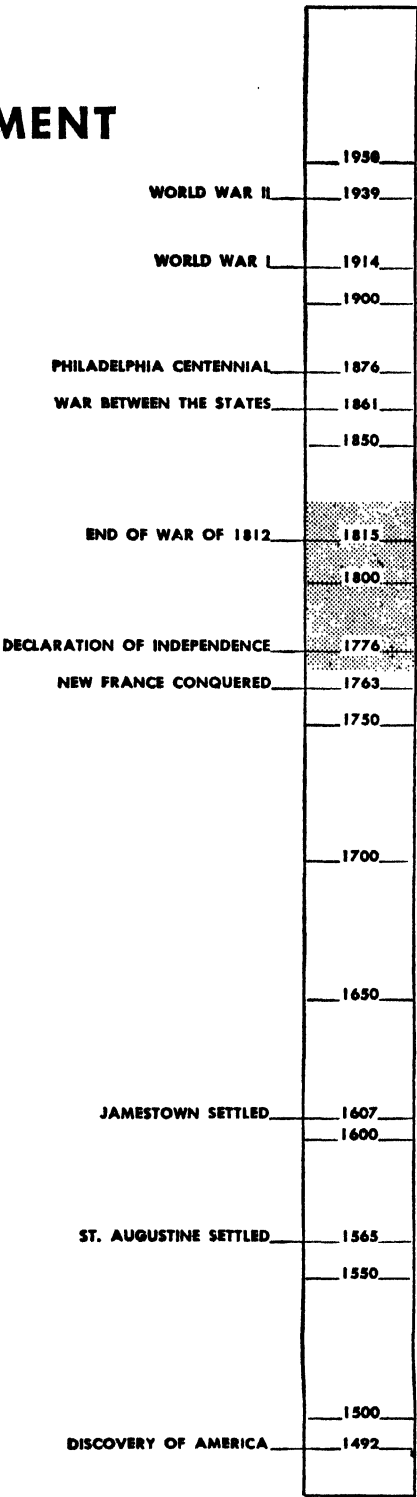
11. *An Anniversary Celebration.* Hold a class observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the United States as if you were meeting on July 4, 1826. Prepare a program of short speeches, songs, appropriate dramatizations. Prepare an exhibit showing how the country had grown in fifty years.

CHAPTER 11

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

1828 A WESTERNER, JACKSON, ELECTED
 PRESIDENT
1787 NORTHWEST ORDINANCE
1785 LAND ORDINANCE
1769 BOONE LEADS THE WAY TO KENTUCKY

"We are great and rapidly—I was
about to say fearfully—growing."
 John C. Calhoun



THE STORY OF DANIEL BOONE

Turn back the pages of history to the spring of 1750. A family was then making its way southward through the Shenandoah Valley. Squire Boone had decided that his neighbors in Pennsylvania had been interfering too much with his personal and family affairs. He vowed that he would not settle again until he reached a place where a man would be free to do as he pleased. Striding ahead was his son, a lad of sixteen named Daniel, restlessly waiting for a chance to draw his rifle on a deer or a turkey. It was always to be his destiny to stride on ahead, blazing trails for others to follow — blazing his country's path across the continent. Over a half century later,

when his hair was no longer black and the blue of his eyes was faded, he continued to lead the way toward the land of the open frontier.

On North Carolina's frontier Squire Boone found the freedom that he craved. Six years later his son Daniel served as a wagoner in Braddock's army. When the expedition marched into an Indian ambush, he managed to escape death by dashing away on the back of one of his horses. After the end of the French and Indian War he married but was not satisfied with living in any one place. He would be away from home months at a time on his trips into the wilderness. In 1769 he finally pushed through the mountains into the blue-



Daniel Boone's first view of Kentucky. Daniel Boone was not a typical "pioneer," but in our history he has become a symbol of the hunter-pioneer who opened up the vast West to settlement.

The Bellmann Archive

grass region of Kentucky, where he found an abundance of elk, bears, and buffaloes.

Boone and those who followed in his footsteps experienced all the terrors of Indian warfare. Nothing could halt them, however. A band of pioneers founded Boonesborough¹ about the time the Revolution was beginning. Other settlers continued to come even during the war. By 1790 Kentucky had more citizens than Delaware or Rhode Island. Then, however, Kentucky no longer suited Boone. It was too crowded, and the game too scarce. In 1788, while in the eastern states people were debating about the Constitution, Boone decided to move from Kentucky. At the age of fifty-four he plunged once more into the wilderness — this time into what is now West Virginia.

Here again he became one of the leading citizens, and represented his neighbors in the Virginia legislature. He preferred to hunt, however, and before the sessions were over he was homeward-bound with his rifle and his hunting dog. Meanwhile deer were becoming scarce even in western Virginia. Tales were being told of a place called Missouri. So in 1799, at the age of sixty-five, while the Federalists and the Republicans were debating bitterly about the Sedition Act, Boone set out upon the Ohio River to find a new home. As he passed through Cincinnati, he was asked why he was moving to Missouri at his age.

"Too crowded," he answered; "I want more elbowroom!"

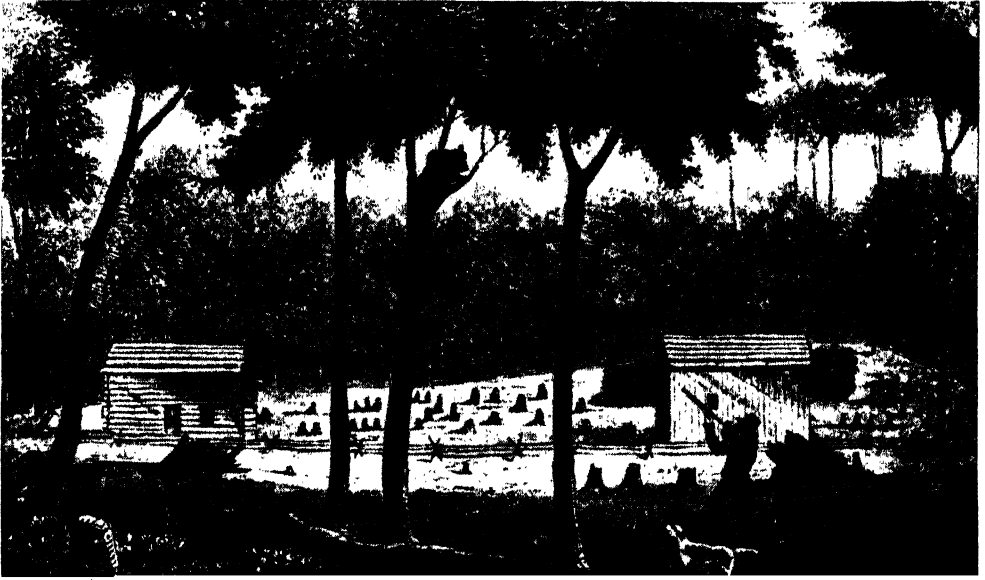
Boone settled near the Missouri River in what was then Spanish ter-

ritory. In 1800 he became a kind of judge and settled cases in whatever manner he thought right. His favorite punishment was the hickory rod "well laid on." Missouri came under the American flag in 1803. Then the great explorers, Lewis and Clark, came that way as they began to explore the Louisiana territory which Jefferson had purchased from France. They stopped to grasp the hand of the aged Boone. Settlers on their way to Oregon in 1811 could point him out sitting on the bank of the river. Although Boone was then seventy-seven, his greatest desires undoubtedly were more game and more elbowroom.

He was never too old to hunt. In 1814, when he was eighty, he was after big game in the Yellowstone region. Once he was asked if he had ever been lost in the woods. "No, I never got lost," he replied, "but I was bewildered once for three days." He died in 1820 in his eighty-sixth year.

Seventy years had come and gone since Daniel Boone had left Pennsylvania in 1750. At that time it was not even certain whether our land would be French or British. At the end of his life we were an independent nation with a population of more than nine and a half million. The wilderness between the Appalachians and the Mississippi had developed into vigorous states. Across that wilderness Boone had blazed a path for settlers. Each of several stars added to the flag had pushed him farther west. Boone, however, was only one of a remarkable group of men. Other pioneers like him followed closely on his heels, and then, when he grew old, plunged on beyond.

¹ The present-day spelling is Boonesboro.

*Culver Service*

Part of Rochester, in western New York, 1812. Much of our land had to be quickly and wastefully cleared before farming could be started.

ENTERING THE PROMISED LAND

Americans Move West

Farmers worried about their scanty crops on the rocky hillsides of New England in the 1760's and 1770's. Their eyes lit up with hope as they talked of the rich soil of western New York and along the Ohio. The hearts of plantation owners from Virginia to Georgia were filled with dismay as each year's cotton crop was less than that of the year before. Everywhere there was restlessness among the people; the Appalachians were like a great dam holding back a human flood. After Boone the dam began to break. First a trickle came here and there, and then a great movement of people. The West was a "promised land" where all men hoped to find what their hearts de-

sired. It was a "manless land for landless men."

The first settlements were made in Kentucky and Tennessee even before the thirteen colonies had declared their independence from Britain. The first settlers were mostly Scotch-Irish farmers from the interior of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. At first Kentucky belonged to Virginia, and Tennessee belonged to North Carolina. The frontier settlers, however, were anxious to govern themselves. Those who went to Tennessee quarreled bitterly with their mother state over their right to govern themselves. They tried to create a new state called Franklin under the leadership of John Sevier (sê-vêr'). Because of the bitterness between these settlers and North Carolina, Tennes-

see did not grow nearly as fast as Kentucky. By 1790, however, both of them had considerable population, and were knocking at the doors of Congress demanding to be states like the original thirteen. After Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791, Kentucky was admitted in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

Kentucky and Tennessee were different from the other states to be carved out of the West. They had been settled as parts of older states. Many settlers had purchased the land from Virginia and North Carolina. Other sections of the West were not settled in this way. The land belonged to the national government and it was up to Congress to decide how settlers could secure it.

How Western Lands Were Sold

Congress did not follow the example set in Kentucky and Tennessee when it decided how to sell its western land in the 1780's. In Kentucky and Tennessee each settler had selected his own boundaries. This resulted in many conflicting land claims which caused quarrels between neighbors and benefited only the lawyers. In the Land Ordinance passed by Congress in 1785, it was provided that the western lands should first be surveyed and divided into areas, called townships, each six miles square, containing 36 square miles. Each township was divided into sections, each a mile square, with 640 acres. One of the 36 sections would be reserved in each township for the support of education; the others would be sold. First some of the land would be sold at auction to the highest bidder, then the remainder could be bought for \$1 an acre. No one could buy less than a section. At

least \$640 in cash, which was then quite a fortune, was required to buy a farm in the West. This was a great hardship to the poor men who wished to settle there.

Anyone could buy much larger amounts of land if he had the money or was able to obtain a special grant from Congress. Large companies were formed by businessmen who wished to gamble or speculate in western lands. One group of New Englanders led by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler organized the Ohio Company which persuaded Congress to let it and other speculators have 5,000,000 acres at a cost of eight or nine cents an acre. The large companies, however, were anxious to obtain the highest price possible when they sold the land to settlers. Therefore, it was as difficult for the actual settler to buy a farm from them as from the government.

The pioneer found no relief until 1800. Then Congress provided under the Harrison Law that land could be sold by half-section (320 acres) on credit although the price was \$2 an acre after auction. Four years later a settler could buy as little as 160 acres. In 1820 this was further reduced to 80 acres at \$1.25 an acre, but it was even difficult to pay \$100 cash for a frontier farm. More and more pioneers were settling on the land without buying it. Sometimes they were forced off and sometimes they remained. The feeling was strong throughout the West that all land should be free; that it belonged to the people, not to the government.

How the West Was Governed

The Land Ordinance of 1785 did not state how the territory west of the Appalachians should be governed.



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

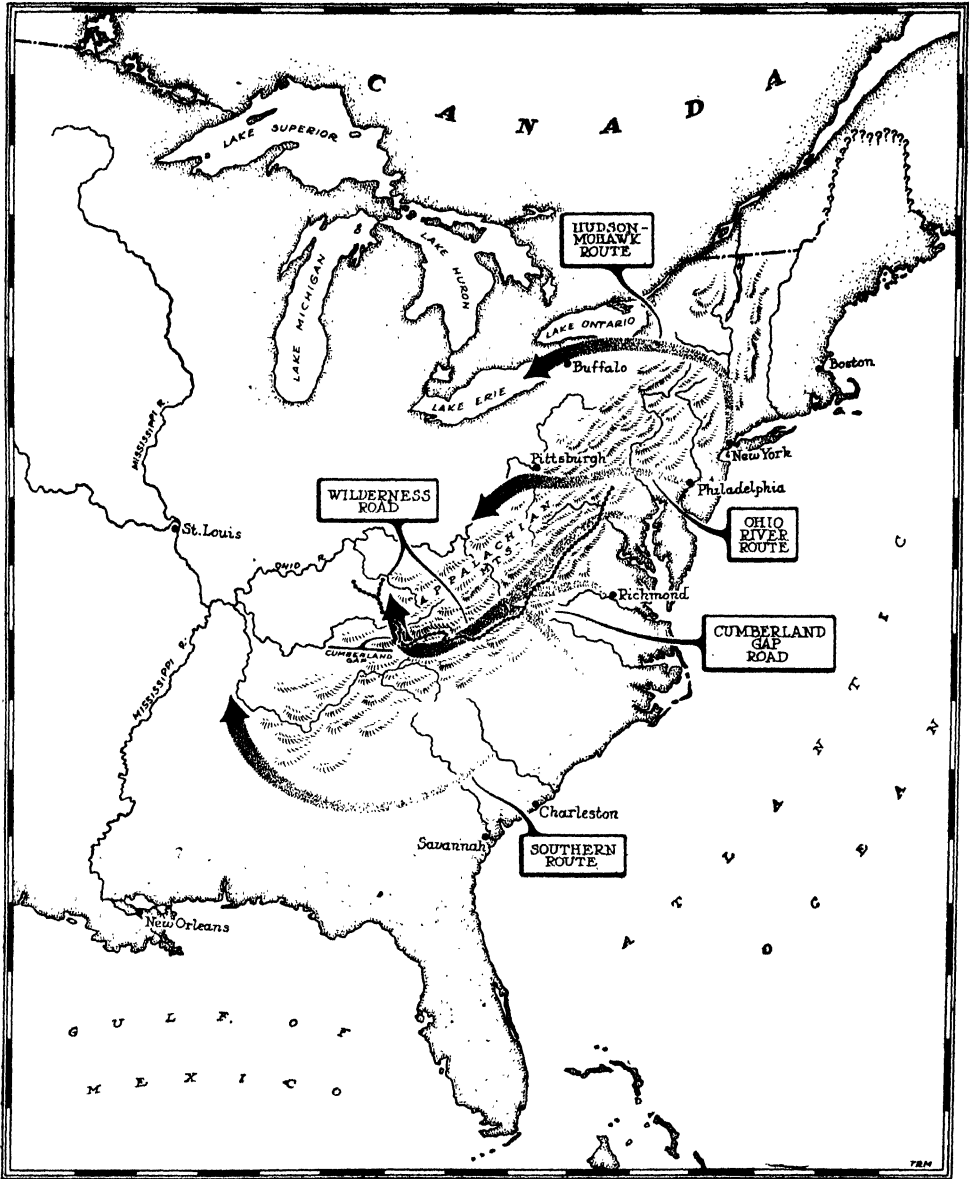
Border settlers in Ohio. How does this picture of early settlers in Ohio compare with the picture (on page 28) of the first settlers at Jamestown, Virginia, almost two hundred years earlier?

Congress might have refused to admit new states into the Union. In that case the West might have been divided into colonies each ruled by a governor sent out from the nation's capital. The United States might have become a large empire under such a plan of government, but it would never have been a strong nation.

In 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, which was briefly described in Chapter 6. The Northwest Ordinance was the greatest accomplishment of our government under the Articles of Confederation; indeed, it is one of the landmarks of our entire history. It concerned only the territory between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, but it set an example which was to be followed in regard to other sections of the West.

The Northwest Ordinance pro-

vided that territories should be created which in time would become states equal in all ways with the original thirteen. The law said that while settlers were few, the frontier regions were to be governed by officials chosen by Congress. When there were 5000 free men in a territory, they could elect a local legislature and send a delegate to Congress. The governor, however, would continue to be appointed from the nation's capital. Finally when there were 60,000 inhabitants in the territory they could write a Constitution and their territory could become a state. Because of this ordinance the citizens of Ohio, Illinois, or Wisconsin were to have as many rights as citizens living in South Carolina, New Jersey, or Connecticut. This equality among our states was to be one of the strongest bonds holding Americans together.



Westward Migration Routes

In fact, it is considered a great achievement in the art of government, and has had much to do with making us a strong and vigorous nation.

The Northwest Ordinance had provisions other than those concerned with government. It provided that

settlers of the new territories would be guaranteed their personal liberty, including religious freedom and trial by jury. It also stated that there should be no slavery in the Northwest Territory, although this provision was not always obeyed.

Routes to the West

The settlers moved into the West by four great routes, as shown on the map on page 184. One route was in the extreme South around the southern end of the Appalachian Mountains. A second route was the Wilderness Road which followed Daniel Boone's trail through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. A third route went over the Pennsylvania mountains to Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio. A fourth route went around the northern end of the mountains, up the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and then across New York state to Lake Erie.

The settlers traveled by rivers whenever possible. One important meeting place was Pittsburgh, where the settlers bought or rented boats to carry them down the Ohio. These boats were often little more than rafts, but they generally managed to hold together under the weight of families and their entire possessions, including

horses, cows, and pigs. In 1787 alone "more than 900 boats floated down the Ohio, carrying 18,000 men, women, and children, and 12,000 horses, sheep, and cattle, and 650 wagons." Soon entire eastern communities became infected with the fever for western lands. There was no sign that this great migration to the West would ever stop. Settlers poured through the Appalachians as if they were a great flood, drowning out the old wilderness.

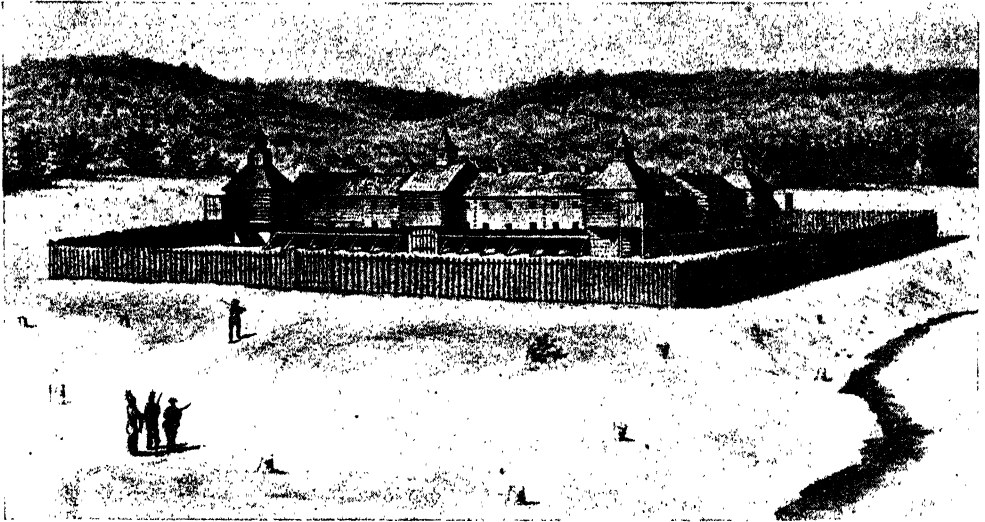
There was alarm as well as amazement in the East. Were the old states to decay at their leisure? One New Englander wrote, "Our dwellings, our schoolhouses, and churches will have mouldered to ruins, our graveyards will be overrun with shrub oak; and but here and there a wretched hermit, true to his paternal soil, to tell the tale of other times." The older states, however, were not destined to decay; and the settlers moving westward to the frontier were to make the great Mississippi Valley a part of a greater and stronger United States.

A NEWER AMERICA

Who Were the Western Settlers?

At first most of the settlers of the West came from the South. In general they were the same type of people who had gone into Kentucky and Tennessee — small farmers from the back country of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Some were Quakers who desired to move where there were no slaves. Most farmers moved because they were weary of trying to conquer poverty on the

older frontier. They spread southward and westward into Alabama and Mississippi, but they did not prosper there. The soil of eastern plantations became exhausted because the same crop was planted year after year and the land was not adequately fertilized. Planters went west in search of new plantations to replace those worn out in the East. They bought up the best land at the auctions or purchased the farms of the pioneers. In the end the small farmers



Ohio State Museum, from H. P. Fischer, Marietta, Ohio

Campus Martius, built at Marietta, Ohio, was much larger than most forts on the frontier. It was really a frontier fortress which could contain 864 people in case of emergency. Compare with Fort of Astoria on page 243.

either found themselves pushed out into another frontier or crowded back into the hills where they remained "poor whites."

In the Northwest Territory Rev. Manasseh Cutler's land company settled Marietta, Ohio, in 1788, and men from Connecticut established Cleveland in 1796. Even in the Northwest, however, many of the settlers came from Virginia or some state farther south. As late as 1820 Southerners made up most of the population of the Northwest Territory as a whole. Most of the men who came from the back country of Virginia and North Carolina were extremely poor. Some of them brought their entire possessions in packs upon their backs. Not all came directly from the Old South; many paused in Kentucky on their way, as Abraham Lincoln's family did.

Abraham Lincoln's grandfather left Virginia for Kentucky in 1792 after listening to the tales of Daniel

Boone. His parents continued on to Indiana in 1816 when Abraham was a small boy of seven. They were so poor that during the first year they lived in a rude shelter of poles, with the south side completely open to the weather. After that they had only a one-room log cabin with no floor; nor was there any covering over the window or the door. When night came the boy would climb upward on pegs driven into the wall until he could reach the loft. There in a corner was a heap of dry leaves which served as his bed. This home was typical of the frontier.

Most of the settlers of the new West were small farmers. What they produced out of the richness of their soil was to influence the growth and development of all sections of the nation. So large were their crops of wheat and corn that they could afford to sell their grain at a smaller price than could Eastern farmers. Farmers of New York, for example, were

forced to turn from wheat, sheep, and hogs to dairy cattle. Traffic on the Mississippi River increased at a rapid pace. A traveler going upstream in 1816 met two thousand flatboats in twenty-five days. The most exciting adventure of a farm boy was likely to be a flatboat trip down the river to New Orleans with a cargo of flour, meal, and whisky. Soon the Middle West was producing much more food than could possibly be used in the United States. As a result New Orleans, New York, and other cities became great centers of commerce, where the merchant ships of many nations could be seen. From these ports American ships sailed to all quarters of the globe.

Solving Transportation Problems

One of the chief problems of the Western settlers was transportation. It was easy to float produce down the river, but the best markets were to the east, not to the south. Fulton invented the steamboat in 1807 and within four years it was conquering the Mississippi. The main problem, however, could not be solved until canals and railroads connected the Northwest with the cities on the Atlantic seaboard. If farmers drove their livestock to markets which were too far away, fat animals would become lean before they could be sold. Heavy freight wagons were used to carry grain from Ohio to Baltimore, but this trip required a month, and the cost was \$150 for each ton carried. The Erie Canal which led to the New York markets was not completed until 1825, and it was still later before railroads became important.

Many of the westward-moving settlers had Conestoga (kōn-ēs-tō'gá)

wagons. These wagons were first made in eastern Pennsylvania. They were large and strong, and gorgeous in color. The wagon had a long deep bottom, with ends curving up at both front and back so that loads would not spill out on going up or down hill. Over the body was a frame of wooden bows. This frame was covered with white cloth or canvas, making a roof for women and children and protecting the load. When a deep stream was to be crossed, the wheels were taken off and the wagon became a boat. The wagon was generally drawn by six horses. This Conestoga wagon was the famous "covered wagon" which was to carry Americans to Oregon, to California, and to all the other frontiers of the West.

Effect of the Cotton Gin

Eli Whitney was a Connecticut schoolteacher who invented the cotton gin while Washington was President. This machine would pick seeds out of cotton much faster than could possibly be done by hand. The gin was of greatest importance west of the fall line because the type of cotton that could be raised there contained too many seeds to be profitably removed by hand. Because of the gin, cotton became the main crop grown in the South between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. By 1831, half of the nation's cotton crop was raised west of the mountains; by 1834, two thirds. Soon the continuous planting of the one crop year after year was exhausting the soil in such states as Alabama and Mississippi as it had in Georgia and South Carolina. Then plantation owners were forced to move onward again to newer land.

The Settlers Govern Themselves

The settlers did not lack confidence in their ability to govern themselves. They seemed to feel that this ability to govern was something each man was born with, much as was his ability to see and hear. Lack of formal education was no obstacle in a frontier society. David Crockett was a famous pioneer who became a leader in both Tennessee and Texas. He was scarcely able to write his own name, and had never read a page of a law book when he was made a local judge or justice in Tennessee. He declared that he decided his cases according to "the principles of common justice and honesty between man and man, and relied on natural-born sense and not on law learning." When he was later elected to the Tennessee legislature he confessed that he had never read a newspaper. Each pioneer considered himself a constitution-maker. The pioneers did not even wait for halls in which to meet. The first lawmaking body in Kentucky met under a large elm outside the stockade of Boonesborough.

It is not surprising that the constitutions of the new states differed in many ways from those of the Atlantic seaboard. In Kentucky all free male citizens were allowed the right to vote if they had lived there for two years. Furthermore any voter, whether he owned property or not, was eligible for election as a member of the state legislature or as governor of the state. Gone on this frontier were most of the great inequalities that had existed, and which in some cases continued to exist, in the thirteen original states. Here finally it was accepted that "all

men are created equal"; or at least all white men, for Kentucky barred the Negro.

Tennessee allowed all men to vote, but to sit in the legislature it was necessary to own 200 acres of land, and to be governor one had to own 500 acres. In Indiana it was necessary to be a taxpayer to hold high state office. Vermont was very democratic in giving the ballot to all men, but no one could help make state laws in Vermont unless he was a member of a Protestant church and could swear that he believed in God and the Bible. In spite of such restrictions as remained, the new constitutions were much more democratic than the old.

There were also many provisions dealing with public education. Ohio set aside state lands to be sold in order to raise money for the support of schools. Various states went farther, making plans for school systems which began with district schools and ended with state universities. They were to be open to all people equally, and no tuition could be charged those who might wish to attend.

The democracy thus won on this frontier affected the older states and the nation in much the same way as had the democracy of the older American frontier east of the Appalachians. In time the constitutions of the older and wealthier states were to resemble those of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. In the not far distant future this frontier was to send one of its leaders to live in the White House.

The West Becomes Important in National Politics

Ohio became a state in 1803, Louisiana in 1812, Indiana in 1816,



New York Public Library

Pioneer life in Missouri, 1820. From this picture what can you tell about the pioneer's way of building, his tools, weapons, utensils, furniture, clothes, and amusements?

Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821. By that time our nation consisted of twenty-four states instead of the original thirteen (see map, page 174). All these new Western states were rapidly growing. Indiana increased from 24,520 inhabitants in 1810 to 147,178 in 1820.

The America of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, confined largely as it was between the Atlantic and the Appalachians, had been rather frail. The Federalists had nourished it and given it strength, and the Republicans had made it united and democratic. Now the growing republic was broadening out and developing its muscles. Each new state admitted to our Union made the nation more vigorous. The United States was showing signs of becoming a giant.

In national politics the new West was to find itself often in conflict with the older states, especially the Northeast. In all the newly settled regions the settlers wanted cheap land; the cheaper the better, and free if they could get it. They were anxious to have roads and canals built at the expense of the national government. The settlers lacked the money necessary to build roads and canals themselves, and felt that those improvements would benefit the older states as well as their own. They were opposed to strong national banks because they wanted cheaper money to which the Eastern bankers objected. They desired cheap money for the same reasons as American pioneers of earlier days. The Westerners were against a tariff or tax on factory goods. Such a tax would increase the cost of what they had to buy.

The newer America west of the Appalachians was becoming important in national politics. That section had two candidates for President in the election of 1824. One of the Western candidates was Henry Clay of Kentucky. Clay was a brilliant speaker and a leader of the National Republicans. He was destined to become famous for his ability to compromise quarrels between North and South over slavery. The second Western candidate was Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. He had become famous as a military leader because of his great victory at New Orleans at the close of the War of 1812. He not only believed in the ability of the common people to govern; he was one of the common people himself. In the election of 1824 Jackson received more electoral votes than anyone else, but there were several candidates. Because no candidate had a majority of the electoral vote, the election was decided by the House of Representatives. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was finally named President with the help of Clay. Jackson felt that he had been unjustly deprived of his right to be President, and was determined to defeat Adams in 1828.

John Quincy Adams was one of the greatest Americans of his day. He had been Secretary of State under President Monroe, as was recorded in Chapter 7. He had made treaties with foreign nations which had established important national boundaries, and had been largely responsible for the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. He believed that the success of democracy depended upon the education of the voters. He possessed the ability to become a great President, but accom-

plished little because of bitter political quarrels among the nation's leaders. He and Jackson again were candidates for President in 1828.

The two candidates were unlike in many ways. Adams was the son of a former President, well educated, and formal in manner. Jackson was of the common people, with little formal education, and used to the rough ways of the frontier. Adams had had long experience in government, while Jackson was known mainly as a general and an energetic frontier leader. Adams had studied the problems of the nation while Jackson had been growing up with the West. Adams represented the older America east of the Appalachians; Jackson was the hero of the newer America of the West. All previous Presidents had come from Virginia and Massachusetts. Could a man be elected President who lived in one of the new states west of the Appalachians? All previous Presidents had come from the well-to-do and educated groups. Could a man be elected President who was one of the common people?

To both questions the voters answered "yes," in 1828. All of the states in the South, all of the states west of the Appalachians, and Pennsylvania and New York gave a majority of their popular votes to electors for Jackson. The only states won by electors for Adams were in New England, and New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. In 1828 the nation selected Jackson, a Westerner and a common man, to become President and guide the Ship of State. Would such a President prove to be an expert pilot like Washington or Jefferson? Could common people make democracy work?

Study Activities

1. *Daniel Boone*. Make a list of reasons suggested in Chapter 11 why the life of Daniel Boone is a good example of the westward movement in United States history. Many interesting books about Boone have been written. Among them are *Daniel Boone, Wilderness Scout*, by Stewart Edward White (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1926), *Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman*, by C. H. Forbes-Lindsay (J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938) and *Daniel Boone*, by James Daugherty (Viking Press, 1939). A good poem, "Daniel Boone" by Arthur Guiterman, may be found in Barnes, Bessey, and others, *The American Scene*, in *The Realm of Reading* series (American Book Company, 1940). A short account of Boone's adventures, under the title of "Captive of the Indians" by Stewart Edward White, may be found in Barnes, Bessey, and others, *Doorways*, in *The Realm of Reading* series (American Book Company, 1941).

2. *Packing to Move West*. If you had lived in Massachusetts in the 1790's and were moving westward with your family, what few possessions would you try to take with you? How would you travel to the Ohio country? A book useful in answering these questions, because it tells a true story of a family moving from Rutland, Massachusetts, to Belpre, Ohio, is *Wagons Away*, by Josephine E. Phillips and Howard E. Wilson (American Book Company, 1941).

3. *Drawings of Boats*. As Americans moved beyond the Appalachians they used the great river tributaries of the Mississippi as highways for travel. Down the Ohio floated canoes, rafts, flatboats, keelboats, barges, and steamboats. Draw a series of illustrations picturing the different types of boats used by the pioneer settlers of the Northwest Territory.

4. *Maps of Western Territories*. Draw a freehand map of the Northwest Terri-

tory. Locate on it the principal travel routes of the early settlers. Locate all the places in the Northwest mentioned in Chapter 11. Make a similar map for the old Southwest — the area bounded by the Appalachians, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River, and the Ohio River.

5. *A Chart of Western Settlement*. Construct a chart showing the settlement of the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. In the first column list all the states of that area in the order in which they were admitted to the Union. In the second column write the date of admission for each state, and in the third indicate the area, in square miles, of each state. Consult the table on page xxxix of this book.

6. *From Territory to State*. Outline the steps by which an area of western land could become a territory and then a state. If your own state was first organized as a territory and then a state, write a pageant of the chief events.

7. *A Frontier Home*. Make a series of drawings of a typical frontier home west of the Appalachian Mountains.

8. *A Dramatic Reading*. Choose one member of the class to read to the group the poem called "The Ballad of William Sycamore" by Stephen Vincent Benét. It may be found in *Trails*, in *The Realm of Reading* series, by Barnes, Bessey, and others (American Book Company, 1941).

9. *A Model Conestoga Wagon*. Could you build a model of a Conestoga wagon, or make a large painting of it and its horses or oxen. See page 144.

This is what they were like: — "Those wagons — Conestoga wagons — named like the horses that drew them from the valley of their origin in eastern Pennsylvania, were large, magnificent in their

192 THE UNITED STATES BECOMES MORE DEMOCRATIC

lines, and gorgeous in their color. Underbody blue, so blue the blazing summer sky was not bluer; the upper-body red, bright red; and over all the white cloth or canvas covering the frame of wooden bows, making a roof for the women and children as well as a strong wrapping for the load. Very adaptable this huge conveyance was, and strong, with its woods specially selected for every part, to stand whatever hard conditions the crossing of the mountains might impose. To get down an icy hill with safety the hind wheels were often locked with a chain of heavy links, and often also fitted with an iron or steel ice-cutter, which looked much like a small sled. The long deep bottom, with ends curving up at front and back so that none of the load should spill out when going up or down hills, however steep, sometimes carried a load as heavy as 'a hundred and twenty hundred pounds.' When a river or deep stream was to be crossed, the wagonbed could just be taken off the wheels — and it was a boat. . . . Those wheels, ponderous affairs, with broad wrought-iron tires, went ahead of everything!

"An average Conestoga wagon may well be described with dimensions such as these. The wagon bed was 19 feet along the top, 14 feet along the bottom, and along the bulwarks 4 feet deep. The top of the front hoop of the 12 that held the covering was 11 feet from the ground; the top of the rear hoop was still higher. The white homespun covering closed in the two ends of the wagon as well as covered its length; it was 24 feet long. The rear wheels were 5 feet, 6 inches in diameter; the front wheels 3 feet, 10 inches. . . . The Conestoga horses, a special breed, powerful creatures, standing 16 hands high, with strong legs, full manes, and short arched necks, weighed 1350 or 1400 pounds, and sometimes more. . . . Two and two, regularly six horses in a team, drawing their

great loads, they came along the turnpike, proudly conscious of their achievement. When the six horses were all hitched up and pulling, the whole team, from the nose of the lead pair to rear of the Conestoga wagon, stretched out to 60 feet!"

The above description is condensed from *Everyday Things in American Life, 1776-1876*, by William C. Langdon (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), pp. 73-89. For a full description of it, and of other important things, read the book itself.

10. Books Worth Reading. There are many interesting novels of pioneering in Ohio territory. Among the books pupils may care to read are the following:

Pitt L. Fitzgerald, *Drovers East* (Macrae-Smith Co., 1940). Driving cattle from the Ohio settlements to the Baltimore markets.

Lois Lenski, *A-going to the Westward* (Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1937). A family from Connecticut to Ohio in 1811.

Enid L. Meadowcraft, *By Wagon and Flatboat* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1938). A family uses a Conestoga wagon and a flatboat to reach the Ohio country.

Isabel McMeekin, *Journey Cake* (Julian Messner, Inc., 1942). A story of the wilderness trail, scouts, and settlers — including "Johnny Appleseed."

Caroline D. Snedeker, *The Beckoning Road* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929). From Nantucket to Pittsburgh, and on to Indiana.

11. Influence of the West. List all the facts given in Chapter 11 proving that the West was growing more powerful in national political affairs.

12. A Play about the Campaign of 1828. Write a dramatic sketch about the presidential campaign of 1828. In a prologue, explain why Adams and Jackson were such bitter rivals. In one scene have a pupil impersonate Adams giving a campaign speech; in another scene show a political meeting addressed by Jackson.

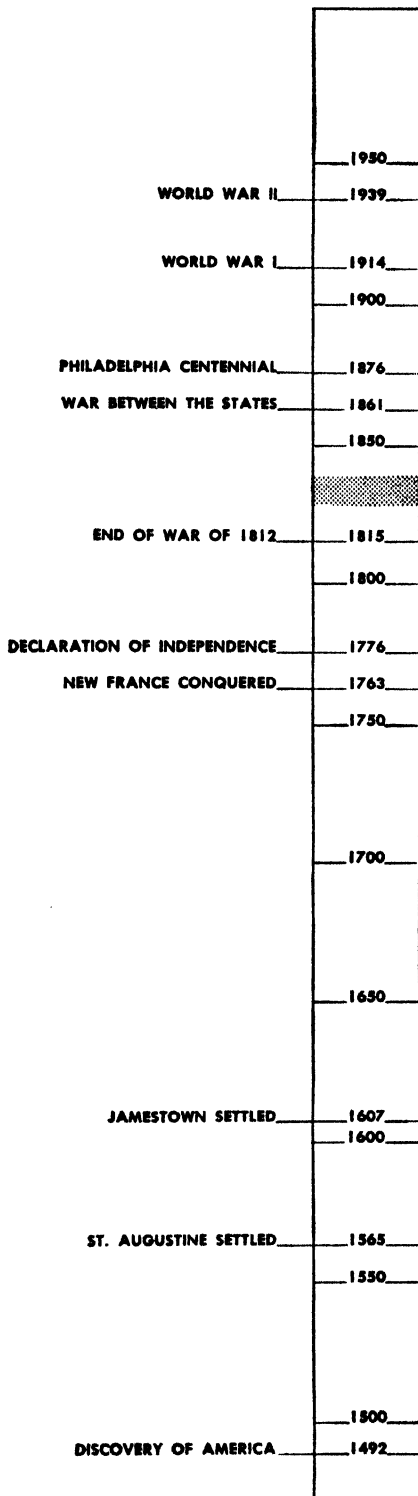
CHAPTER 12

DEMOCRACY UNDER ANDREW JACKSON

1837 VAN BUREN BECOMES PRESIDENT
1832 NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS
1830 WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE
1829 JACKSON BECOMES PRESIDENT

"It was the people's day, and the people's
President, and the people would rule."

Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith



ANDREW JACKSON COMES TO POWER

The Inauguration

March 4, 1829, was a clear and balmy day. Great crowds thronged the unpaved streets of Washington. Grand coaches carried ladies and gentlemen of fashion. There was also, however, a great variety of lowly wagons and carts filled with common people, some of whom were in rags. During the day or two previous, they had poured into Washington, perhaps fifteen thousand in all, to see Andrew Jackson become President of the United States. "I never saw anything like it before," wrote Daniel Webster. "People have come five hundred miles to see

General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some dreadful danger."

At noon a group of gentlemen could be seen making their way slowly up the hill to the Capitol. All wore hats except the tall, dignified, white-haired figure in the middle — 61-year-old Jackson. Passing through the Capitol building, they came out on the east portico amid deafening cheers. Then the oath of office was given to the new President by the aged Chief Justice, John Marshall, who disagreed with him on most of the problems of the day. Once the brief ceremony was over, the crowd could restrain their enthusiasm



Andrew Jackson's Inauguration. "King Mob seemed triumphant," wrote one of the justices of the Supreme Court in describing the event.

no longer. The people started scrambling up the steps in a wild effort to reach their hero and grasp his hand. It was with great difficulty that Jackson, panting and with clothing in disorder, was able to reach and mount his horse. The crowd followed him as he set off for the White House.

"Old Hickory," as Jackson was called, was at the head of the government. Was this not an occasion to celebrate? There was to be a great reception at the White House. The people swarmed over the White House grounds and poured in through the windows as well as through the doors. Trays of food, borne by waiters, fell to the floor. Gallons of punch were spilled on the carpets. Men with muddy boots stood on chairs and tables to see "Andy." Those who were unable to push their way in besieged the doors for hours — "statesmen and stable-boys, fine ladies and washer-women, white people and blacks." Jackson wilted after an hour of this sort of celebration, and went to a hotel.

Man of the People

Who was this man who had such a strong hold upon the hearts and minds of all these people? His reputation as a victorious general alone could not explain such popularity. The main reason Jackson was popular with the people was that he was one of them. His success was their success. He, like many other Westerners, had been born in the back-country section of the Carolinas, of poor Scotch-Irish farmers. He had led an eventful and exciting life. At the age of fourteen, he had received scars from the saber of a British officer, whose shoes he had

refused to clean. He had actually killed by duelling a man who had insulted Mrs. Jackson. He was a hero of frontiersmen.

As President, Jackson would insist on having his own way. He seemed so much like a dictator that his enemies nicknamed him "King Andrew." His hasty temper and his stubbornness sometimes led him to make mistakes, but they were honest ones. His main aim, as the chief protector of the people's rights, was to improve the welfare of the common people. In doing the people's will, he would allow neither Congress nor the Supreme Court to stand in his way. He felt that he had just as much right to say what the Constitution meant as had John Marshall.

Jackson was very bitter toward the followers of Adams and Clay because they had unjustly criticized the character of Mrs. Jackson. These accusations had wounded her deeply and she had died about election time. Jackson, who loved her dearly, felt that his political enemies had killed her. His thoughts were of revenge.

Clay and Adams were bitter, too. They lifted their eyebrows in scorn as they heard how the crowd had abused the White House furniture. It appeared to them that the Ship of State was to be rudely rocked and possibly wrecked by its new crew which they called "King Mob." They had but little confidence in the ability of Andrew Jackson as its pilot. Clay continued to feel, as he had felt four years earlier, that "killing twenty-five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans" did not prove that a candidate would make a successful President. So it was that in spite of the deafening cheers and

196 THE UNITED STATES BECOMES MORE DEMOCRATIC

celebration of March 4, 1829, not all was harmony at the nation's capital.

Jackson was satisfactory to the nation as a whole, despite Clay's misgivings. In 1832, the voters were to elect him to a second term. In 1836, they were to choose as President his close personal friend, Martin Van Buren. Thus the new crew, which had been ridiculed as "King Mob," was destined to run the Ship of State until March, 1841 — a period of twelve years. The change from John Quincy Adams to Jackson was as great as from John Adams to Jefferson. It was a real political revolution, as important as that which had taken place in 1800. Jefferson was a well-to-do leader who believed in democracy; Jackson was one of the common men themselves.

The United States in 1830

The United States which Jackson was now called upon to lead was vastly different from the nation led by Jefferson. It had more than

doubled in population since 1800; it now had nearly 13,000,000 inhabitants. The most populous state was no longer Virginia; it was New York. In 1800, Ohio had not even been admitted to the Union; in 1830, with over 900,000 people, it ranked fourth in population in the Union. Kentucky and Tennessee held sixth and seventh places, a notch above Massachusetts. Even the nation's capital had changed. In place of the few dwellings that had greeted Jefferson, there was now a city of nearly 20,000, although the population was spread out rather widely. Many of the frog ponds had been filled in, but Washington remained a somewhat unhealthful place because the low marshy lands were the breeding places for several diseases. A new dish called by some "ice cream" was meeting with great favor, not only among the common people but with the Congressmen and at the White House. A new dance called the waltz was also becoming very popular.

THE ERA OF HARD FEELING

Sectionalism

After the War of 1812, when Monroe was President, love for the nation as a whole had grown, and separate loyalty to the individual states had lessened. Citizens of the United States had come to think of themselves more often as Americans and less often as residents of Georgia or New York or some other state. Another movement had begun after Monroe, however. This second movement, which we call sectionalism, was very strong by the time Jackson became President. People

began to think largely in terms of the section of the nation in which they lived. They often seemed to have a greater love for their section than for either their state or their nation.

During the period from 1825 to 1840, three main sections were gradually formed in the United States. These sections were the Northeast, the South, and the West. The Northeast became more and more interested in factories and commerce. It was the manufacturing section. Geography dictated that the South should be largely made up of plan-

tations because of the climate and the great areas of rich, level soil. Most of the West was a land of small farmers. Both the South and the West were agricultural sections, but the South had large crops of tobacco and cotton, grown in large part by slaves on large plantations, while the West had corn, wheat, hay, and many other crops grown on small farms by free landholders.

The three sections had different political views, and were seeking different things at the nation's capital. The Representatives and Senators generally had the same views as the section from which they came. If they did not, they seldom remained in Washington long. The main leader of the Northeast in this period was the great orator Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. The views of the South were most ably presented by South Carolina's great Senators, John C. Calhoun (kāl-hōon') and Robert Hayne (hān). The most important leaders from the West were Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky and President Andrew Jackson himself. There was rivalry and bitterness among the sections and among their leaders. The period from 1825 to 1840 was one of hard feelings somewhat similar to that which had existed at the time of the Alien and Sedition Acts (see Chapter 9).

No one section was strong enough to control the national government. Each section needed to obtain the support of one of the other sections to win what it desired. The Northeast and the South were seldom able to agree. These two sections were usually competing for the friendship of the new states of the West. Jackson's election itself was sectional —

an alliance between the South and the West. He won in every state west of the Appalachians and south of the Potomac, while every New England state was against him.

The Dispute over the Bank

One subject of dispute among the sections was banking. A bank receives money from people who wish to have their money kept in a safe place, and to receive interest or to make payments with checks. The bank keeps part of this money on hand to pay people who wish to draw their money out. It lends the remainder of the money, or invests it in some business. The success of the bank depends largely on two things. To make profits it must earn from loans and investments more than it must pay out. To remain in business it must keep enough money on hand to pay all people who wish to draw their money out. A bank that does these things is strong; if not, it is weak.

There had been a National Bank ever since Washington was President, with a brief exception. This bank was very wealthy because it held all the government's money. It was prosperous. It was largely controlled by the great bankers of the Northeast, where most of the wealth was to be found. It was very strong — too strong to suit the South and West. The bankers possessed great influence in the government at Washington. They had tried hard to prevent Jackson's election. Led by Jackson after he became President, the South and the West united to put the National Bank out of business. The President placed the government's money in various small banks scat-

tered throughout the country. These banks, thus favored, were called "pet banks" by Jackson's enemies. Many of these pet banks were strong, although not as strong as the old bank. Many of the pet banks, however, were weak. They did not keep enough money on hand to pay people who came to get their money. They were compelled to close their doors when hard times came in Van Buren's term as President. The followers of Jackson soon learned, as had those of Jefferson twenty years before, that a weak banking system was dangerous to the nation's welfare.

The Dispute over the Tariff

Another subject of dispute among the sections was the tariff. The tariff, as you will recall, is a tax on goods coming from some other country. This tax provides part of the money required to run the government, but it also raises the cost of living. A tariff of ten cents a yard on imported cotton cloth which generally sold for forty cents might cause the price to be increased to as much as fifty cents a yard. Such a tariff would help the Northeast where American makers of cotton cloth could demand higher prices for what they produced. It would be a burden, however, to those people and sections which did not make cotton cloth.

No tariff would be helpful to the South. Even a tax on foreign cotton would be worthless, because no cotton was being bought from other countries, and the price of southern cotton would not be affected one way or the other. A tariff on factory goods would help the Northeast; a tariff on farm products would help the West; but

both would only add to the cost of living in the South.

Senator Calhoun declared that the tariff was sectional favoritism and therefore unfair. He said that Congress had the right to pass a tariff to obtain money to run the government, but not a tariff whose main purpose was to allow factory owners to charge higher prices. Nowhere in the Constitution, said he, was there any authority for forcing Southerners to pay higher prices to fill the pocket-books of the people of the Northeast. He argued that such a tariff was really unconstitutional.

Gradually the South became certain that the national government was violating the Constitution by such taxes. It felt just as Virginia and Kentucky had about the Sedition Act and just as New England had at the time of the War of 1812. The South said that it did not need to obey a law which was contrary to the Constitution. Here again was the idea known as "nullification" (see Chapter 9). It seemed for a time as if Southern ports would refuse to collect the tariff. Bitterness grew steadily.

The West had some sympathy with Calhoun's opposition to the tariff. That section could understand why the tariff was little, if any, help to the South. Westerners balked, however, when the leaders of the South talked of nullification. Everyone wondered what Jackson would do. The South had helped to elect him. Would he agree or disagree with Calhoun?

At a banquet in 1830, a dramatic incident occurred. Jackson rose to offer a toast. Looking directly at Calhoun, he exclaimed: "Our Union! It must be preserved!" All eyes

turned toward Calhoun. Jackson had made his stand clear; how would Calhoun answer the challenge? After some hesitation, Calhoun offered a toast, saying slowly: "The Union! Next to our liberty most dear!" Then he added: "May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and by distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union."

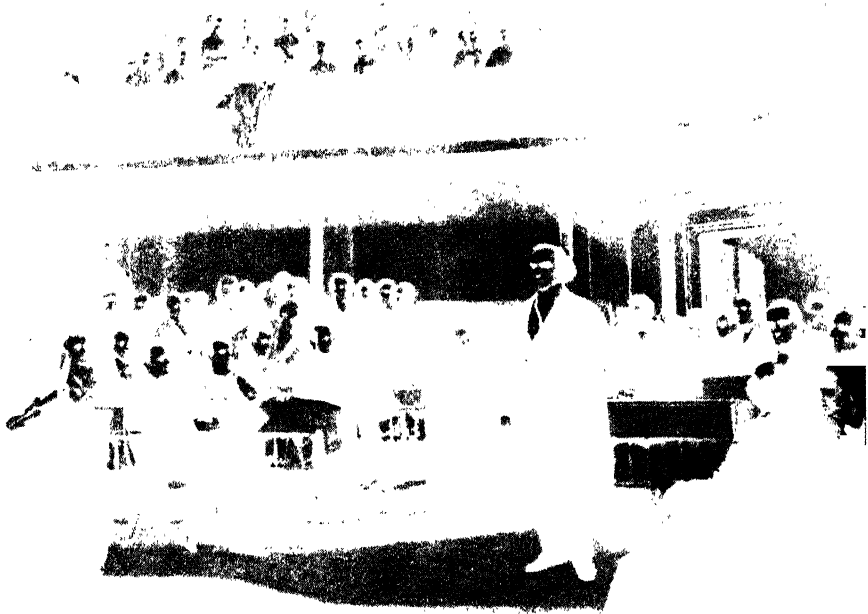
Civil war was threatened. South Carolina prepared to disobey the tariff laws. Jackson prepared to enforce the law. He said, "I will hang the first man of them I can get my hands on, to the first tree I can find," if a drop of blood was shed. Before anything serious could happen, however, Henry Clay came forward with a compromise. A tariff bill was passed which gradually reduced the amount of the tax to be collected. Another law was made, however, which gave authority to Jackson to use the army and navy to collect tariff duties if necessary.

The Dispute over Lands

Meanwhile, a third dispute had flared up between the sections, over the sale of western lands. The Northeast desired that the sale of land should be restricted or the price raised so that her factory workers would not move away. In December, 1829, Senator Foote of Connecticut suggested that Congress should restrict the sale of western lands. This action presented Senator Hayne of South Carolina with a golden opportunity to cement the friendship between the West and the South. In January, 1830, Senator Hayne talked much about the selfishness of the Northeast, particularly of

New England. Referring to New England's opposition to the War of 1812, Hayne charged: "Nothing was left undone to embarrass the financial operations of the government, to prevent the enlistment of troops, to keep back the men and money of New England from the service of the Union." According to him the Northeast had always sought to hold back the development of the West, whereas the South and the West had much in common. Then Hayne went on to the topic of states' rights, attempting to win the West over to the idea of nullification. It was regarded as a remarkable speech. It seemed as if the tall, graceful orator had accomplished his purpose when he sat down. Was there anyone who could match Hayne's argument?

The reply was clearly up to Daniel Webster, one of the greatest orators in our history. When he arose in stately fashion in the Senate, threw back his great head, and prepared to speak, Congress was waiting in suspense. Webster defended his section against selfishness, but he fired his main artillery against nullification. He tried to show that the South was narrow in its views and unpatriotic. He appealed mainly to the patriotism of the West. He said that if one state had a right to nullify a law, all states had it and the result would certainly be a weak Union and civil war. Continuing, he pleaded: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union." He cast aside the slogan, "Liberty first and Union afterward." He pictured our flag with no stripe erased or star obscured, mean-



In Webster's reply to Hayne the fashionable gallery in the United States Senate heard one of the most masterly speeches in our history. This painting hangs in Faneuil Hall, Boston's famous "Cradle of Liberty."

ing to every American heart, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Both Hayne and Webster had strong arguments. Both presented clearly the views held by their sections at that particular time. Hayne did not convince the Northeast, nor did Webster convince the South.

Webster was the real winner of the great debate, however. By his great oratory and by his thrilling, patriotic appeal, he cemented the West to the Northeast and helped to break the alliance between the West and the South. Of even greater importance was the fact that his words strengthened the idea of a national government.

DEMOCRACY IN JACKSON'S TIME

Victories for the Common Man Everywhere

The democracy that existed in Jackson's time was a victory for the common man everywhere. It was as complete a victory in the older cities of Philadelphia, New York, and

Boston as in the sparsely settled areas of Kentucky and Illinois. George Washington had said, "the tumultuous populace of the large cities are ever to be dreaded." Even the more democratic Jefferson had little confidence in "the mobs of the great cities." In Jackson's time, however,

the city mechanic was considered the equal in political wisdom with the farmer or the banker — that is, by the Jacksonians. At election time, New York workingmen worked as hard to make Jackson President as did the settlers of Tennessee.

More democracy was won within the states. As early as 1809 Maryland allowed practically all men to vote. In 1818, Connecticut decided that all men who contributed a small sum to support the state government could be trusted to vote. In 1820 Massachusetts made a similar decision despite the opposition of John Adams and Daniel Webster. In 1821 New York also became more democratic. By 1828, when Jackson was elected President, only five of the thirteen original states required voters and office holders to own land. The number of voters was increasing at a faster rate than the population. Everywhere officials were being elected who had previously been appointed. Jackson, himself, would have been defeated in 1828 without the votes of the workers in New York and Pennsylvania. In 1830, while Jackson was President, Virginia decided not to require her citizens to own land in order to vote. Efforts to win more democracy continued in other states. Many years were to pass, however, before North Carolina would allow all men to vote; while in Rhode Island an armed uprising was to take place before similar rights could be won.

The increased interest in the common man went beyond politics. There were many movements to improve the welfare of the people while Jackson was President, as we shall see in Chapter 19. Many

Americans became interested in attempts to obtain better schools, improve prisons and insane asylums, abolish slavery, end drunkenness, help people in debt, and organize labor unions.

Selection of Candidates for President

Little thought was given to political parties when the Constitution was made. It was expected that there would be various candidates for public office, but who was to choose the candidates? The Constitution did not provide a way. Gradually it became the custom for party leaders who were members of Congress to choose candidates for President and Vice-President. The various parties would hold meetings in separate rooms when making these choices. Such a meeting was known as a party caucus.

This method of selecting candidates was agreeable to the party leaders in Congress but it did not please the mass of the people. It certainly was not democratic. Many men asked what value there was in a chance to vote for President if all they could do was to decide which caucus had selected the better candidate. They complained bitterly about the injustice of "King Caucus." Ill feeling reached its height when a caucus refused to nominate Andrew Jackson in 1824. Such a clamor was raised that never again did the leaders in Congress dare officially to choose the people's candidates for them. By 1832, a more democratic system was substituted. Delegates chosen by local party groups met in special conventions to make their selections. "King Caucus" was dead, and na-

tional party conventions were born. Presidents and Vice-Presidents have been nominated by party conventions ever since Jackson's time. It has become customary, too, for each party convention to adopt a "platform" or statement of what it believes in. These party platforms have become important parts of our political life.

The "Spoils System"

The followers of Clay and Adams had filled the offices of government when Jackson became President. They had no love for a crude frontiersman. Jackson considered them his enemies, and the enemies of the people as well. Out of office they had to go. In their places there were to be men who first of all believed in common people; men who agreed with, and would be loyal to, Jackson.

This idea was not entirely new. It had become the custom in many states, especially New York, to regard public offices as rewards for party workers. Jackson was the first President, however, to carry out this practice on a large scale. In some ways the idea was democratic. The American people had shown beyond doubt in the election of 1828 that they wished to be governed by Jackson. Yet how could Jackson govern the nation if most of the government offices were filled with his political enemies who disagreed with him and might not co-operate with him? The majority of the American people did not wish to be governed by the followers of Clay and Adams.

The general effect, however, of replacing the friends of Clay and Adams with the friends of Jackson

was unfortunate. Officials who were capable were turned out of their positions. Those who took their places were sometimes chosen not because of ability but because they had voted for the winner. Political offices were looked upon as the "spoils" or rewards for the victors in party struggles. The practice of filling government positions in that manner is known as the "spoils system." The Presidents who followed Jackson continued this practice in spite of the glaring weakness and unfairness of such a method.

Jackson Retires to His Home

Jackson was as popular as ever when his second term as President came to an end. Martin Van Buren of New York, whom Jackson favored, was nominated for President by the Democratic party in 1836. Meanwhile, the followers of Clay who had been called National Republicans had now become known as Whigs. The Whigs nominated, as their candidate for President, William H. Harrison, who had defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe in 1811. Van Buren won an easy victory in the election.

March 4, 1837, when Van Buren was inaugurated, was a raw, disagreeable day. Jackson was in poor health, yet rode with Van Buren to the inauguration ceremonies. Here the new President was politely applauded, but it was the tall, haggard, white-haired Jackson who really aroused the enthusiasm of the crowds. Three days later, Jackson set out for his home, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee.

Great changes had taken place in the United States since 1776. The delegates to the Philadelphia Con-

vention of 1787 had built a Ship of State strong enough to survive all the storms facing the youthful republic. Under Washington and the Federalists the Federal government had been strengthened. Under Boone and other pioneers the nation had

become much larger. Under Jefferson and Jackson our government had become much more democratic. Many great battles for democracy remained to be fought and won, but by 1837 it had been proved that democracy could really work.

Study Activities

1. *An Outline.* Make a sentence outline of Chapter 12. Study the section and paragraph headings, and the topic sentences of the paragraphs of the chapter.

2. *Radio Play on Jackson's Inauguration.* Write a radio script dramatizing the inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829, based on the first section of Chapter 12. Perhaps you can use in your script a comment written by an eyewitness of the inauguration who wrote, "The backwoods has boiled over and spilled into Washington. But it is the people's day, and the people's President, and the people will rule. The noisy and disorderly rabble in the President's house brought to my mind descriptions I had read of the mobs at Versailles in the French Revolution. I expect to hear the carpets and furniture are ruined; the streets were muddy and those guests all went there on foot."

3. *Books about Jackson.* Andrew Jackson is one of the most colorful characters in American history. His biography makes a fascinating story. Among the biographies members of the class may enjoy are:

Bessie R. James and Marquis James, *The Courageous Heart*, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1934.

Meredith Nicholson, *The Cavalier of Tennessee*, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928.

Augusta Stevenson, *Andy Jackson — Boy Soldier*, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1942.

4. *The President Takes a Trip.* In 1833 President Jackson decided to take a trip

from Washington into New England. Starting northward, as he recorded, he and his party were "met by a number of citizens with the Steam Cars [of the new Baltimore and Ohio Railroad] 12 miles in advance of the City, which took us into Baltimore in a few minutes." This was the first ride of a President on a railroad. Later at New York, Jackson wrote one night, "I have bowed to upward of two hundred thousand people today. . . ." "Across Rhode Island welcoming cannon boomed from town to town as if it were a battle line."

But Boston gave a cool reception to the old warrior. There was a quarrel among the trustees of Harvard, as to whether Jackson should be given an honorary degree. President Josiah Quincy proposed that the college give Jackson the degree of Doctor of Laws. But Trustee John Quincy Adams was aghast. "Was there no one to prevent this outrage?" he asked. "None," replied President Quincy. "As the people have twice decided that this man knows enough law to be their ruler, it is not for Harvard College to maintain that they are mistaken." The Degree was given, but John Quincy Adams would not attend the ceremony. He wrote in his diary: "An affectionate child of my Alma Mater, I . . ." could not bear to "witness her disgrace in conferring her highest literary honor upon a barbarian who could . . . hardly spell his own name."

Write an imaginary diary of Jackson's



Courtesy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

While Jackson was President, this Baltimore and Ohio train was the first to enter Washington, D. C. Notice how the coaches were modeled after the stagecoaches of the day.

trip. In it describe what the country was like in 1833, and explain what you think Jackson's reaction was to the things he saw and did

5. *National Bank vs. "Pet" Banks.* Make a list of the ways in which Jackson's system of "pet banks" for the deposit of Federal funds differed from the National Bank system.

6. *Definitions of Political Terms.* During Jackson's administration there were many political quarrels. Some new political ways of doing things were developed. Read Chapter 12 carefully and then write definitions of the following terms as they are used in the chapter. After you have written your definitions, consult the dictionary and revise your definitions if they are wrong.

political party	caucus
sectional favoritism	convention
sectionalism	party platform
nullification	spoils system
nationalism	compromise

7. *Nationalism and Sectionalism during Jackson's Time.* List all the evidence you can find that the feeling of national

unity increased during Jackson's administrations. List all the evidence that sectionalism increased during the same period. Do you think that sectionalism or nationalism was stronger in 1829? In 1837?

8. *What Does Jacksonian Democracy Mean?* Write a short essay describing and defining "Jacksonian Democracy." If possible, illustrate your essay with appropriate pictures or drawings. Compare "Jeffersonian democracy" and "Jacksonian democracy."

9. *Jefferson or Jackson?* Select a group of six class members and let them hold a panel discussion before the class on the question: "Did Jefferson or Jackson contribute more to the development of democracy in the United States?" Which one of the two men would you rather have known as a friend?

10. *A Cartoon.* Draw a cartoon showing people's ideas about Jackson and "Jacksonian democracy." Are you going to show ideas of the defenders or the opponents of Jackson? Make a class display of the cartoons.

Review Activities for Unit III

1. *Selecting Important Dates.* The years between 1800 and 1840 were important years in our national development. Study the time lines given at the beginnings of Chapters 9, 10, 11, and 12. Make a complete list, in chronological order, of all the date-events they give for these years. Select what seem to you the five most important date-events of the period 1800 to 1840. Then see if all five of them are included in the Chronological Outline on pages xv-xxi. Finally, by class discussion and balloting, select what are considered the most important five.

2. *Why Are Some Presidents More Outstanding Than Others?* The first eight Presidents of the United States were Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren. When the history of the years covered by their administrations is studied, the names of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson stand out more prominently than others. Why is this? Discuss the matter in class and answer the question at the beginning of this paragraph.

3. *Presidential Administrations.* Make a seven-column chart headed by the names of the first seven Presidents of the United States. Under each President list the important events that took place in his administration. Be sure to consult the time lines of Chapters 7-12 and the chronological list on pages xv-xxi.

4. *Monticello and the Hermitage.* The homes of great Presidents are often

regarded as historic spots, especially if the home really expresses or reveals the character of the owner. Jefferson's home, Monticello, and Jackson's home, the Hermitage, are almost national shrines today. Consult encyclopedias, library references, and travel literature to find out all you can about these two homes. Prepare bulletin board exhibits of pictures and descriptions of each of them. What does Monticello tell you about Jefferson? What does the Hermitage tell you about Jackson?

5. *Quiz Show.* Hold a Quiz Show with questions on Unit III. Each pupil should write five questions, the answers to which are in Chapters 9, 10, 11, 12. Put all the questions together and turn them over to a Quiz Master. Then select a panel of four pupils. Seat them in front of the class and let the Quiz Master ask five questions. The member of the panel who answers the fewest then drops out and another pupil takes his place. What pupils can stay on the panel the longest?

6. *A Biographical Time Line.* Have each member of the class write three events in Jackson's life, each on a separate card. Turn all the cards over to a Committee, who should sort them and arrange the topics or events in *alphabetical order*. Write a list of events in alphabetical order on the board where pupils cannot see them until the contest begins. When the list is ready, show it to the class, and see what pupils can arrange the events in *proper chronological order* in the shortest space of time.



UNIT IV

OUR NATION BECOMES STRONGER THAN SECTIONS

OVERVIEW

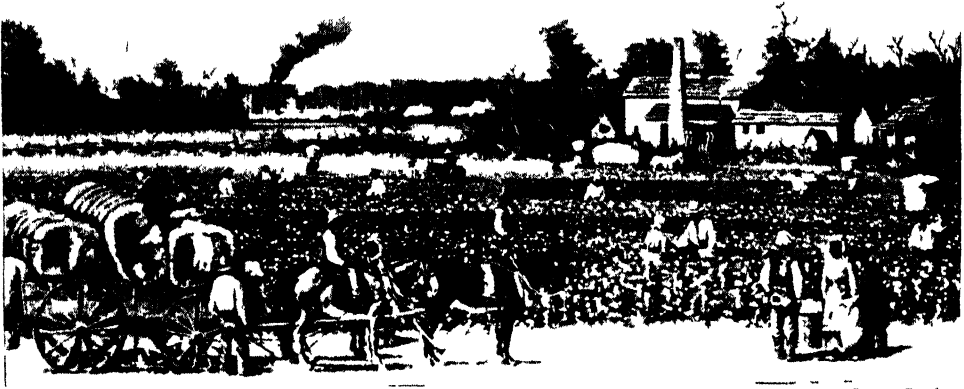
Our young nation had been made strong and it had gradually become more democratic, but that was not enough. It had also to be more firmly united, and unity was difficult. The country had always been divided between East and West — between the older settled areas near the seacoast and the newer territory on the frontier. The rivalry between East and West occasionally had become very bitter and sometimes had ended in bloodshed. Competition and rivalry had always existed also to a certain degree between North and South, and finally this rivalry became so much more bitter that it led to four years of cruel warfare, in 1861–1865. The great question of that war was whether the United States would remain united or whether its sections would become smaller nations. Which was to be stronger, the nation or the sections? The question was not to be fully answered until a century after the Declaration of Independence.

Unit IV is the story of that period in our national history when rivalry between different sections of the country was at its peak — the years from about 1830 to 1876. Chapter 13 tells how and why the Northeast gradually became a section of factories,

cities, shipyards, and ships which sailed the seven seas. Chapter 14 explains how and why the South became a land of plantations, dependent on agriculture and on a few crops for its prosperity. As years passed, life in these two sections became increasingly different. Americans living in one section could not understand the problems of those who lived in the other section. In some ways the two sections were rivals; and each struggled to become more powerful than the other in national politics.

Northeast and South quarreled especially over the West. The South hoped the West would become a land of plantations where slavery was allowed. The Northeast wanted the West to be a land of small farms, free from slavery. The story of the opening of the West and of the struggle between the Northeast and the South over western territories is told in Chapter 15. The West gradually became another section of the nation. The question in national politics was: Would the West become an ally of the South or an ally of the Northeast?

Eventually the differences between sections could not be settled by peaceful means. Many compromises were attempted, but hard feelings led to

*Brown Brothers*

Mississippi cotton plantation. From the appearance of the cotton fields and the work going on, can you tell what season of the year is shown?

blows in 1861. Then for four years the North and the South fought a bitter war. Chapter 16 tells of the four tragic years from 1861 to 1865 in which Americans fought Americans over the sectional differences that had developed. Chapter 17 tells the story of the reconstruction — of how the wounds of war were gradually healed, and of how sectional bitterness gradually diminished. The end of the War between the States and the passing of the reconstruction period meant that the United States could celebrate her hundredth anniversary in 1876 with the spirit of union stronger than ever before.

In any country as large as the United States there will be differences among the sections of the country. Sectional differences still exist within the United States. But the events of the years from 1830 to 1876 showed that similarities among the sections are more important than differences. Never since the War between the States has there been any serious

threat to national unity. The events of the chapters in Unit IV explain why we have "One nation indivisible."

Questions Answered in Unit IV

1. Why did industry develop in the Northeast more than in other sections of the country?
2. Why was the South a "land of plantations"?
3. In what ways were the interests of the Northeast and the South different?
4. Why were the South and the Northeast interested in the West?
5. What territories were acquired and what settled by the United States between 1830 and 1860?
6. What were the causes of the War between the States?
7. Why did the North win the War between the States?
8. Why is the Reconstruction era (1865–1876) sometimes called a "tragic decade"?
9. In what ways was the spirit of Union stronger in 1876 than ever before?

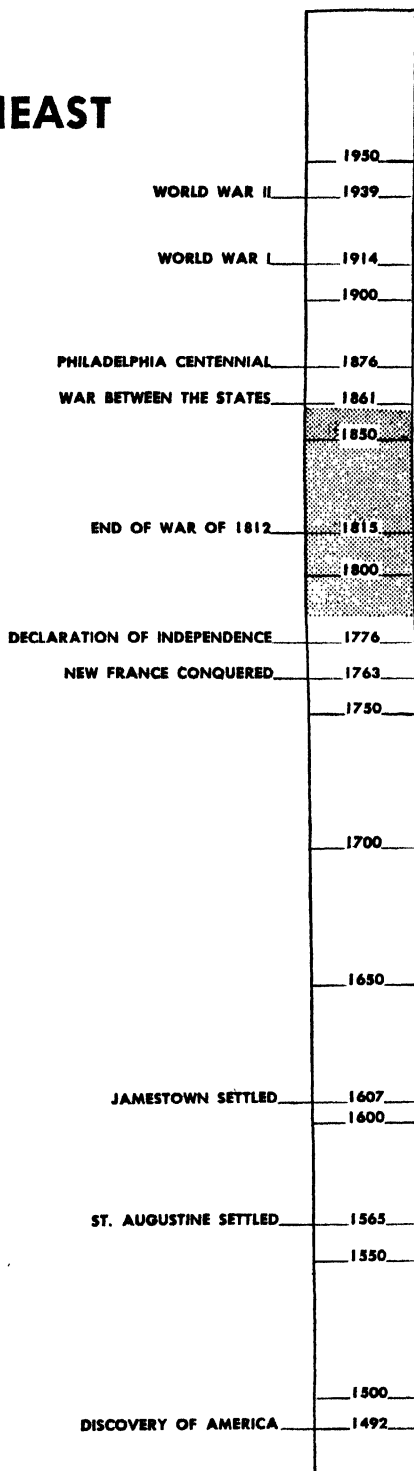
CHAPTER 13

THE INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST

1850's RAILROADS PIERCE THE APPALACHIANS
 1830 BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD COMPLETED
 1825 ERIE CANAL COMPLETED
 1814 LOWELL'S MILL ERECTED
 1807 FULTON'S STEAMBOAT
 1789 SLATER MOVES TO UNITED STATES
 1784 NORTHEAST BEGINS TRADE WITH CHINA

"The country is rushing into wealth
 . . . faster than ever was expected."

Robert Morris



A SECTION OF SHIPS AND FACTORIES

Why did the North and the South become rival sections? The men of Europe who had settled in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia did not differ greatly from many who had settled in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Many had come to the New World for very much the same reasons. Their main concern had been to make a better living. Why should they become rivals?

Climate and soil were main causes of bitter rivalry, by making it necessary for Northerners and Southerners to earn their bread and butter in different ways. A Puritan probably would have been considered insane if he had attempted to start a cotton plantation on the rocky hillsides of New England. A resident of early South Carolina probably would have lost the respect of his neighbors if he had used his flat, rich soil to support factory walls. Because of geographical differences the North became a section in which prosperity depended on ships and factories, while the South became a section in which prosperity depended upon cotton growing.

Down to the Sea in Ships

It was but natural that many New Englanders should "go down to the sea in ships." Carrying goods to and from Europe was more profitable than tilling the poor soil. Some of the world's finest fishing grounds also were not far away. Fishing ships very early became important to New England's life. When the colonists began using whale-oil lamps in place of pine-knot torches and candles, the

whaling industry became an important source of prosperity. New Englanders, in whaling ships, searched far and wide for the monsters of the deep. When the cry arose "thar she blows," excitement was bound to follow, as several small whaleboats would be manned to try to catch and kill the whale. On some few occasions a whale might smash a boat, destroying some of his pursuers, instead of their catching him. Good descriptions of some of these adventures are to be found in the novel *Moby Dick*. New Bedford, New London, and the little island of Nantucket were the chief centers of the whaling industry. They supplied whale oil for the lamps of all America.

During the colonial period most American trade was carried on with other parts of the British Empire, but commerce with the West Indies was of great importance. The West Indies formed one corner of the "three-cornered trade" which became very important to the colonies after 1700 (Chapter 2).

After the Revolution, New England's ships carried the American flag to every sea on the globe. An American vessel reached China in 1784, and returned the following year. Within a few years Yankee shippers were second only to the British in the trade with the Chinese port of Canton. Ships from Boston and other New England ports regularly rounded Cape Horn, carrying goods to the Pacific coast. There the cargo was bartered to the Indians for furs. The furs were taken to Hawaii (hā-wi'ē),

*The Bellmann Archive*

Attacking a sperm whale and "cutting in" Currier and Ives, who made lithographs of many exciting happenings in the nineteenth century, made this one of the dangerous whaling industry

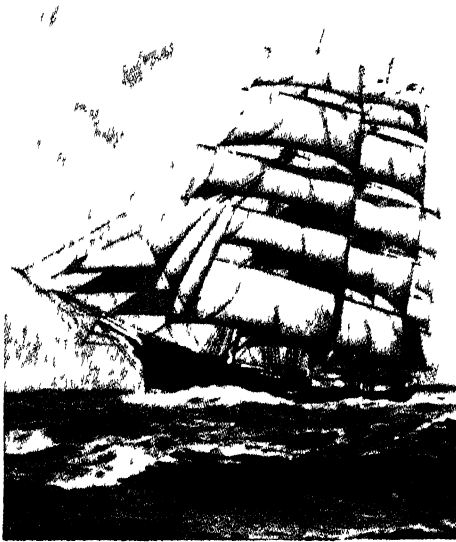
cured, and then carried to the Chinese fur market. On the return voyage the ships brought back silks, tea, and spices.

The ports of New England and New York were used by nearly every type of sailing ship imaginable. Among these vessels were the ugly whalers, nicknamed "blubber-boilers," which were built for safety and endurance rather than for speed or beauty. On their decks were brick structures where fires were built to boil the whale blubber into oil. A strange sight was sometimes presented on the ocean at night as fires blazed up on the decks of a fleet of whalers after a good day's work.

Most of the ships built in New England, however, were noted for their grace and beauty. No shipbuilders in all the world ever built better or finer sailing ships. Among the more famous of these were the North Atlantic packets. These were smart-looking vessels, with black hulls, and ports

outlined in white. Their reputation depended mainly on speed. The skipper of a packet would hold to his course in all kinds of weather to make the fastest time possible. He would not take down any of the billowing canvas except as a last resort to keep from turning over. Charles Dickens, the great English author, was only one of many who paid tribute to the "noble American vessels which have made their packet service the finest in the world." It was not unusual for the packets to race for large bets, and the voyage to England was often made in sixteen days during the 1820's.

Around 1850, when men were in a hurry to get to the California gold-fields, the clipper ship ruled the waves. This was the most beautiful ship that was ever built, "the most like a great white-winged bird, fashioned for lightness and speed, a dream, a vision rising from the waves to delight the eyes of sailors and all who loved gal-



Brown Brothers

The *Flying Cloud*. Donald McKay's wife gave her husband's famous clippers such beautiful names as *Westward Ho!*, *Romance of the Seas*, *Lightning*.

lant ships."¹ The clipper had a sharper bow and finer lines than the packet. From its masts there spread so many sails that one might wonder whether the vessel could remain upright in any kind of a gale. One of the clippers, the *Flying Cloud*, went from New York to San Francisco in eighty-nine days. Continuing on toward China she covered two thousand miles in six days, cutting by almost half the best previous record. The clipper could, at that time, outdistance anything else that floated, and no crew that ever sailed could show more skill than hers. It is no wonder that in Boston Harbor, from which many clipper ships set sail, there stands a statue in honor of Donald McKay, the most famous designer and builder of the magnificent clipper ships.

¹ Rupert Sargent Holland, *Historic Ships*.

Early Factories

Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution had begun. By "Industrial Revolution" is meant the change from making articles by hand in the home to producing goods by machine in the factory. This change has been one of the most important developments in the history of mankind and has greatly influenced the lives of people almost everywhere. The Industrial Revolution began in England as a result of several inventions which were made about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1767 James Hargreaves (här'grēvz) invented a machine which could spin eight threads at once instead of one as on the old spinning wheel. Other inventors also made improvements, especially in the textile or cloth-making industry. The Industrial Revolution spread from England to the United States.

The Northeast began to build factories and to manufacture goods in addition to building ships and trading all over the world. The "Northeast" means not only New England, but also New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. That section was filled with streams that could furnish water power to run machines. Within reach was iron, and from the South could be obtained vast quantities of raw cotton.

At first manufacturing was difficult in the United States because of competition from English factories. In England, factories were firmly established before there was much manufacturing in the United States, and the English factories could produce goods at less cost than could our own little shops. The erecting of mills and

factories was encouraged at the time of the Embargo before the War of 1812 (see Chapter 7), when American ships were not allowed to sail to foreign ports. Our interest in manufacturing became still greater after the War of 1812 broke out.

The first manufacturing of importance in the United States was in the textile industry. The British government would not allow any other nation to buy the fine new machines for spinning and weaving that had been invented in England. It was even against the law to take plans or designs for machinery out of Great Britain. One day in 1789, however, a young English weaver named Samuel Slater happened to see an American newspaper offering a prize to anyone who could improve upon the old methods of making cloth. He memorized the designs of textile machinery and left for America with the designs in his head. At Pawtucket, Rhode Island, he was hired by Moses Brown to build a mill for weaving cloth. He built a factory on the bank of a river beside a water wheel where the power of moving water turned the looms. His factory could make hundreds of yards of cloth in a day; all the weavers had to do was to stop and start the machines and tie broken threads. Slater also organized a school to train other people in the use of machines. By 1807 there were fifteen successful cotton mills in the northeastern United States.

In Massachusetts in 1814 Francis Cabot Lowell, a Boston merchant, set up a new kind of textile factory. Here, for the first time in the world, all the steps necessary to spin thread and then weave it into cotton cloth were completed in one factory. In

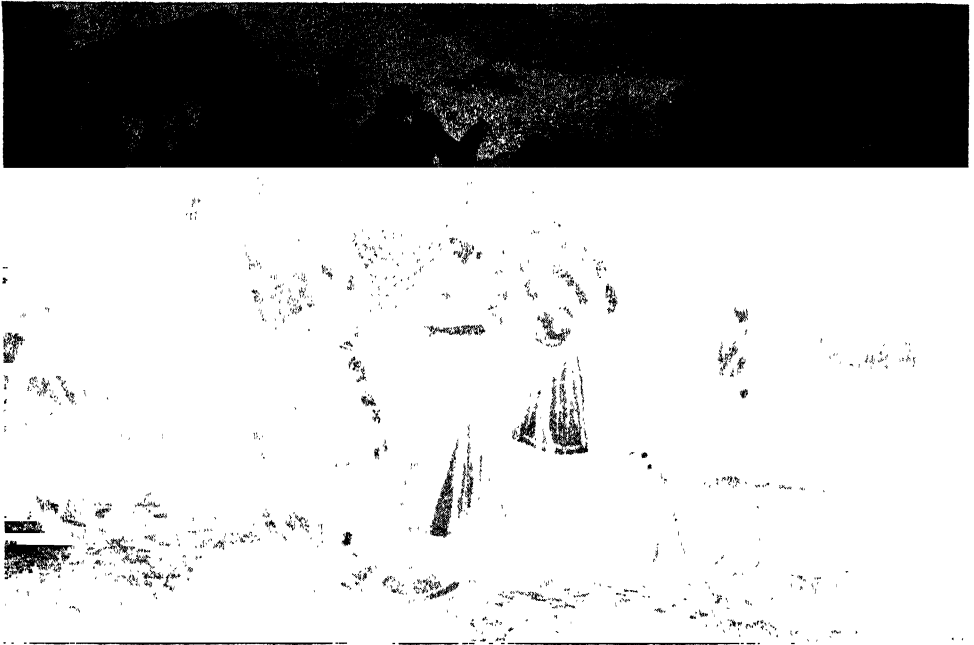
Connecticut a similar development occurred in the making of woolens. By the time the War of 1812 ended, the Northeast, and New England in particular, was producing large quantities of textiles.

Other industries also were becoming important. Alexander Hamilton had listed seventeen of their manufactured products in 1791. Besides textile products he listed leather, iron, tools and machinery, potters' wares, spirits, paper, hats, oil, sugar, hardware, carriages, tobacco, and gunpowder. In 1810 textiles, iron, leather, and liquors made up one half of the manufactured goods produced. By 1810 the yearly total of American manufactures was nearly four times as great as in 1791.

An early mill or "factory" was usually a long, one-story wooden or stone structure with only a few windows. On its roof there was likely to be a bell which called the people to work. Inside, especially in the textile mills, the workers were mainly women and children. Looking across the huge room a common sight was "girls moving backwards and forwards among spinning-frames, sometimes stooping, sometimes reaching up their arms, as their work required."

Mills of this type were to be found in all parts of the Northeast by 1815. There were other kinds of mills sawing lumber, and grinding grain into flour; there were tanneries for making leather; and there were forges for manufacturing iron. There was some kind of industry near almost every good waterfall. The Northeast had become the nation's industrial center.

Inventions increased in number and importance. Between 1790 and 1811 there was an average of 77 inventions

*Brown Brothers*

The arrival of the peddler was always an exciting event. Today where does one buy most of the things displayed on his cart?

each year, but the number increased to 544 in 1830 and to 4363 in 1860. Many of these inventions were of little importance, often more curious than useful. Many of them, however, such as Whitney's cotton gin, McCormick's reaper, and Howe's sewing machine, influenced Americans greatly. These

important inventions are discussed elsewhere, especially in Chapter 20. In all parts of our nation, the demand for new and different kinds of factory goods was increasing. From the great factories of the Northeast came an ever-increasing flood of goods to meet the demand.

TRANSPORTATION FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS

The growth of industry in the Northeast was connected closely with the development of transportation to Western markets. Before the period of canals and railroads the factory owner depended chiefly on peddlers to sell his goods. These peddlers set out in the spring on horseback and roamed the entire country, carrying goods and news wherever they went. One writer said, "I have seen them

on the Peninsula of Cape Cod, and in the neighborhood of Lake Erie; distant from each other more than 600 miles. They make their way to Detroit, 400 miles farther; to Canada, to Kentucky; and, if I mistake not, to New Orleans and St. Louis." They carried with them a wide variety of articles such as needles, pins, buttons, scissors, spectacles, clocks, tinware, horse liniment, salt fish, cheap cloth,

shoes, suspenders, cigars, soap, and perfume. Other peddlers floated down the Western rivers on flatboats, peddling from farm to farm. Whenever they sighted a house they would begin to blow a horn. At the sound of it men, women, and children would hurry to the river bank to hear the latest news and to trade pork, flour, and other farm produce for factory goods. These peddlers were important in their day, but improvements in transportation soon pushed them away from the main routes of travel.

The building of turnpikes westward made it possible to travel in stagecoaches even though the trip was bumpy and rough. Another great improvement resulted from Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat in 1807. On its first trip up the Hudson River from New York to Albany both farmers and livestock ran from the river banks to escape flying sparks and the thick smoke. On some other early steamboats the boilers exploded. As soon as such early difficulties had been overcome, however, the steamboat provided an improved means of transportation. The first steamboat to run any great distance on inland waters went down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans in 1812 but was unable to return upstream against the powerful current. The first steamboat on the Great Lakes was built in 1816. There were sixty steamships in the Mississippi system of rivers by 1820, and steam navigation on the Great Lakes increased rapidly after the building of the Erie Canal.

The steamboat, however, could be used only where waterways existed. It was of little value in getting Eastern manufactured goods to Western mar-

kets. Goods could not move easily between East and West across the Appalachians until canals and railroads were built.

Canals

There were various routes by which the new industrial cities of the coast hoped to carry on trade with the West. The Eastern city that first opened up a cheap route to the West would have a head start in the race for rich trade. For this race New York was favored greatly by geography. It possessed one of the finest harbors in the world; large, deep, and protected from ocean storms. In its rear was the Hudson River, which had no falls or rapids in its main part, and waters did not flood its banks. Entering the upper Hudson from the west was a river nearly as useful, the Mohawk. West of the Mohawk the land was low and quite level. Of all routes connecting East and West, New York possessed the best.

In 1817 New York state began digging the Erie Canal to connect the Hudson River with Lake Erie at Buffalo. This huge ditch was 363 miles long and was completed in 1825 at a cost of over \$7,600,000, an enormous sum in those days. The canal cut down the time required to carry goods between the Hudson and Lake Erie from 20 days to 9 days. Of equal importance, the cost was immediately reduced from \$100 a ton to \$15. Passengers could travel for "a cent and a half a mile, a mile and a half an hour." In 1826, 19,000 boats and rafts used either the Erie or the connecting Champlain Canal. Tolls amounting to \$8,500,000 more than paid for the Erie Canal during its first nine years.

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As a result of the canals New York City doubled in population between 1820 and 1830, taking Philadelphia's place as America's leading seaport. Goods which the West would otherwise have shipped to New Orleans flowed to the Northeast instead. Eastward over the Erie Canal went great quantities of grain, flour, pork, bacon, and other farm produce. Westward went large shipments of dry goods, shoes, earthenware, hardware, machinery, medicines, sugar, coffee, fish, salt, and other products that the West needed. Western farmers could get their wheat to market. The cost of food went down, not only in our own country but also in England. Prices of land increased near the canal.

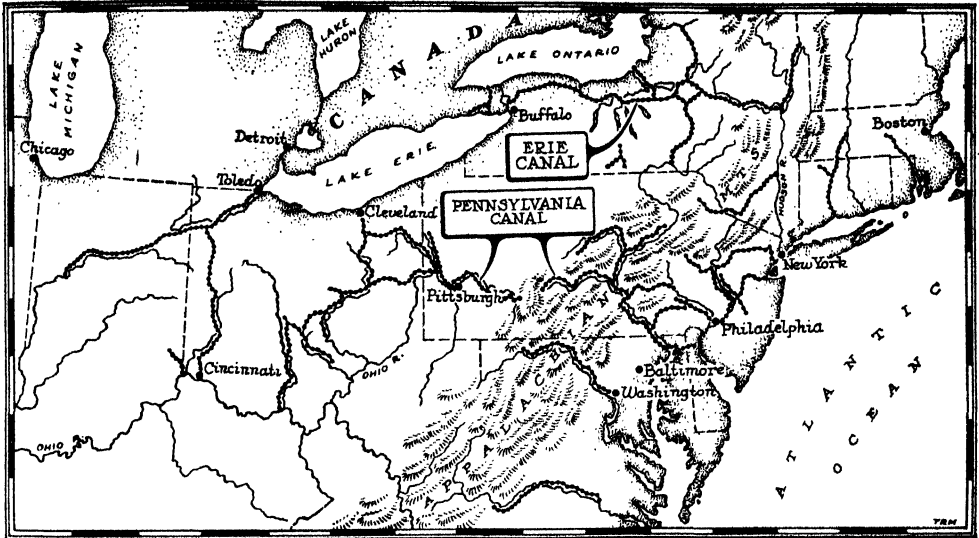
The success of the Erie Canal led to the building of other canals. Bos-

ton, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston were anxious to keep for themselves their full share of Western trade. Boston considered plans for building a canal across Massachusetts to connect with the Erie, but the Berkshire Mountains were in the way. Pennsylvania built a system of canals connecting Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but loaded canal boats had to be carried overland many miles. Baltimore made plans for an all-water route connecting the Chesapeake and the Ohio, including a tunnel under the mountains, but the canal was never completed. Many smaller canals were built, including many in the Middle West. Several of them were planned in Ohio and Indiana and Illinois. The very great interest in canal building did not end until the 1850's.



Brown Brothers

Governor DeWitt Clinton of New York opening the Erie Canal in 1825. For many years before that, he had worked for the building of canals.



Canals in 1840

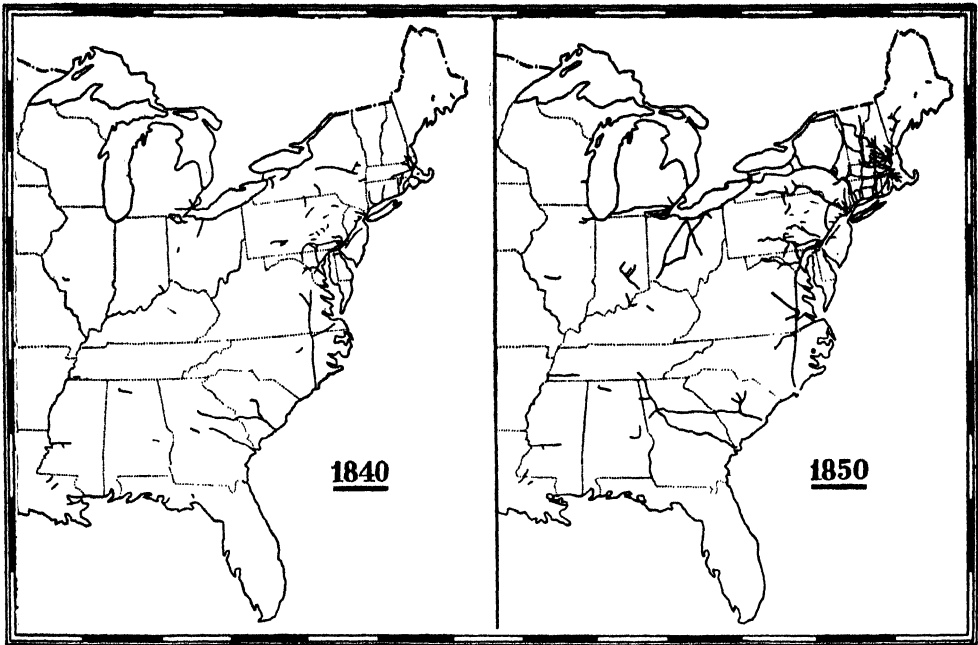
Railroads

There had been "railroads" in the United States since before the War of 1812. The cars of the early trains, however, had been drawn by horses. Such railroads served only local needs and did little to solve the nation's need for transportation. There were Americans as early as 1813, however, who were certain that "the time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines, from one city to another, almost as fast as birds fly, fifteen or twenty miles an hour."

The dream of steam railways was first realized in England in 1829. A steam locomotive invented by George Stephenson hauled a train weighing thirteen tons at a speed of fifteen miles an hour. Meanwhile, Baltimore merchants and bankers had already begun to build a railroad across the Appalachians into the West. The construction of this Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been begun on

July 4, 1828, by Charles Carroll, the only signer of the Declaration of Independence who then remained alive. The railroad was completed from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills in 1830. The famous engine "Tom Thumb" made the trial trip over the thirteen miles of track in one hour. Connections were established with the city of Washington in 1835 and with New York in 1839. Some enthusiastic railroad men talked of traveling more than thirty miles an hour, but most people thought that would be impossible.

Meanwhile other short railroad lines were being built — small railroads which in time would be joined together to form big trunk lines. By 1850 it was possible to travel by rail from Maine to North Carolina, from Boston and New York to Buffalo on Lake Erie, and from the western end of Lake Erie to Chicago and Cincinnati. Between 1850 and 1857 the Appalachians were pierced by five railway lines, connecting the Atlantic coast with the Ohio and Mississippi



Railroads in 1840

Railroads in 1850

rivers. By 1860 there had been so much railroad building that the length of the rails, if laid end to end, would be great enough to encircle the earth with much to spare. Southern cities such as Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile (mō-bēl') joined in the race to build routes to the interior, but the greatest success rewarded the efforts of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Trade between the Northeast and the West increased faster than ever, aiding in the development of the industrial centers.

By 1860 New England and the Middle States together made two

thirds of all the manufactured goods of the nation, while the South produced only one twelfth. New England alone made over two thirds of all the cotton goods and practically two thirds of all the woolen goods in the country, although Philadelphia was the leading textile city. Pennsylvania took the lead in smelting iron, and New York was second until 1850. Newer and better means of transportation had much to do with the rapid growth of the industrial centers of the Northeast. The canals and railroads also brought more and more factory goods to American homes.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM

When factories first developed in the Northeast they seemed to provide an easier way of living for many people.

Girls flocked to the textile mills from all parts of New England. At first they welcomed the chance to earn money, and to do something

besides housework. Working in the factory seemed an opportunity. Early mills were clean; the town had comfortable boarding houses, churches, and libraries. The girls in one factory even published a book containing what they themselves had written. When Andrew Jackson visited New England in 1833 he was impressed with the spectacle of neat, bright-looking girls, clothed in white and carrying green-fringed parasols, walking in procession to greet him. The poet Whittier referred to these factory girls as "the flowers gathered from a thousand hillsides and green valleys of New England."

There were other sides of the picture, however, that were not attractive. Hours of work were long; the work was hard and monotonous; living conditions in factory cities became bad. For example, as late as 1846 Priscilla Brown in Lowell, Massachusetts, worked thirteen hours a day in the summer time, and from daylight to dark in the winter. The factory bell rang at half past four in the morning and she had to be in the mill by five. At seven she was allowed 30 minutes for breakfast and at twelve 30 minutes more for dinner. In return she received her board and \$3 a week besides, although many of the other girls were paid only \$2.

There was also considerable child labor in the Northeast. It was estimated in 1832 that two out of every five persons employed were children. In the cotton factories of Philadelphia most of the workers were boys and girls from six to seventeen years in age. Sometimes entire families worked for the same company.

As time went on conditions in the factories became worse instead of

better. People were less willing to move to the mill towns. By 1846 we hear of long, low, black wagons, sometimes called "slavers," cruising around northern New England combing hillsides and valleys for people who could be persuaded to work in factories. Actual slavery was never tried in the factories of the Northeast. As long as the factory owner could persuade free people to work for him long hours at extremely low pay, there was little reason for him to invest large sums of money to buy slaves, provide care for them, and pay guards to keep them from running away. Gradually new immigration to the United States provided a supply of factory workers.

Before 1820 most of the nation's increase in population was due to our large families, but between then and 1860 about 5,000,000 European immigrants landed on our shores. Our population began to grow by leaps and bounds. Some groups, such as most of the Germans, continued into the West where they bought farms, but at least five sixths of the Irish remained near the seacoast, most of them in cities. Many Irish were brought here to help build the Erie Canal and to lay the rails for the "iron horse." Others crowded to our factory doors after being forced out of their own country by hard times, especially when Ireland's potato crops failed. The immigrants from Europe began to operate factory machines in place of New Englanders, many of whom were moving westward to Ohio, Oregon, and California.

One result of the factory system was that cities increased greatly in population. No longer were nearly all workers farmers. In the following

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table you will notice the increase in the per cent of the population living in cities and other places of over 8000 population. In 1790, only about one person in thirty lived in such thickly settled urban areas; but by 1810 about one in twenty lived in them; and by 1860 about one in six.

<i>Census Years</i>	<i>Per Cent of Population Living in Urban Areas</i>
1790	3.3
1800	4.0
1810	4.9
1820	4.9
1830	6.7
1840	8.5
1850	12.5
1860	16.1

In 1800 the only real cities in the United States were Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston. By 1860 there were 140 cities having 8000 or more people. Many of the newer cities were in New England. Nashua, Lowell, Waltham, Lynn, Worcester (wōōs'tēr), New Bedford, and Fall River became thriving cities in the area around Boston. Old colonial towns such as Providence, New London, Hartford, and New Haven became manufacturing cities. Pittsburgh became of importance as early as 1800. By 1860 Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland, Sandusky, Columbus, Indianapolis, Terre Haute (tēr'ē-hōt'), St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee also were scenes of lively business activity. Mobile and New Orleans were the main shipping centers on the Gulf of Mexico, but manufacturing developed slowly in the South. In 1860 the largest metropolitan district in the nation was New York, with a population considerably over a million

within what are the present boundaries of the city. Philadelphia was about half as large, while Baltimore had about 200,000 inhabitants.

Vast wealth was created by factories and commerce. Moses Brown of Rhode Island was one of the first Americans to become interested in cotton manufacturing. In 1789 he wrote to Samuel Slater: "Come and work our machines, and have the credit as well as advantage of perfecting the first water mill in America." Brown's new factory was prosperous from the beginning and added rapidly to his fortune. He possessed great wealth and gave large sums of money for education. Rhode Island College was renamed Brown University because of his gifts to it. Brown was also the founder of the Providence Athenaeum Library, the Rhode Island Bible Society, and the Rhode Island Peace Society. In Rhode Island and other states were other Americans like Brown, who made fortunes from factories and became leaders in the life of the nation.

Francis Cabot Lowell of Massachusetts died soon after he built his textile factory, but his family prospered. His son, John Lowell, was a successful Boston merchant who gave \$250,000 to establish the Lowell Institute, to provide regular annual courses of free public lectures. George Peabody went to work as a clerk in a grocery store at the age of eleven. He became a prosperous dry-goods merchant in Baltimore, and a wealthy banker in London, England. He gave between \$8,000,000 and \$9,000,000 for a variety of worthy causes, especially to educational institutions.

Much of the nation's money was in the cities of the Northeast, and the

larger banks were located in that section. As the Southern planter gazed upon the rapidly growing riches of the North his mind was troubled. How would the rich bankers of New York and Philadelphia use their tre-

mendous power? Would the factories of the Northeast benefit the nation as a whole? What would be the effect of this industrial growth upon the South? The plantation owner could not be sure.

INFLUENCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

So much for the hum and clatter of machinery, the earning of daily bread, and the filling of pocketbooks. The results of industry were not confined within factory walls nor to the towns and cities that grew up around factories. In various ways the industrial revolution was felt in the most distant valleys of the Northeast, along the frontiers of the West, and on the plantations of the South. The wheels of industry helped to shape the nation's future.

Inventions for Farm and Home

With men's minds turning more and more to machinery, it was natural that new inventions should be made. Between 1825 and 1850 kerosene lamps came into use, friction matches took the place of flint, and improved cookstoves were put on the market. Many of the inventions of this period made farming easier. The first patent for a thresher was granted in 1791, and threshing machines were constantly improved until by 1860 they were being driven by steam. Probably the most famous farm invention was the reaper which was patented in 1831 by Cyrus McCormick, a Virginia farmer. He began to manufacture these machines in Chicago in 1847. They made it possible for farmers to raise huge crops, and helped make the growth

of great Western cities. In 1862 William H. Seward said that the reaper had "pushed the frontier westward at the rate of thirty miles a year." Another very important invention was Elias Howe's sewing machine, which was patented in 1846. Between 1852 and 1860, 130,000 sewing machines were sold.

Fewer and fewer things were made by hand. Machines could produce them much more rapidly, in much greater quantities, and therefore at much lower prices. In 1815 the family weaver, working chiefly by hand, could finish only four yards of cloth a day. The price was forty cents a yard. Due to inventions in the textile industry, however, factories could produce the same cloth at twenty-two cents a yard in 1822, at four and a half cents in 1829, and at two cents by 1860. In 1860 an American could buy twenty yards of cloth for the price that one had cost in 1815. This meant that more people could afford to buy the new factory products and inventions, although they might live hundreds of miles away from factory streets. As a result the tasks of men and women tended to become lighter and their lives easier and more comfortable. That is an important part of what is meant by the statement that "their standard of living was improved."

Effects on the Northeast

With increased wealth there was more money in the Northeast for every purpose. People could afford to provide better schools, and by 1850 the battle to have schools where all children would be admitted free of charge was nearly won in the Northeast. New colleges were established in all sections of the nation, and the older colleges received gifts of money to increase their endowments. There was also more money available for the care of the blind, the deaf, the insane, and other unfortunate people than before. Writers were encouraged by the increasing demand for books and the ability of a publisher to pay for what they wrote. Wealthy Americans bought works of art both here and abroad. More Americans could afford to buy newspapers. Architecture became a profitable occupation. All classes of Americans benefited in some way from the new wealth created by industry.

New England became less the land of the Puritans, partly because the Yankees themselves were changing and partly because the immigrants had different views. With increased money to buy luxuries and pleasures the Yankees were less willing to follow the stern Puritan way of life. The chief religion of the immigrants, especially the Irish, was Catholic. Due largely to the Irish immigration, the Catholic Church could, by 1850, claim more members in New York state than any other religious organization.

As the hum of factories grew louder and louder, the need for slaves declined. Many masters in the North freed their slaves. New York passed

a law in 1818 which provided that all slaves in that state should be freed by 1827. At first there was no general feeling in the North that slavery was wrong. Most Northerners had no sympathy with men who tried to force an end to slavery in the South. They were angry at William Lloyd Garrison when he burned a copy of our Constitution and called it "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" because it recognized slavery. The North's objections to slavery in the South did not become powerful until the 1840's. By that time the Northeast had become firmly established as a manufacturing section. Its interests had become different from the South's. Its views on laws passed by Congress depended largely upon how these laws affected the factory system. People in factory regions had somewhat different interests and points of view from those on the frontier of the West or on the plantations of the South.

The Effects on Other Sections

The effect of the industrial growth of the Northeast upon the West was tremendous after the building of the Erie Canal. Great as was the traffic at the beginning, the West sent more than eighteen times as much produce across New York state in 1851 as in 1836. Such southwestern cities as New Orleans were harmed by the new route, but the Great Lakes communities such as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago began to grow rapidly. The Northeast and the West were held together by their interest in, and profit from, a common commerce. The two sections tended to become friends instead of rivals.

The effect on the South was dif-

ferent. Up to 1835 or 1840 the South and the West together had been able to overbalance the strength of the Northeast; after 1840 the South had to stand more and more alone. She could not match the strength of the North either in wealth or in political power. In the House of Representatives, where states had members according to population, the North

could outvote the South. The friendship of the West and South would doubtless have continued if New England had not turned its main attention from ships to factories, or if the goods of the West had continued to float down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The growth of industry in the Northeast changed the pattern of our nation's growth.

Study Activities

1. *A Map of the Northeast.* Draw a map of the Northeast, showing the states included in the section. Locate on the map all of the cities, rivers, canals, and early railroads of the section which are mentioned in Chapter 13. What were the best travel routes between the Northeast and the West and between the Northeast and the South in 1830?

2. *Special Reports.* There are many fascinating stories connected with the ships and trade of New England. Using encyclopedias and references, selected pupils from the class may prepare special reports on the following topics:

The Whaling Industry of New England.

Fishing Fleets of New England.

The First Voyage of a United States Vessel to Asia.

The Clipper Ships.

Donald McKay.

Salem as a Trading City.

3. *Towns of New England.* In 1839 there was published in Boston a book called *Gazette of New England* by John Hayward. Among its concise descriptions of New England towns are the following:

A. "*Millbury, Massachusetts.* . . . It lies 42 miles from Boston. Branches of the Blackstone River rise in the town and the Blackstone Canal passes through it. It is a very pleasant manufacturing place, with a valuable water power. There are 1 paper, 6 woolen, and 1 cotton mills: and manufacture of boats,

shoes, leather, hats, scythes, spades, forks, hoes, ploughs, muskets, levels, trowels, machinery, black lead, tinware, sashes and blinds. Total value for the year ending April 1, 1837, \$566,150. Population, 2153."

B. "*New Bedford, Massachusetts.* The most exclusive business of the place is the whale fisheries, which commenced before the Revolution and has gradually grown to its present importance. . . . The number of ships and brigs now employed is 169. There are 16 oil manufacturies. . . . The manufacturing of the town consists of leather, boots, shoes, hats, iron castings, axes, chairs, tin and cabinet ware, vessels, salt, cordage, soap, carriages, and carpenters' tools. There were brought in during the year 2,472,735 gallons of whale oil and 305,170 pounds of whale bone. The capital investment in the whale industry was \$4,210,000. The number of hands employed was 4000. . . . A railroad will soon be constructed from this place to Providence."

C. "*Pawtucket, Rhode Island.* The first manufacture of cotton cloth in this country, by water power machinery, was commenced at this place. . . . At this place are 12 or more cotton mills and print works, and manufactures of cotton machinery, bobbins, spools, etc., of boots, shoes, carriages, chairs, etc., value about \$2,000,000.00. Samuel Slater, Esq., resided in this village many years. He died at Webster, Massachusetts, greatly respected, April 20, 1835, aged 67."

List all the types of manufacturing mentioned in these paragraphs. What raw materials (wood, iron, cotton, etc.) were

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used to make each article? Where did the raw material come from? Where do you think the manufactured articles were sold? What trade is mentioned in the paragraphs? On the basis of these paragraphs, and Chapter 13, and other references you can find, write a theme on "A Small City of New England in the 1820's and 1830's."

4. Are New Englanders Traders? A man named Edward A. Kendall made a trip through New England in 1807-08, and wrote this observation. "Traffic [or trade] is the passion of all the people of New England. . . . To buy, to sell, to exchange, or, as they term it, to *swap*, are the pursuits in which they wish to be constantly engaged." On the basis of what is said in Chapter 13, do you think Kendall's observation was correct?

5. New York the Metropolis. Make a list of all the reasons indicated in Chapter 13 as to why New York outdistanced other eastern cities in development as a manufacturing and trading center.

6. The Growth of Cities. Study the figures about the growth of cities very carefully, and see whether you can answer these questions.

(a) How many cities with more than 25,000 people were there in 1800, in 1810,

in 1820, in 1830, in 1840? In each year, how many of these cities were located in the Northeast?

(b) Did the cities of the Northeast grow more or less rapidly than cities in other sections of the country during this period?

(c) Can you find in Chapter 13 any explanations of why some cities grew more rapidly than others?

(d) Make a list of the cities in order of size for each of the years shown.

7. Importance of the Industrial Northeast. Make a class list, written on the board by a "secretary" for the class, of the changes in American life which came before 1850 as a result of the rise of the Northeast as an industrial section.

8. Books to Read. Among the interesting books to read are:

Hazel R. Longdale, *Mark of Seneca Basin*, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1942. A dramatic tale of the Erie Canal.

Marian Lansing, *Nicholas Arnold, Toolmaker*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941. The story of an apprentice in an iron-making shop in Rhode Island.

Enid La Monte Meadowcroft, *Along the Erie Towpath*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1940. A beautifully illustrated story of the canal.

Cornelia Mcigs, *Clearing Weather*, Little, Brown & Co., 1928. A tale of New England shipyards and of trade with Asia.

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Baltimore	26,114	35,583	62,738	80,625	102,313
Boston	24,937	33,250	43,298	61,392	93,383
Charleston	20,473	24,711	24,780	30,289	29,261
Chicago	—	—	—	—	4,853
Cincinnati	750	2,540	9,642	24,831	46,338
Cleveland	—	—	—	—	6,071
Detroit	—	—	—	2,222	9,102
Indianapolis	—	—	—	—	2,692
Louisville	359	1,357	4,012	10,341	21,210
Nashville	—	—	—	5,566	6,929
New Orleans	—	17,242	27,176	46,310	102,193
New York	60,489	96,373	123,706	202,589	312,710
Philadelphia	69,403	91,874	112,772	161,410	220,423
Richmond	5,737	9,735	12,067	16,060	20,153
Washington	3,210	8,208	13,247	18,827	23,364

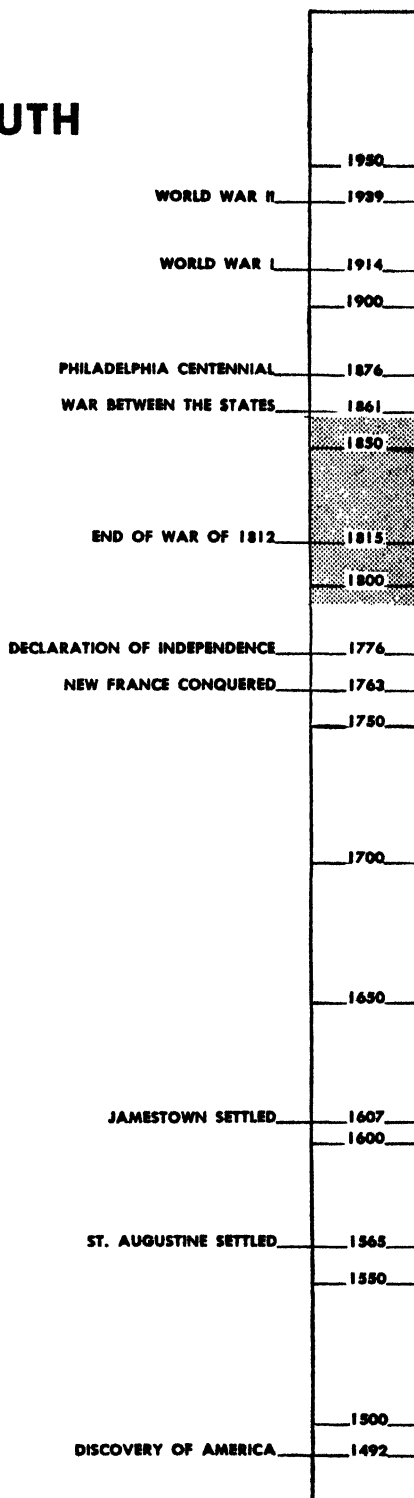
CHAPTER 14

THE AGRICULTURAL SOUTH

1850's SOUTH UNITED IN VIEWS ON SLAVERY
 1830's THE OVERSEER BECOMES IMPORTANT
 1793 INVENTION OF THE COTTON GIN

"Cotton is King."

James H. Hammond



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH

In the years between 1776 and 1850 the South expanded rapidly. When the nation was established the settled South was confined to the long line of territory south of the Potomac, between the Appalachian Mountains and the seacoast. Jefferson lived to see states west of the Mississippi River added to the Union. The South of the 1850's included what are now fifteen states. It extended from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida in the east through Texas and what is now Oklahoma in the west. It was primarily an agricultural section, and most of its people were engaged in the growing of cotton and tobacco. Most of its cities were located along the seacoast or along the banks of important rivers.

Resources of the South

In the South there were large areas of rich soil such as the Northeast did not possess. There was, except in the northern part, a semitropical climate which provided an unusually long growing season. In such states as Virginia and Kentucky a shorter growing season favored tobacco planting rather than cotton. The amount of rainfall was just about right for growing cotton and tobacco, except in Florida and along the coast, where the rainfall was too heavy for cotton. These general conditions favored the growing of plantation crops such as cotton and tobacco rather than wheat and corn as in the Northwest.

The rivers were the main avenues of commerce in the South. Down the valley of the meandering Mississippi

River came much of the South's food supply — flour, pork, bacon, lard, and other products from the farms of the Northwest. From such cities as New Orleans these food products were distributed over the South. New Orleans grew rapidly, especially between 1830 and 1840, and became the most important commercial city in the South. All rivers which were navigable were used for the transportation of agricultural products to the seacoast harbors. From such ports as New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk the crops of the South were transported on ocean steamships.

The South also built canals and railroads to improve its transportation system. Virginia constructed a seven-mile canal as early as 1785 and, with North Carolina, completed the Dismal Swamp Canal in 1794. In 1833 South Carolina had within its borders the longest railroad then in the world. Other southern states built their own canals and railroads. In 1845 a convention was held at Memphis to discuss the building of through railroads across the South. During the 1850's this dream was realized and a continuous line was completed connecting the Mississippi Valley with the Atlantic: Memphis on the Mississippi with Norfolk on the Atlantic.

Tobacco had been the leading crop in the colonial period and maintained its leadership until after 1800. Then from 1800 to 1840 tobacco production remained stationary and declined in importance for various reasons. About

1840, however, tobacco production began to increase, and more than doubled in the 1850's. It was especially important in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky.

The raising of rice was confined largely to the swamp lands of South Carolina and Georgia. Because rice lands were limited by geography rice farmers were required to use fertilizers to keep their soil fertile. They knew more about the science of agriculture than any other clan of farmers in the South. Rice growing was at best a hazardous occupation because of floods and because of salt water which was sometimes driven inshore by hurricanes. Carolina rice was supposed to be the best in the world and its production increased between 1820 and 1850, after which a decline set in.

Other southern farmers, especially in Louisiana, raised sugar cane which they made into sugar and molasses. Although the production of sugar was more difficult than cotton and tobacco, sugar-growing was an important farm occupation increasing in value until 1850.

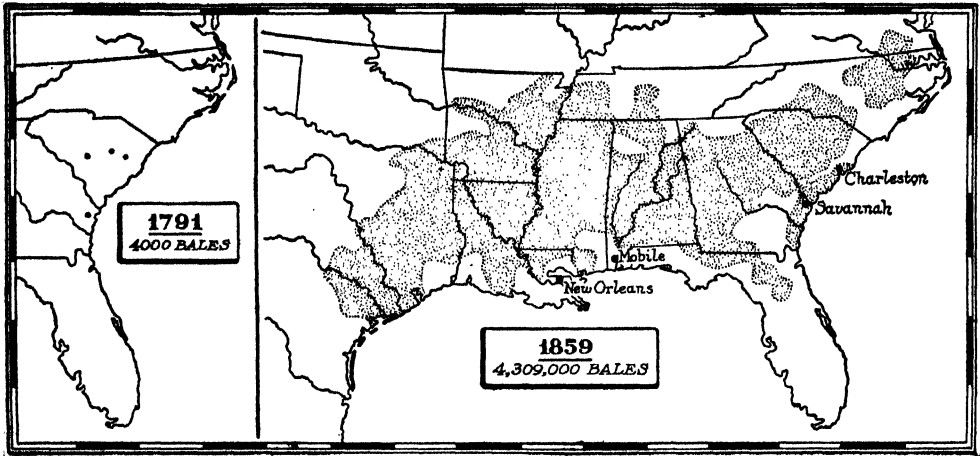
It had long been apparent that so much tobacco-raising had been hard on the soil of the older states of the South. Leading farmers, especially in Virginia, were trying to find ways to improve the worn-out soil. They encouraged farmers to rotate their crops, to try new crops, and to plow more deeply. They published farm magazines which told about improved ways of farming, organized agricultural societies, and arranged exhibits. Edmund Ruffin, a leading farmer of Virginia, did so much experimenting with fertilizers to enrich the soil that he became known as the "father of American soil science."

While the South raised all of the cotton, rice, and sugar grown in the United States and more than 80 percent of the tobacco, its other crops were also very important. It produced more than 50 percent of the country's corn, more than 70 percent of the peas and beans, 94 percent of the sweet potatoes, and almost 30 percent of the nation's wheat. Truck gardens began to appear near Norfolk, which sent their early spring vegetables as far away as New York City. Kentucky was famous for its race horses, horned cattle, and Hampshire hogs, and Missouri for its mules. Virginia was a leader in sheep-raising. Eighty-six percent of the South's general farming was carried on in the Upper South.

While farming in the Upper South became more general, the main attention of the Lower South, however, centered on its cotton crop. In 1791 only about 4000 bales of cotton had been produced in the United States, but in 1793 Eli Whitney had invented the cotton gin. Because of this invention twenty times as much cotton was grown in 1801, and more than a thousand times as much in 1859. Cotton became of greatest importance in the Lower South just as factories had come to be of most importance in the Northeast. An English traveler journeying through the cotton belt on a river steamer reported that cotton was the main topic of conversation. "All day and almost all night long the captain, pilot, crew, and passengers were talking of nothing else."

Growing Dependence on Cotton

New cotton states in the west increased in importance as the con-



Growth of Cotton Production

tinued planting of cotton and tobacco exhausted the soil of the older states in the east. Between 1830 and 1840 the population of Alabama nearly doubled, while that of Mississippi nearly trebled; during this same period, the population of Virginia and the Carolinas changed very little. Some of the men who started plantations in the new states became rich within ten years. It was not long before cotton growing became important west of the Mississippi. Between 1850 and 1860, while South Carolina was declining in rank among the cotton-producing states from fourth to seventh place, and Tennessee from fifth to eighth, Louisiana rose from sixth to third place, and Texas from eighth to fifth.

The growing of cotton led constantly to larger plantations. As one man wrote, "All of the great cotton lands were first opened up by industrious settlers, with small means. . . . No sooner is . . . their homestead growing into comfort, than the great planter comes up from the East . . . and absorbs everything." "As one

man grows wealthy and thereby increases his stock of Negroes, he wants more land to employ them on; and being fully able, he bids a large price for his less opulent¹ neighbor's plantation."

As time passed, some Southern leaders came to realize the danger of depending almost entirely on plantation crops for prosperity. It was too much like carrying all their eggs in one basket. So various attempts were made to establish industries in the South. These efforts failed, however, even though the South had water power in some localities. One difficulty was a scarcity of skilled labor. For better or for worse, cotton and other plantation crops controlled the South. Some Southerners even thought their crops ruled the entire world. One Senator from the South declared in 1858 that if no cotton was furnished for three years "England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her." He knew that the South was the world's greatest source of raw cotton, and that England bought

¹ Wealthy.

most of the cotton the South produced. England's textile industry was dependent upon what the South raised.

As the Southern plantation owner faced the future in the 1850's, much that he saw was good. It was possible

for a man of energy to obtain wealth and reputation in only a few years on the new land of Alabama, Mississippi, or Texas. During the 1850's, the value of crops produced in the South increased almost twenty-five per cent.

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

Cotton Growing

The growing and harvesting of cotton required most of the year. Interesting descriptions of life on the cotton plantations are to be found in the diaries of plantation owners, such as Bennet H. Barrow of Louisiana. Barrow's field hands were busy plowing in January and February of each year. The plows were drawn by mules, or sometimes by horses. The cotton was planted during February or March, generally by hand. Cultivation of the cotton plants began soon, and continued until the crop was harvested. Some of the cultivation was done by mule-drawn tools, but most of the work was done by field hands using hoes.

The slaves were awakened early in the morning by the blowing of a horn, or on some plantations by the ringing of a bell. After breakfast they gathered at some central spot and went to the field in a gang. Then all day long except at mealtime the field hands worked away at the long rows of cotton with their hoes. On many plantations, especially during the busy season, this labor continued until dusk. On many other plantations labor ceased two hours before sundown so that the slaves could do their own chores or enjoy themselves.

The harvest began in August. As soon as the cotton fields showed white, both old and young joined in the task of picking cotton. All cotton had to be picked free from trash. Those who learned to pick cotton after they were grown-up usually could use only one hand to gather the cotton, requiring their other hand to hold on to the stalk. Those who had been trained in childhood could pick with both hands, possibly three hundred to four hundred pounds of cotton in a day. The champion cotton-picker was held in deep respect by the master as well as by the other field hands. After the cotton was picked it was packed into bags and carried off to the gin house.

Preparing the Crop for Market

At the gin house, the seeds in the cotton had to be separated from the fiber. Until the invention of the cotton gin this work was done by hand. With Whitney's invention a man could clean ten times as much cotton as by hand. A machine turned by water or by the work of a horse could clean more cotton than fifty men could. After ginning, the cotton was pressed and baled.

Hauling the bales of cotton to the nearest shipping point began in September. The bales were loaded on

*Brown Brothers*

Cotton awaiting shipment on a Southern wharf. To what ports in the United States and Europe did most of these bales of cotton go in the 1850's?

mule carts and transported over rutty dirt roads to a river. There the cotton was picked up by steamboats which steamed from landing to landing. Sometimes the cotton grower dealt directly with some distant purchaser, but it was the general practice to sell his crop to a cotton dealer, or middleman. If weather conditions were unfavorable the harvesting and marketing of cotton might last into January. Then it was time to begin plowing for another crop.

The Plantation

Many of the plantations were noted for their beauty. One of the most famous of those remaining today is Middleton Place, situated on a bend in the Ashley River, near the city of Charleston, South Carolina. Here we find the oldest landscaped garden in the United States, designed by an English artist in 1740. Ten years were required to complete the forty-five acres of gardens and the sixteen-acre lawn. The gardens rise from the river in sweeping terraces. Camellia

japonicas, some of them from twenty to thirty feet in height, bloom red, white, and pink. Their rich color is reflected in a succession of pools. Here we find rare plants and shrubs from all parts of the world. At the river's edge is the Middleton Oak, supposed to be nine hundred years old. Its trunk is thirty-seven feet around. The mansion at the top of the bluff is a three-story brick building. It has no ornaments except a semicircular portico and steps facing the bend of the river. There are wings on both sides of the main house. One of these wings includes a conservatory, and a library which contains many rare works of art.

If possible, the home of a plantation master was built on a hilltop with enough of the oaks left standing to cast a dense shade over all. This "great house" of the larger plantations was generally stately in appearance. Across the front was a broad porch shading the rooms from the hot sun. Within were high ceilings and "windows tall and wide; but

carpets were of plain design where there were carpets at all. On the walls there were portraits of worshipful ancestors, a steel engraving of George Washington, a battle scene of the Revolution, and a painting of Calhoun or Clay addressing the United States Senate. Furniture was as a rule plain but somewhat massive. Of servants, there were always plenty and to spare, for the number of the servants, rather than the elegance of the outfit, advertised the wealth and dignity of the family."

In the rear were rows of Negro cabins with their little vegetable gardens and their chickens. In one of these slave cabins was born Booker T. Washington, one of the outstanding leaders of the Negro race. His family lived in a log hut fourteen or sixteen feet square. It was not only his home; here was prepared food for the plantation. Here his mother, who was the plantation cook, fried chicken, roasted

hams, and baked biscuits and spoon bread. The floor was the naked earth itself. In the center of this floor was a large deep opening covered with boards where sweet potatoes were stored during the winter. The cabin was hot in the summer because all the cooking was done over an open fireplace, and cold in winter because there were no glass windows. There was a special hole cut in a corner of the room for the cat to pass in and out of the cabin at night, even though there were perhaps a half dozen places in the cabin that would have accommodated cats.

Each week there was ration day. On this occasion each slave was given a peck of corn meal and three or four pounds of meat, usually bacon. Sometimes salt and molasses were added. The Negro generally received three suits of coarse clothes each year, one for winter and two for summer.

LIFE IN THE OLD SOUTH

The Great Planters

Those who owned large plantations were very few. It has been estimated that the three thousand or four thousand families who lived on the best lands received three fourths of all the profits from cotton sent to other countries. The standing of a master was measured by the number of slaves he owned, just as the wealth of a factory owner in the Northeast was measured by his bank account. The largest plantations and the greatest number of slaves were to be found along the banks of the rivers. Smaller plantations and fewer slaves were to be found in the interior.

The planters were the leaders of the Old South. Most of the people of that section were entirely willing to accept their leadership, although only about one third of the white people of the South were connected with slavery directly. The owners of tobacco plantations were the friends of the cotton planters. They had many interests in common. The growers of corn and wheat, those who raised pigs, and others who made whisky all found ready markets in the plantation towns for what they produced. Their prosperity depended chiefly upon the prosperity of the cotton growers and tobacco planters.

The planters, as a class, were well

*Culver Service*

A home on the lower Mississippi. When cotton sold at good prices owners of large plantations and their families lived in luxury and elegance.

educated. Many of them read the writings of Greek and Latin authors. Some attended Southern colleges, such as William and Mary and the University of Virginia, others enrolled in such Northern universities as Harvard and Princeton, while still others went to England to complete their education. Many of the plantation owners were amateur artists and authors in their spare moments. The South had outstanding literary figures such as the great novelist William Gilmore Simms and the gifted poets Henry Timrod and Paul Hamilton Hayne. They helped make Charleston the literary center of the South and one of the leading literary centers of the nation. We will meet Simms again in Chapter 21. The planters were mainly Episcopalian in religion, although the Presbyterians increased in influence as the years passed.

The social life of the richer planters

was gay. Some of them spent the winter months in New Orleans, the spring at Charleston, and summers at watering places, such as Hot Springs in Virginia or Saratoga Springs in New York state. There were many forms of diversified entertainment and recreational activities. Numerous balls and banquets were given in an atmosphere of culture and charm.

John C. Calhoun

John C. Calhoun was a plantation owner and perhaps the ablest leader of the Old South. He was a large man physically, over six feet in height and heavy-boned although rather thin. Above his broad, high forehead his unruly hair waved defiantly. His eyes were the most striking features in his appearance; they were large, dark-blue, and deepset underneath great brows; they "glowed out from their caverns like live coals." He was kind

and courteous in manner and enjoyed the respect of both friend and foe. He was elected to Congress in 1810 and was prominent in the political life of the nation for the next forty years until his death in 1850.

Calhoun had been born in the back-country section of South Carolina in 1782 just when our war for independence was ending. His birthplace was the only frame house in a frontier settlement, and his father was the most important man in this little colony of pioneers. Neighbors often gathered at the Calhoun home to discuss current events. One of the son's earliest recollections of his childhood was hearing his father discuss personal liberty with these neighbors. They had fought in the battle to be freed from British rule. They felt unjustly treated by their own state government which was controlled by the owners of the plantations along the seacoast. They were also opposed to the adoption of the new national Constitution, because they feared a strong central government which would rule them from outside South Carolina.

During the 1790's as young John grew into manhood fear of a strong national government seemed justified. The Sedition Act, passed while John Adams was President, sought to deprive people of the right of free speech. Later, in the period from 1825 to 1850, Calhoun was convinced that the national government was treating South Carolina and other southern states unfairly. From 1828 to 1833 he vigorously opposed the tariff, declaring that it violated the Constitution and was unjust to the cotton states (pages 198 and 199). From that time until his death he was the great defender of the rights of

states and individuals against the increasing authority of the national government.

Calhoun might have become President of the United States if he had been concerned mainly with his own selfish interests, but he sacrificed his personal ambition to champion the cause of the South. Even at death's door at the age of 68 he appeared on the floor of the Senate to protest against what he considered unjust interference with the rights of the South (p. 250) which had, in his words, "justice and the Constitution on its side."

Calhoun was not a great planter when judged by the size of his plantation and by the number of his slaves, but he lived up to the best traditions of the planter class. Another famous cotton planter was Jefferson Davis, described on pages 261-262.

The Slaves

As a rule, slaves were well treated in the South. This good treatment was partly due to the master's feeling of responsibility for the welfare of the slaves and partly to the value of slaves as property. When the need arose for digging ditches in lowlands where malaria threatened, some planters preferred to hire immigrants by the day instead of risking the lives of their slaves. Jefferson Davis was noted for his fine treatment of slaves. Until 1850 his overseer was a Negro. His slaves were allowed to manage their own affairs. Any slave accused of an offense had the right to trial before a jury of his fellow slaves, presided over by a Negro judge. None of Davis's slaves were ever punished except after being found guilty by such a court. On the only occasions when Davis

changed the decision of this Negro court he ordered a lighter punishment or pardoned the guilty slave.

The slaves received their best treatment before 1830 when they were directly under the control of their masters. After 1830 as the plantations became larger and larger it became necessary for the masters to employ overseers to supervise the work. Sometimes the overseers became more concerned with how much labor they could get out of those under their control than with the welfare of the slaves.

Before 1815 some people who lived in the South had been opposed to slavery. As time passed, however, this opposition became less. The Southerners who objected to slavery either moved into the free Northwest or gradually changed their views on the plantation system. The entire question of slavery was largely one of geography and economics. Some Negroes who were free had slaves of their own and were among the strongest defenders of slavery. Southern gentlemen who moved to the North ceased to be slave owners; Northerners who moved to the South soon lost whatever objections they may have had to slavery. By 1860, most Southerners were united in their views on slavery.

The Common Man in the South

Many farmers in the Old South could not afford to own slaves. They planted an acre or two of cotton and did the work themselves. At harvest time they would get some planter to gin and press their crop. It was not uncommon for such farmers to begin in this way and soon purchase Negroes on credit. In time they

might own a large plantation and possess many slaves. On some of the poorer land, especially back in the hills, were other whites who led a dreary, cheerless existence as a result of their competition with slave labor.

A poor home often consisted of but a single room, open to the roof above. It would contain a large fireplace at one end, a door or two, but frequently no windows. One such typical home of the poor whites in the 1850's contained two bedsteads, a spinning wheel, a packing case which was used as a bureau, a cupboard made of rough-hewn slabs, several deer-skin-seated chairs, a Connecticut clock, and a large picture advertising patent medicines. Some such cabins had overhead lofts where at least part of the family could retire for the night. Some of these poor families moved to newer states farther west in search of a better living. Some of these farmers left their mountain homes to become overseers on plantations. Others remained where they were, struggling to escape starvation.

One of the great needs of the common man in the South was education. Education, however, was difficult to provide for everybody. Homes were scattered, and frequently separated by considerable distances, unlike most homes in the North, where so many people lived in settled communities. Attendance at school generally meant long miles of slow travel over poor roads. Despite all obstacles, however, education continued gradually to improve.

Comparing the North and the South

The task of comparing these two sections is difficult. There were many sorts of people in both sections of the

*Carolina Historical Society*

A Southern city, being a commercial and residential center, was likely to be spacious and quiet and clean, while a Northern city where factories were coming in was likely to be noisy and crowded.

nation. The North was not all made up of fine gentlemen, nor was it a land of slave-thieves as some Southerners thought. The South was not all made up of fine gentlemen, nor was it a land of Negro-whippers as some Northerners thought. The Southern planter could go to his church on Sunday and pray for the "sinful tyrants" and the misused workers of Northern cotton mills just as earnestly as the New England factory owner could pray for the sinners of the slave system.

The main differences that did exist between the two sections were due to the fact that the Northeast depended upon the factory system while the South depended upon the plantation

system. In the Northeast the factories depended on free labor; money was wealth; immigrants came in large numbers; and this section had its own kind of home life, schools, and churches. In the South the plantations depended on slave labor; land was wealth; immigrants stayed away because of the slaves; and this section also had its own kind of home life, schools, and churches. Whether the factory system or the plantation system was superior or inferior need not concern us. The important thing for us to remember is that the two sections became so different. Americans living in one section could not easily understand the problems of the other.

Study Activities

1. *An Outline on the South.* Make an outline of the first section of Chapter 14, showing the chief characteristics of the South as a section. Be able to define the term "the South" as used in Chapter 14.

2. *Rivers of the South.* In the first section of Chapter 14 it is said that "The rivers were the main avenues of commerce in the South." Consult the map on page 228 as well as available geography texts and wall maps, and make a list of the main rivers of the South. Look up each river in the encyclopedia and find out something of its size, the cities it reaches, and the products it carried.

Rinehart & Co., Inc. (New York) publishes a series of books about the rivers of the United States, which members of the class may find interesting. Consult your librarian for a full list of the books in the series. Among them are Cecile Hulse Matschat's *Suwannee River*, Blair Niles's *The James*, Clyde Brion Davis's *The Arkansas*, T. D. Clark's *The Kentucky*, and Hodding Carter's *The Lower Mississippi*.

3. *A Contest on Southern States.* On cardboard or heavy paper different pupils should make separate maps for Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Do not write on the front of each map; on the back of each (after referring to the table of states on page xxxix and geography textbooks) write (a) the name of the state, (b) its capital, (c) its area, (d) the date of its admission to the Union, (e) its chief products. With this set of map-cards hold a quiz game in class. One pupil should exhibit to the class the map side of a card to see what pupils can identify it and give the information suggested above it.

4. *A Typical Plantation.* Draw a map of a plantation, showing the abandoned fields, the fields in use, and the unfarmed area. Show also the plantation house and workshops and the slave homes.

5. *The Seasons of Work on a Plantation.* In the second section of Chapter 14 is an account of the yearly schedule of work on a cotton plantation. Make a series of drawings illustrating the cycle of cotton, from planting to marketing. Different members of the class may undertake the drawings for different seasons, and all the drawings may be fitted together to make a classroom mural.

6. *A Traveler's Report on the South.* A good many Europeans visited the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Imagine that you are a European boy or girl accompanying your parents on a trip through the South. Write a letter to your class in school about life in the South as you see it. Be sure to tell about the large plantation owners, the small-farm owners, the free tenants, the town and city people, and the slaves.

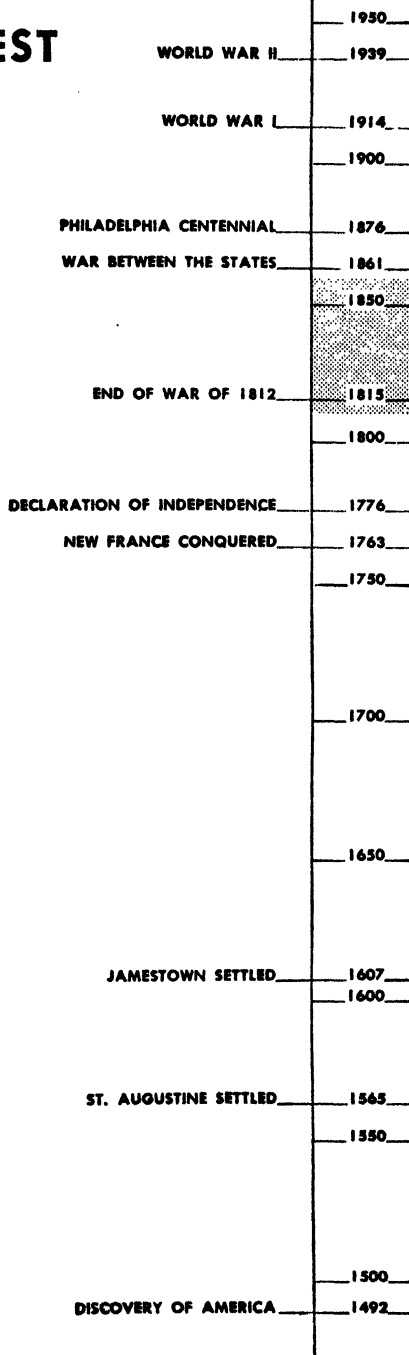
7. *Is Slavery Profitable?* Hold a panel discussion in the class on the question "Is slavery profitable?" Imagine yourselves a group of Southerners discussing the question. Will the decision be different in Virginia from that in Texas? Will it be different in 1790 from that in 1830 or 1860?

8. *Northeast vs. South.* Compare the Northeast as described in Chapter 13 with the South as described in Chapter 14. Compare the two sections as to area, population, wealth, income, transportation facilities, manner of living, as they were about 1830. About 1850.

CHAPTER 15

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH COMPETE FOR THE WEST

1857 DRED SCOTT DECISION
 1854 KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT
 1853 GADSDEN PURCHASE
 1850 COMPROMISE OF 1850
 1849 GOLD RUSH TO CALIFORNIA
 1848 END OF WAR WITH MEXICO
 1846 TREATY WITH BRITAIN CONCERNING OREGON
 1845 TEXAS ANNEXED
 1843 AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN
 OREGON ORGANIZED
 1836 TEXAS BECOMES INDEPENDENT
 1821 TRADE OVER SANTE FE TRAIL
 1820 MISSOURI COMPROMISE
 1811 ASTOR'S FUR POST IN OREGON



"The way lies over trackless wastes, wide
 and deep rivers, rugged and lofty
 mountains, and is beset with hostile
 savages. Yet . . . they are always found
 ready and equal to the occasion. . . .
 May we not call them men of destiny?"

Jesse Applegate

THE FRONTIER OF THE 1830's

The West Grows Rapidly

The frontier moved ever westward. In 1830 the frontier line extended from Lake Erie across northwestern Ohio, central Indiana and Illinois to the Mississippi River, and then zigzagged through the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf of Mexico (see map, page 174). West of that line settlements were few and scattered.

Kentucky and Tennessee were no longer youthful states. Even the old Northwest was too thickly settled to please settlers who wanted "elbow-room." In 1837 a resident of Cincinnati wrote, "The great rage even here is to sell and go West."

During the 1830's Michigan was growing by leaps and bounds. Its population increased from nearly 9000 in 1820 to over 31,000 in 1830 and to over 212,000 in 1840. There was a similar growth in Arkansas, although on a smaller scale. Arkansas became the twenty-fifth state to enter the union (in 1836), and Michigan was the twenty-sixth (in 1837). Meanwhile more and more settlers were moving into Iowa and Wisconsin. By 1840 more than one American out of every three lived west of the Appalachians. The West was the fastest-growing section of the nation. During the period from 1820 to 1840 the population of the West increased about 200 per cent, while the Northeast increased 60 per cent and the South 28 per cent. Even the boundary line of the United States failed to halt the restless pioneers. By 1830 there were twenty thousand Americans from

Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee living in Texas, although that land then belonged to Mexico.

The Indian Problem

One of the most difficult problems of the frontier in the 1830's was what to do with the Indians. Our settlers had pushed the red men from one homeland to another as they had moved to the west. The Indians doubted whether they would ever possess land which would always be their own — this side of the "happy hunting ground." By 1830, however, our government had decided to set aside land where the Indians could remain forever and not be molested by the whites. West of Missouri and Arkansas were the Great Plains where, it was reported, no white man could live. Here at last, it seemed to the government, was a place where Indians could dwell in peace. We made a pledge that Indians who moved to the Great Plains would never be molested.

Some of the Indian tribes, however, objected to leaving their old homelands. They did not wish to move to the Great Plains, despite the promise of our government. The Seminoles refused to leave Florida's swamps, and throughout the 1830's our army was trying to drive them out. The Sac and Fox Indians of Illinois also refused to go. They were angry when white pioneers settled upon their cornfields. Under the leadership of Black Hawk in 1832, they tried to drive the settlers out. The Indians were defeated, however, and finally



The Bettmann Archive

Prairie wagon train attacked by Indians. Among the many difficulties of settlers moving west across the wide and empty plains was the constant danger of Indian attack.

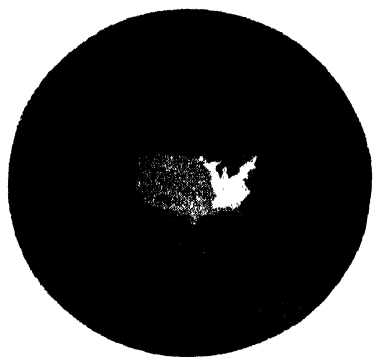
were pushed across the Mississippi. Other tribes had similar experiences.

Western Trails

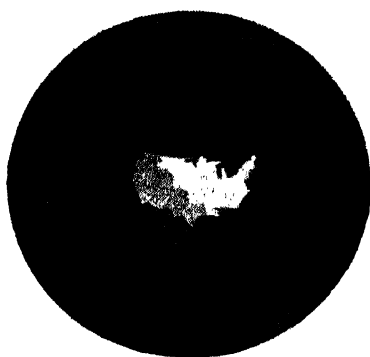
From a settlement in western Missouri, trails branched into all parts of the newer West (see map, page 246). The main route to the Southwest was the old Santa Fe Trail, leading to the old Spanish settlement of Santa Fe in what is now New Mexico. A party of traders traveled the trail in 1821 and found that trade with Santa Fe was highly profitable. For every dollar the traders had invested they made fifteen dollars profit. Each year thereafter a huge caravan set out to trade with Santa Fe. These caravans were long lines of creaking wagons, loaded with calico, gingham, hardware, tools, glassware, needles, and pins. These goods were traded for buffalo robes, Indian blankets,

and Mexican silver at Santa Fe, at the end of the 800-mile journey. Among the teamsters was Kit Carson, who was to become one of the best-known scouts and guides in the entire West.

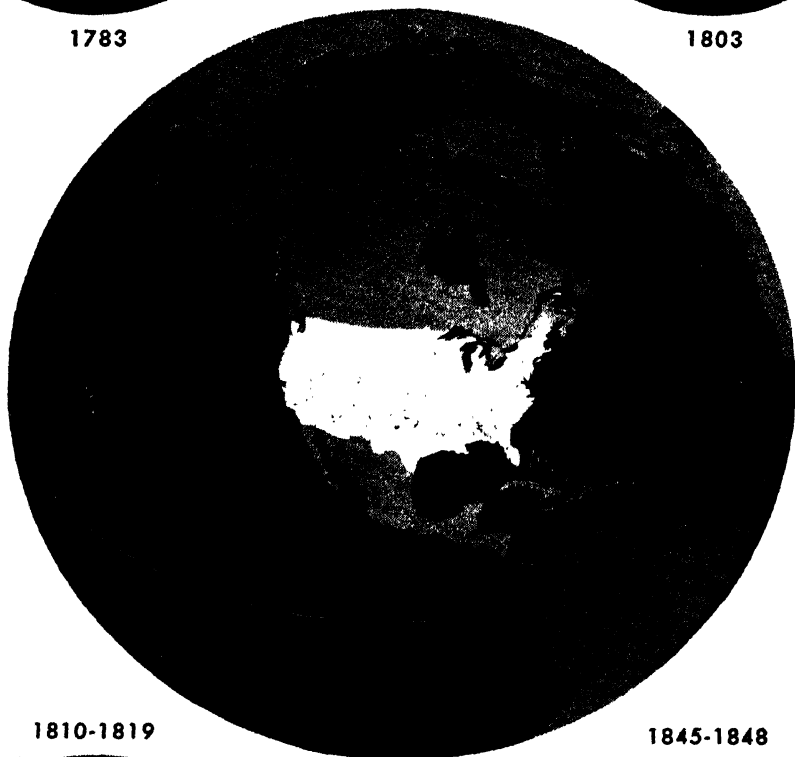
Trails to the Northwest were not so well established by 1830. Lewis and Clark had blazed a trail up the Missouri River and thence to the Columbia River in 1804 and 1805, but the far Northwest was inhabited only by Indians and fur traders. During the 1820's scouts employed by the fur companies discovered new routes and important passes across the Rocky Mountains. In the 1830's, especially in 1832, a greater amount of exploration took place. Kit Carson and other scouts blazed trails into parts of the far Northwest. The main route led across what are now the states of Nebraska and Wyoming to Fort



1783



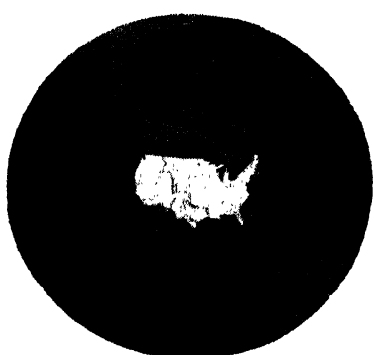
1803



1810-1819

SINCE 1853

1845-1848



Territorial Growth of the United States

Bridger, built by the famous scout Jim Bridger. From this fort the Mormon Trail was to lead to Salt Lake City. At Fort Hall, in what is now Idaho, there was a fork in the main trail to the Far West. The California Trail led across the present state of Nevada to San Francisco, and the Oregon Trail led northwestward to Fort Vancouver.

The tremendous growth of the West was of great importance to all sections

of the nation. This growth happened at a time when the North and the South were becoming bitter rivals. Whether the Western territory should be filled with slaves like the Old South or whether it should depend on free workers like the Northeast caused numerous quarrels between the sections. It was these quarrels over the West, more than anything else, that led to the outbreak of war between the North and the South in 1861.

TEXAS AND OREGON

Americans in Texas

The United States in 1819 gave up all claim to the land now in the state of Texas (see Chapter 7). In 1821 Texas became Mexican soil after Mexico had won her independence from Spain. At first Mexico welcomed Americans who wished to settle in Texas. She thought that these settlers could add to the wealth of their adopted country.

Members of the Austin family were leaders in the settlement of Texas. The life of Moses Austin was typical of the frontier. He was born in Connecticut, married in Pennsylvania, became a miner in Virginia, and then moved to Louisiana, where he became a Spanish citizen. When Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803, he was once more an American. In 1820 he persuaded the Spanish to allow him to bring American settlers to Texas, but died before he could carry out his plans. His son, Stephen Austin, then took up the task. When Mexico won her independence from Spain, the new republic permitted Austin to proceed. Under his leader-

ship settlement was rapid and by 1825 there were six hundred American families in Texas. The city of Austin, now the capital of Texas, is named for him, and is on land which Austin once owned.

Until 1834 the relations between the settlers and the Mexican government were good. Mexico did not interfere with the two thousand slaves the settlers brought to Texas, although she had laws against slaves within her borders. Neither did she greatly interfere with local government, allowing the American settlers to manage their own affairs. Until 1834 the settlers fulfilled all of their duties as loyal Mexican citizens.

At about that time, however, a decided change took place on both sides. More and more Americans swarmed into Texas. Mexico was alarmed and tried to keep them out. Her fears grew when the United States government made several attempts to buy the territory. Austin tried to hold the colonists in check, but they became increasingly difficult to control. This was especially true after Santa Anna, the Mexican dic-

tator, set up a new constitution in Mexico which limited the rights of Texans, and forbade slavery anywhere in Mexican territory. Finally the settlers formed their own government and expelled the Mexican troops from San Antonio. Civil war between Mexico and her American settlers in Texas was begun.

In the spring of 1836 Santa Anna with an army of 3000 attacked the Alamo (ă'lă-mō), a fortified mission house in San Antonio. It was defended by less than 200 Texans. Before the assault began the Mexican commander said to one of his generals: "You know that in this war there are no prisoners." There were none at the Alamo. Every American in the fort perished. Any hope of a peaceful settlement completely disappeared. "Remember the Alamo!" became a battle cry. Money was raised in the United States to aid the rebellion against Santa Anna, and Americans rushed to the assistance of their fellow Americans in Texas.

In the latter part of April, 1836, the Texans under Sam Houston (hūs-tăn) met an army led by Santa Anna in the battle of San Jacinto. The Mexican general had such confidence in his ability to win that he had failed to take the proper precautions. His horses were unsaddled, his men were cooking their meal, and he himself was asleep. Suddenly Houston's Texans appeared from a grove of live oaks not far away. They ran toward Santa Anna's position. The rifle fire that followed was like a tempest. Only two Texans were killed and twenty-three wounded, while few Mexicans escaped. Houston reported their dead alone as over six hundred. The next day a captive brought be-

fore him turned out to be Santa Anna himself. The war for the independence of Texas was over. Texas was an independent republic, and in the fall the first regular election was held. A constitution was adopted by the people, and Sam Houston was elected president of the new "Lone Star Republic."

The people of Texas wanted to become a part of the United States. For nine years, however, our government hesitated about admitting the Lone Star Republic, as Texas was called. The problem was a difficult one for politicians to handle, because of the bitter rivalry in the East over slavery. President Jackson was the trusted friend of Houston and was favorable to admitting Texas. He did not dare to recommend it to Congress, however, for fear that it would interfere with his plans to make Martin Van Buren his successor as President. Van Buren, who followed Jackson as President, was opposed to slavery and refused to consent to admitting any more slave states into the union. Prospects for the admission of Texas grew more favorable when John Tyler, a Virginian, became President in 1841.

Since Texas grew such great quantities of the cotton needed in English mills, many Americans became afraid that Great Britain would annex Texas if we failed to do so. Then, too, there was good reason to believe that the North would not object to the admission of Texas as a slave state if at the same time our nation also secured additional free territory in the large region called the "Oregon country," then held jointly by Great Britain and the United States. By 1844 the admission of Texas was one of the most



The Bellmann Archive

Fort of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River, in Oregon. The original painting is in Scotts Bluff National Monument Museum, Nebraska. Compare with *Campus Martius* in Ohio, page 186.

important problems that faced the nation.

Americans in Oregon

Meanwhile, settlements were also being made in Oregon. Here, the first white men were fur traders, not farmers. John Jacob Astor of New York City organized the American Fur Company, which in 1811 founded Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River. The British also were interested in the fur trade, however. The British Hudson's Bay Company gradually gained control of most of the fur trade, and Astor was forced out. Then for about twenty years Oregon was completely under the personal rule of John McLoughlin, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Indians gradually learned, from the fur traders and explorers, of the

white man's "Book of Heaven." At a council fire held on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains in the spring of 1832, their chiefs decided to send east for such a book. Arriving at St. Louis, the Indians asked for the "white man's book." Their requests were printed in eastern newspapers, and American churches answered by sending missionaries to Oregon. These missionaries had some success converting the Indians. They had even greater success in raising crops on the fertile soil about their settlements. Perhaps the best-known of these missionaries was Marcus Whitman. He returned east with such enthusiasm for the "matchless climate" and fertile soil of Oregon that he started a stampede of settlers.

In 1839 a shipload of settlers reached Oregon by way of Cape Horn; in 1843 a large caravan made the journey

overland from Missouri; and soon other settlers arrived by way of Panama. A favorite question asked of the new arrivals was: "Did you come the Plains over, the Isthmus across, or the Horn around?" With American settlers actually building homes, and more Americans on their way to Oregon, the days of the fur traders were numbered. Those who desired furs were forced to search for "more elbowroom."

In 1843 the pioneers held a mass meeting in a barn and set up their own government. This was to remain in effect "until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." The admission of Oregon into the union, however, was as difficult a problem as the admission of Texas, although for a different reason. The entire Oregon country belonged jointly to the United States and Great Britain, according to the treaty of 1818 (see Chapter 7). To declare that Oregon was a part of the United States would probably lead to war with Great Britain. By 1844 the admission of Oregon, like that of Texas, was one of the most important problems which faced our nation.

The North was anxious to have Oregon, but doubted, in the case of Texas, "whether as a people we are prepared to seize on a neighboring territory to the end of extending slavery." The South was anxious to have Texas, but asked concerning Oregon, "What do we want of this territory?" Finally in 1844 the future of Texas and Oregon became the main issue in the election for President. One of the candidates, James K. Polk, declared himself in favor of taking both Texas and Oregon. Polk was elected and there could be no question but that the American people wanted both territories. Congress did not hesitate much longer. Texas was admitted to the union in 1845, the year in which Polk was inaugurated. We did not obtain all of Oregon, however. War was approaching between the United States and Mexico over Texas, and it was desirable to avoid any quarrel with Britain at the same time. So in 1846 we signed a treaty with Britain which divided the Oregon country into two parts — one American and the other British. By that treaty our boundary line on the north was definitely established at the parallel of 49° north latitude.

CONFLICT WITH MEXICO

Drifting into Another War

In no way whatever had Mexico ever recognized the independence of Texas. She had never forgiven the assistance which American citizens across the border had given to the revolting Texans. She had been aware that Texas wished to be annexed to the United States. Therefore she was especially bitter when in

1845 her lost province became a part of her ambitious, growing, northern neighbor. The anger was greater because there was a dispute over the boundary line between Texas and Mexico. The Texans declared that the correct boundary line was the Rio Grande (*rě'ō grăn'dā*), but the Mexicans insisted that it was farther northeast, along the Nueces (*nū-ă'sās*) River. There were two sides to this

boundary dispute, as there are to most disputes. Mexico was also afraid that the United States might try to take even more of her land. It was easy for Mexicans to believe that our South was planning to get Mexican soil to fill with more slaves, when many of our own Northerners angrily said so. Our relations with Mexico became worse because American agents sent to Mexico City made many mistakes and were sometimes insulting.

The United States also had cause to complain, however. Mexico failed to live up to treaties which she made with us. Our citizens living in Mexico were sometimes misused. On one occasion a number of Americans were killed without a trial because they were suspected of plotting revolution. Our government asked money for damages to American property, and although Mexico agreed to pay she neglected to do so. The rulers of Mexico at that time were more interested in their own personal affairs than in their nation's honor. Other nations had complaints similar to ours, and in 1838 France lost patience and collected claims at the cannon's mouth. There were quick-tempered people on both sides of the Texas-Mexico border who thought that a war might be a good thing. Both nations had made mistakes.

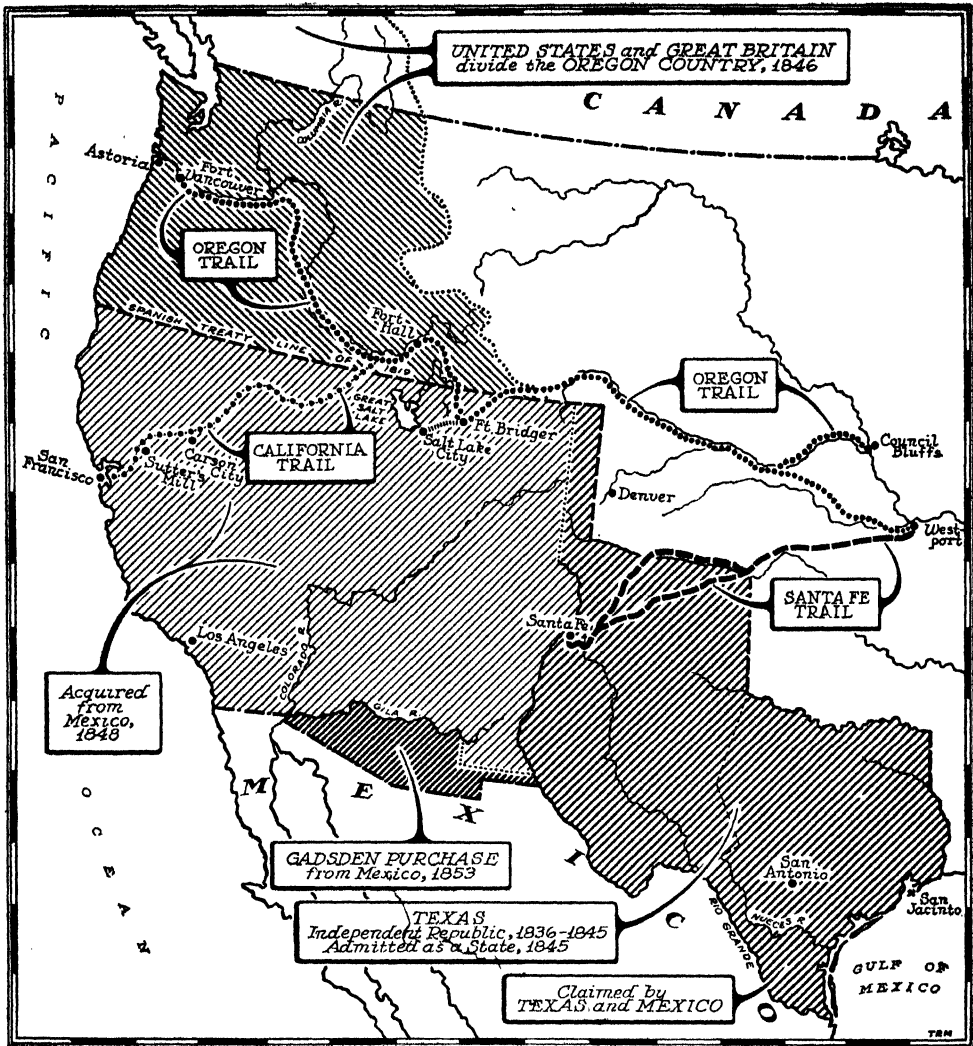
For all these reasons the United States and Mexico were drifting towards war. Attempts to settle the quarrel by peaceful means did not succeed. The boundary dispute was especially serious. President Polk agreed with the Texans that the boundary was at the Rio Grande where they claimed it to be. He ordered American troops into the disputed area between the Nueces

and the Rio Grande. Later, Mexican soldiers also entered this region. Some fighting and bloodshed resulted. Polk announced that Mexico had "shed American blood upon the American soil," and that war now existed "by the act of Mexico herself." Mexico said that the United States had invaded Mexican soil. The Mexican War had begun.

Winning More Territory

A handful of Americans led by John C. Frémont (frē-mōnt') started a revolution in California, then a province of Mexico, even before the news of war arrived from Texas. Taking a cotton cloth on which they painted with berry juice "something that they called a Bear," they planted their banner above Mexican towns in California and set up the "Bear Flag Republic." Colonel Stephen Kearny (kär'nī) marched into Santa Fe and won possession of New Mexico without a fight. The main struggle took place in Mexico south of the Rio Grande. Here once more the Mexican leader was Santa Anna. He and General Zachary Taylor fought a desperate battle at Buena Vista (bwā'nä vēs'tä) in February, 1847. The Americans won. Then an American army under General Winfield Scott was landed at Vera Cruz. It captured the city after a bombardment of four days. Then it set out for Mexico City, which Scott entered September 14, 1847, after severe fighting.

Perhaps the fiercest engagement was fought on the sides of a steep hill called Chapultepec (chā-pōōl-tā-pĕk'). On the top was an old fortified castle which in 1847 was used as a boy's military school. This old palace



Territorial Expansion Westward, after 1819

Scott decided to storm. American soldiers charged up the slopes, engaging in hand-to-hand fighting with the Mexicans who tried desperately to push them back. After a terrific struggle the American flag waved upon the palace walls.

Among the Mexican defenders were forty students of the military academy. These were boys in their teens. During the bitter conflict they

fought with great heroism. Despite their efforts, however, the American invaders pushed them back and stormed the castle. When the Mexican cause was clearly lost, thirteen of the boys retreated to a high tower. Rather than surrender, they jumped from this tower over the cliffs to death beneath. There was heroic bravery at Chapultepec just as there had been at the Alamo.



Salt Lake City, 1850. "Here we will stop and build our city!" exclaimed Brigham Young when the wandering Mormons first saw the site.

The war was over, and a treaty of peace was signed in February, 1848. Some American leaders said that our flag should never be hauled down in Mexico and that the entire nation should be ours. While we did not accept this advice, we actually took about half of Mexico's territory. By treaty we received not only Texas, but also what are now California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Wyoming. Much of this area, greater than France and Germany combined, was unexplored wilderness. We had taken "nearly a quarter of our continental area at a gulp." For this huge territory we paid only \$18,000,000, including claims of our own citizens against Mexico. The wealth taken by Cortez was small by comparison.

The boundaries of the United States have been changed only once since the Mexican War. In 1853 we needed a little more Mexican territory, now the southernmost part of Arizona and New Mexico, for the best route of a railroad to California. A line there would cross the mountains more easily than elsewhere, and

would be less blocked by snow in winter. Mexico finally agreed to sell the needed land to us. This Gadsden Purchase rounded out our boundary lines.

The West during and after the War

The West had become larger and stronger while we had been quarreling with Mexico. During the 1840's Iowa had grown from about 43,000 to 192,000 in population and Wisconsin had jumped from about 31,000 to 305,000. Settlers were beginning to move into Minnesota, which was to grow from 6000 to 172,000 in the 1850's.

Utah was settled by the Mormons in 1847 while war with Mexico was raging. The Mormons were a new religious group whose belief or faith was not popular with many of their early neighbors in New York and Ohio. They were persecuted because of their belief and driven from state to state; and there were serious conflicts in Missouri and Illinois. After Joseph Smith, their founder, was killed by a mob, they determined to move westward into territory which was then



The Bettmann Archive

Eager gold seekers are at work on the western bank of the Sacramento River in California. Notice their equipment. What are the two Indians in the foreground doing?

unsettled. By a heroic trek across the plains and mountains, under the leadership of able Brigham Young, they reached Mexican territory which later became Utah. They built homes east of the Great Salt Lake. Their settlements grew rapidly under the leadership of Brigham Young. By 1850 there were 11,380 people in Utah. They played an important part in the settlement of California because they fed the half-starved gold-seekers, their horses, and their stock, repaired their wagons, and did many other things to help the miners on their way to California.

In 1848, a short time before Mexico agreed to our possession of California, gold had been discovered at Sutter's Mill. At first the news sounded just like another yarn to the East. As soon as the report had been proved correct, however, a wild stampede — the "gold rush of '49" — set in. Thou-

sands of men with picks and shovels set out to the gold fields. Those who could afford to go by ship were lucky indeed. The trails across the west were marked by skeletons of gold seekers who had been scalped by Indians or who had died of hunger or thirst. In 1850, however, there were 92,597 inhabitants in California, and San Francisco was growing rapidly. Wherever there is wealth to steal there will be criminals also, and California was no exception. In the early months of the gold rush there were almost no government and laws to protect the gold miners against thieves. Before order was created there were about 1200 murders with only three hangings. The leading citizens, however, finally banded together in self-defense. Their committees, called Vigilantes (vĭj-ĭ-lăn'-têz), took the law into their own hands and destroyed the criminals.

By 1860 California had about 380,000 people — more than four times as many as in 1850. About one seventh of these Californians lived in San Francisco and around the magnificent harbor at the Golden Gate.

Meanwhile interesting changes were taking place in the mountains of the West. New discoveries of gold and silver caused miners to rush to all parts of the frontier. In 1859 there was a wild stampede into Colorado. Prospectors rallied to the cry "Pikes Peak or Bust," and within two years there were about 35,000 persons in

Colorado, and Denver was a prosperous city. Miners spread into New Mexico, Nevada, and Idaho. They "were like quicksilver" and "stayed nowhere longer than the gold attracted them." Mark Twain, who arrived in Carson City, Nevada, in 1861, described that area as "fabulously rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, quicksilver . . . thieves, murderers, desperadoes, ladies, children, lawyers, Christians, Chinamen, Spaniards, gamblers, sharpers, coyotes, poets, preachers, and jack rabbits."

THIRTY YEARS OF COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE SECTIONS

It was clear that the Far West would add many states to the Union. The South demanded that the West should be slave territory; but the North insisted that the West should be free, with slavery excluded. Sometimes the quarrel became very bitter. Could some peaceful means be found to settle the quarrels so that the North and the South could be friends once more? Or would quarrels continue to grow in bitterness until they would end in war?

The Missouri Compromise

Congress had succeeded in settling one such quarrel in 1820. Missouri had asked to be admitted to the Union as a slave state. To this request the North would not agree. The North feared that if slavery was allowed in Missouri it might spread into other parts of the West. Then Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts, asked to be admitted to the union as a free state. The free states were equal in number with the slave states at that

time. If Congress did as Maine asked, the free states would have control of our government. The North already had control over the House of Representatives in Congress because of its greater population; if Maine was admitted the North would have more votes in the Senate also. Finally Henry Clay suggested an agreement known as the Missouri Compromise. This agreement provided that both states would be admitted, Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The remainder of the Louisiana territory would be divided into free soil and slave soil by the 36° 30' line of latitude. Both North and South accepted the Missouri Compromise. Serious trouble between the two sections was prevented for the time being.

The dispute over Missouri had startled the entire country, however. Some of our leaders must have seen the handwriting on the wall. Jefferson compared the excitement to an alarm bell in the night, saying that it

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"filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." According to one of Georgia's leaders, also, a fire had been kindled which he warned "only seas of blood could extinguish."

The same problem came up again in the middle of the 1830's. At that time Arkansas and Michigan came into the union side by side, one slaveholding and the other free. In the 1840's Florida and Iowa, and then Texas and Wisconsin followed in like manner. At the beginning of 1850 there were thirty states, fifteen of them free and fifteen slaveholding.

The Compromise of 1850

Compromise became more difficult as time passed. More and more Northerners agreed with William L. Garrison that slavery was wrong, and were anxious to abolish slavery throughout the nation. Garrison published a newspaper, called the *Liberator*, which caused Northerners to hate slavery and caused Southerners to hate the North. Tempers became shorter in both North and South. The South was especially angry in 1831 when a Negro rebellion, led by Nat Turner, occurred in Virginia. It blamed the *Liberator* and other Northern newspapers that urged Negro slaves to revolt against their masters.

Meanwhile, Northerners continued to help fleeing slaves escape to Canada by means of the "Underground Railroad." This was not a railroad nor was it underground; really it was a network of routes over which escaping slaves were hurried by night and hidden by day until all danger of capture was past. Helping Negroes to escape seemed to the South like

stealing, or at least like handling stolen property.

When the time came to consider the admission of Texas many of the leaders of both North and South talked about seceding from the union if the other section won out. The Mexican War added to the bitterness. By 1850 war between the states over slavery seemed close at hand. The ominous sound of thunder rolled out of the Southwest; storm clouds gathered at the nation's capital; and political lightning flashed and threatened to split our country in two. But once more Henry Clay, now a bent old man 73 years of age, returned to the halls of Congress with another of his famous compromises.

The Compromise of 1850 had five agreements. California was to enter the union as a free state. The boundaries of slaveholding Texas were to be reduced. The question of slavery in the remainder of the territory which we had won from Mexico was to be settled by popular sovereignty — that is, by the vote of the people who lived in the territory when it should become a state. There was to be a stronger law to prevent the escape of slaves from the South. Finally it was provided that no more slaves should be bought and sold in the nation's capital. This compromise failed to satisfy anyone completely; but unless Congress decided to accept it or something similar there would be bloodshed.

Calhoun was the spokesman of the South. He was too ill to speak himself, so another Senator read his speech. He was opposed to the compromise, stating that Congress had no right to keep any citizen from taking his property, including slaves, into any territory. The North must stop



In the debate in the Senate on the Compromise of 1850, Clay made his greatest and last effort to save the Union.

its unjust interference with the rights of the South if the union was to be saved. The Compromise alone could not save it. If the North could not be just, "let the states we both represent agree to separate and part in peace."

Some Northern leaders also felt that the Compromise could not succeed. William H. Seward of New York declared that the end of slavery was near and "inevitable." Slavery was wrong; it was contrary to the law of God, which was a higher law than our constitution; and nothing that the government could do or say could make slavery right anywhere.

Seldom if ever have so many great speeches been heard in the halls of

Congress as during the debates on Clay's compromise. There were grave doubts about whether war could be averted. Much depended on Daniel Webster. His own state of Massachusetts was strongly opposed to slavery, and so was he. His love for the union, however, was even greater than his hatred of slavery. In one of his greatest speeches he said, "I wish to speak today for the preservation of the Union." States could not secede in peace. "Peaceable secession? Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle!" With Webster's support, the great Compromise of 1850 was passed through Congress. In the twilight of his life Webster thus

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brought upon his head the dislike of his own New England, but he held the states together. War had been

postponed for ten years. Compromise had succeeded in preventing bloodshed thus far.

COMPROMISE FAILS

For a short time after the Compromise of 1850 hot tempers cooled. There was a sudden change, however, when Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. This book was a simple story telling of mistreatment of slaves in the South. More and more Northerners came to believe that Southern masters were generally cruel to their slaves. Although slaves in general were fairly well treated, the North became convinced that the opposite was true. Probably no other book in the history of our country ever aroused such a storm of anger. It was one of the main reasons why the North was willing to fight in 1861.

Trouble over Kansas

Meanwhile more storm clouds were appearing in the West. Settlers were moving into the lands beyond Missouri and Iowa. Should these territories be free or slave? Once again there were hot words and short tempers. Finally in 1854 a compromise suggested by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was accepted by Congress. His Kansas-Nebraska Bill provided that the territory in dispute should be divided into two parts named Kansas and Nebraska, and that the question of slavery should be decided by the people who would settle there.

It must be admitted that this method of settling the quarrel over slavery seemed the most democratic one proposed. Nebraska, however, was certain to be free anyway because

of geography, so the main controversy was over Kansas. The older states were unwilling to allow the people of Kansas to decide the dispute over slavery for themselves. Inhabitants from both the North and the South rushed to Kansas with their rifles. Riots broke out and blood was shed. Almost every man who was harmed or killed had relatives and friends farther east who rushed to his assistance or to obtain revenge. The quarrels in Kansas resulted in greater bitterness in all parts of the nation, even in the halls of Congress in Washington. Here a United States Senator was beaten over the head with a heavy stick until he became unconscious.

There was increased talk of secession from the union in both North and South. "The government has fallen into the hands of Slave Power completely," wrote one Northern leader. "So far as national politics are concerned, we are beaten — there's no hope." Both political parties split under the strain; the Whig party even ceased to exist. This party had been formed in the 1830's by those who were opposed to Andrew Jackson. For about twenty years the Whigs and the Democrats had been our main political parties. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, northern Whigs and southern Whigs were unable to continue in the same party. A new party, called the Republican, came into being in the

North. The Republicans were against the extension of slavery into the West and favored giving free farms to Western settlers.

Dred Scott

In 1857 the Supreme Court added to the bitterness. A case came before it concerning a Negro slave, Dred Scott. He claimed that he was free because his master had taken him into free territory, but the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Taney (tô'nĭ) would not accept this idea. Taney declared that a slave was not a citizen in the eyes of the Constitution, and that the lower courts were correct in deciding that Scott had no right to complain. The matter could have ended there, but Taney went on to state further that since a slave was property a slaveowner could take his Negroes into free territory just as he might his other possessions, and that no one could take the slaveowner's property away from him. This decision meant that slavery could exist anywhere.

The reason why Taney said more about slavery than was necessary was because he thought that if the Supreme Court made a decision Americans in all sections of the nation would accept it. Thus he hoped to bring to an end the bitter quarrel between the North and the South on the subject of slavery. The Dred Scott decision did not have the effect intended, however. It resulted in even greater bitterness instead of promoting peace and harmony. The time was past when the views of people on slavery could be determined by judges, whoever they might be or however noble their purposes might be. The North pointed to the fact that a majority

of the judges, including Taney, were Southerners. It charged that the Dred Scott case was just another plot on the part of the South.

In 1858 Stephen A. Douglas was a candidate for the United States Senate in Illinois. He had a great reputation as a public speaker and was one of the nation's leaders. Running against him was a tall, awkward, unknown lawyer named Abraham Lincoln. During the campaign there was a series of great debates. Douglas argued that the best way to solve the slavery problem was to allow the inhabitants of the West to decide for themselves, state by state. In the end Illinois elected him to the Senate in preference to Lincoln. But Lincoln became well-known over the nation because of these debates. The views he expressed against slavery were largely responsible for making him the next President of the United States.

John Brown

In 1859 the bitterness between the North and the South grew even worse. John Brown was a Northerner who hated slavery. At first he had been satisfied to talk against slavery, but later he decided "what is needed is action — action!" He had taken part in the rioting in Kansas. In 1859 he hoped to start a revolt of the slaves. To obtain the needed guns and ammunition, he decided to capture a government arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown and his small band of twenty-one followers were able to seize the arsenal, but they in turn were captured by American troops led by Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown was found guilty of murder and treason and was publicly hanged.

The entire South was very angry because of Brown's attempt to start a revolt of the slaves. Jefferson Davis described Brown's raid as "the invasion of a State by a murderous gang — bent on inciting slaves to murder helpless women and children." Many Northerners felt that Brown's acts were a great mistake. Ralph Waldo Emerson, poet and philosopher of Massachusetts, however, described Brown as "that new saint" who made the "gallows glorious like the Cross." One United States Senator wrote in a letter to his wife: "The members on both sides are mostly armed with deadly weapons, and it is said that the friends of each are armed in the galleries." Jefferson Davis remarked that members of Congress were more like agents of states at war than men assembled in the interest of a common welfare.

Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis

During the 1850's the strength of the North increased at the expense of the South. There had been strong sentiment in favor of the South in such states as Indiana and Illinois at the time of the Compromise of 1850. Ties of ancestry and friendship would have helped the cause of the South if war had broken out then. Between 1850 and 1860, however, a great change took place in the Northwest. During this period railroads were built connecting New York and Chicago. Most of the new settlers came from the Northeast as a result. Many of these newcomers were German immigrants who had fled from their homes to escape tyranny. They were opposed to all forms of slavery. By 1860 the majority of people living in

the Northwest were definitely on the side of the North. In the election of that year they gave their votes to Abraham Lincoln, although Illinois had failed to do so only two short years before.

Jefferson Davis summed up the views of the South when he asked: "Do you propose to better the condition of the slave? Not at all. . . . It is not humanity that influences you. . . . It is that your section may grow in power and prosperity upon treasures unjustly taken from the South, like the vampire bloated and gorged with the blood which it has secretly sucked from its victim. . . . Because you want, by an unjust system of legislation, to promote the industry of the New England states, at the expense of the people of the South and their industry."

Lincoln had summarized the views of the North at the time of his debates with Douglas in 1858. "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," he had said. "I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Lincoln believed that slavery was wrong and that the views of the North would triumph in the end.

Davis was correct in realizing that at the bottom of all the difficulty between the sections was the fact that the interests of the North and South were directly opposed to each other. Lincoln was correct in concluding that the nation could continue free or slave, but not both. Before long Davis was to be president of the Southern states, and Lincoln president of the Northern States.

Study Activities

1. *A Map of the Frontier.* Draw a free-hand map of the United States showing the territory west of the Appalachians. On the map place a dotted line showing the frontier of 1830, as it is described on pages 238-241 of Chapter 15. On the same map show the routes from Independence, Missouri, to the West which are described in the first section of Chapter 15. Locate on the map all places mentioned in Chapter 15.

2. *Indian Lands.* The policy of the United States government toward the Indians has changed through the years. At present the policy is friendly, and every aid is given to the Indians now living in the United States. The policy of setting aside Indian Territory or reservations dates back to the period dealt with in Chapter 15. Divide the class into two groups, one representing Indian tribes and the other agents of the government, and debate the merits of the Indian policy described in the first section of Chapter 15. Were any Indians of the area in which you now live affected by this policy?

3. *New States.* Consult the list of states in the Appendix of this book, and make a list of all the states admitted to the Union between 1820 and 1860. How many states were admitted? Can you find out what their total population was in 1860? In 1940?

4. *Books to Read.* There are many excellent books to read about this period of United States history. Consult your school and public libraries and prepare a bibliography of available books. The following list may be helpful. Read as many of the books as possible. Appoint members of the class to give floor talks on the most interesting books they read.

Margaret Bloom, *Black Hawk's Trail*, Laidlaw Bros., 1931. The Black Hawk War, Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln.

Reed Fulton, *Moccasin Trail*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929. The story of a boy who took the trail of Kit Carson.

Katherine Grey, *Rolling Wheels*, Little, Brown & Co., 1932. The covered wagon trail from Indiana to California.

Hildegard Hawthorne, *Wheels toward the West*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Kit Carson and the wagon trail to Santa Fe.

H. C. Holling, *Tree in the Trail*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Account of happenings on Santa Fe Trail.

Ezra Meeker, *Ox-Team Days on the Oregon Trail*, World Book Co., 1922. In 1852 the author went to Oregon; fifty-four years later he made the trip again and started to mark the famous old trail.

Barbara Mayo, *Henry Clay*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943. Story of long life of the man who might have helped avoid war if his moderation had prevailed.

Louise A. Neyhart, *Henry's Lincoln*, Holiday House, 1945. Boy goes to Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport in 1858.

G. W. Ogden, *Cherokee Trails*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1928. Frontier life and pioneer days in Kansas.

Vernon Quinn, *War-Paint and Powder-Horn*, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1929. Story of the Santa Fe Trail.

Constance Rourke, *Davy Crockett*, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1934. Authentic biography which keeps adventurous flavor of Crockett's character.

E. S. Sabin, *Gold Seekers of '49*, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915. Exciting story of the rush for gold in California.

Flora W. Seymour, *The Boy's Life of Kit Carson*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1929.

Irwin Shapiro, *Yankee Thunder — the Legendary Life of Davy Crockett*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1941. A colorful story with excellent illustrations.

5. *Texas and Oregon.* Make two lists — one of reasons why Texas attracted slaveholding settlers and the other of reasons why Oregon attracted settlers without slaves. After reading the sections in the textbook, consult your geographies. Write one-paragraph descriptions of

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each area without actually naming the area, and see how many members of the class can identify the area described.

6. *A Map of the Mexican War.* Draw or trace a map of the area from Louisiana to the Pacific and from Kansas to Mexico City. On the map locate the places mentioned in the section of Chapter 15 which deals with the War with Mexico. Show on the map (a) the campaigns and battles of the war, and (b) the territories ceded to the United States as a result of the war.

7. *The Oregon Trail — 1852-1906.* In 1852 Ezra Meeker went by ox team to the Oregon country. Fifty-four years later he made the trip again in a wagon drawn by ox team. On his second trip he persuaded people to erect monuments to mark the almost lost Oregon Trail. Make two lists to show the differences between the two trips. In the first list write the four or five outstanding things Meeker saw along the Oregon Trail in 1852. In the second list write four or five outstanding things which were to be seen along the trail 54 years later, but were not there in 1852. If you prefer, draw pictures to show the most important dif-

ferences between 1852 and 1906. If you can get Ezra Meeker's account of his two trips as told in *Ox-Team Days on the Oregon Trail*, you will enjoy it very much.

8. *A Study Guide.* Make a list of the events involving controversy between North and South during the years from the Missouri Compromise of 1820 to the John Brown raid in 1859 which are discussed in Chapter 15. Write the list on the board and use it as a guide during your study and discussion of the last section of the chapter.

9. *Slavery and the Westward Movement.* Write a single paragraph of not more than 100 words stating clearly why the westward movement after 1815 caused controversy between the North and the South. Your paragraph should be a good summary of the main idea of Chapter 15.

10. *People Make History.* Prepare a list of all the persons mentioned in Chapter 15. On the list will be several different kinds of people — frontiersmen, statesmen, reformers, and others. Be able to tell what each person on the list contributed to the making of modern America.

CHAPTER 16

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

1865 THE WAR ENDS

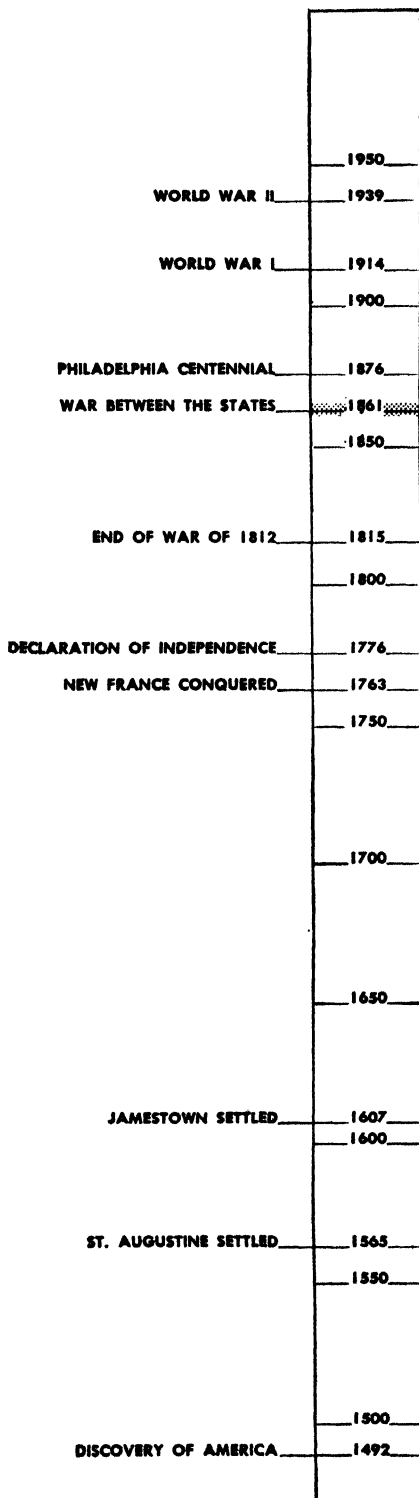
1863 BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG AND CAPTURE
OF VICKSBURG

1861 WAR BETWEEN THE STATES BEGINS

1860 ELECTION OF LINCOLN

"Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day;—
Love and tears for the Blue;
Tears and love for the Gray."

F. M. Finch



UNION VERSUS CONFEDERACY

In 1860 rivalry and ill feeling between the North and the South was greater than ever before. To many Americans, including Alexander Stephens of Georgia, it seemed that the only possible result would be war. Stephens explained his desire to remain out of politics by comparing the two sections to trains: "When I am on one of two trains coming in opposite directions on a single track, both engines at high speed, . . . I get off at the first station."

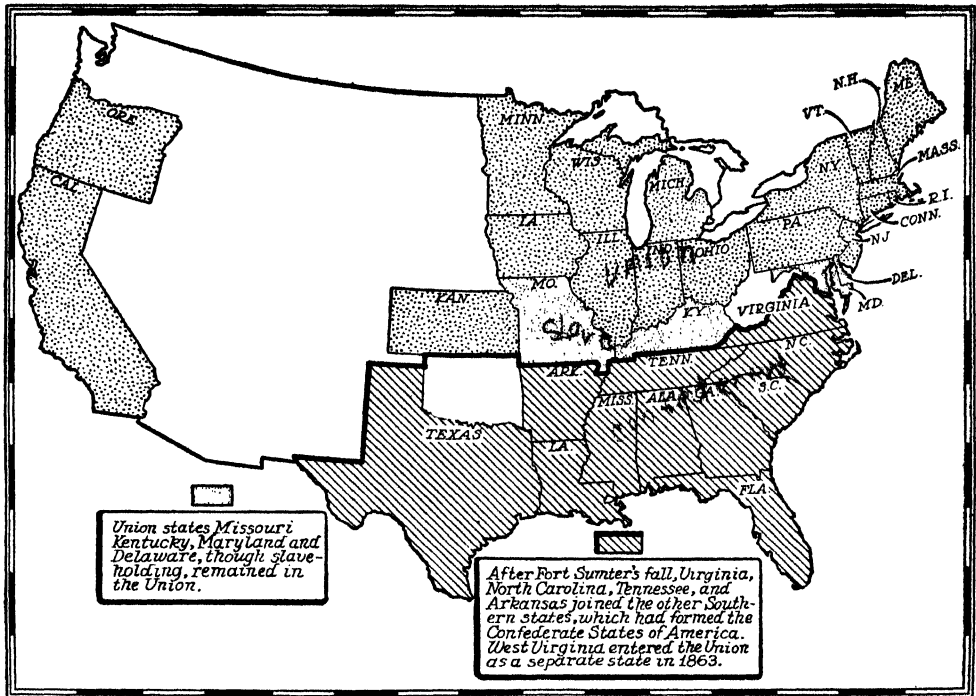
There was unusual excitement during the presidential campaign in 1860. The Republican party was opposed to the extension of slavery. If the Republicans were victorious in the election, the South would look upon that event as the same as a declaration of war by the North. Abraham Lincoln was the Republican candidate, but the attitude of the South would have been the same whoever was the candidate. A Republican victory would show that the North wished to crush the South. It was feared by many Southerners that the North would no longer respect the slave property of the plantation owner.

Both North and South were growing stronger as time passed, but the North was increasing in strength more rapidly than the South. There had been fifteen free states and fifteen slaveholding states at the beginning of 1850. The three states admitted between 1850 and 1860, however, had all been free: California in 1850, Minnesota in 1858, and Oregon in 1859. Any delay in the approaching

conflict would benefit the North, not the South. Robert B. Rhett of South Carolina expressed the views of many Southerners when he declared, "The only policy is for us to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln."

Lincoln's election was fairly certain because the Democrats were split into two groups, each with its own candidates. He was almost unknown in the Northeast, where most of the voters lived, but his views on slavery were popular there. As a result, in November, 1860, a majority of the electors chosen were Republicans, all from free states; and Lincoln was duly elected President.

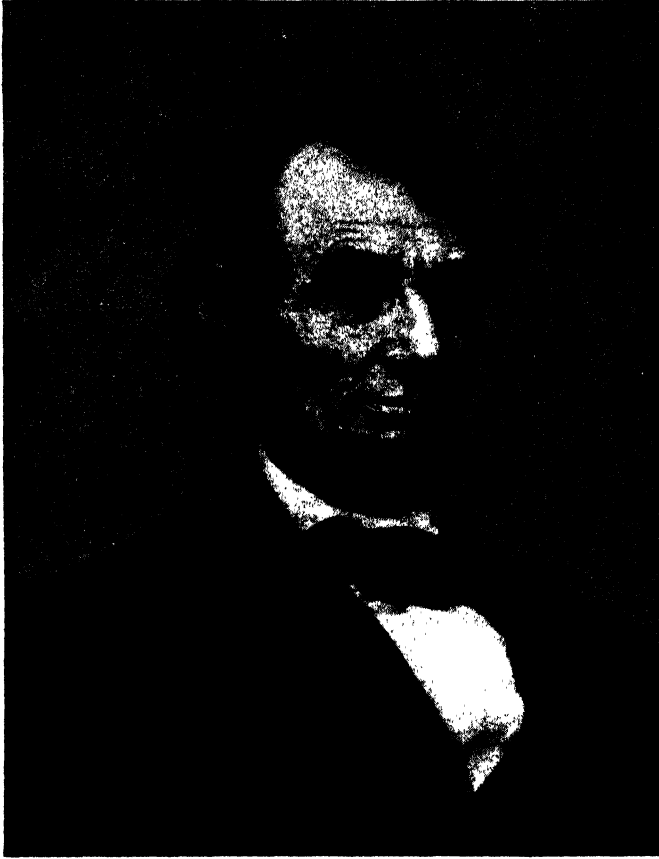
Rhett and other Southern leaders prepared to carry out their threats to secede. In December, 1860, a convention in South Carolina declared that the "Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of United States of America" no longer existed. Charleston's leading newspaper appeared with bold black headlines: — "The Union is Dissolved!" By February 1, 1861, similar action had been taken by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas in that order. On February 4, delegates from those seven states met at Montgomery, Alabama, where they drew up a new constitution of their own for the Confederate States of America, generally known as the Confederacy. By the end of June, 1861, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee had also joined the Confederacy, making eleven states in all. .



Confederate States and Union States, 1861

Between the Confederacy and the North were four other slaveholding states — the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. They remained loyal to the Union, although for some time their final decision was in doubt. Vigorous action was required in Maryland, where Southern sympathizers cut telegraph lines connecting Washington with the North. The majority in those four states followed such leaders as Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who declared, "Secession is hell-born and hell-bound," although thousands there, except in Delaware, fought in the armies of the South. The residents of northwestern Virginia held a convention at Wheeling, and applied to Congress for admission to the Union as West Virginia. Their application was finally granted in June, 1863.

In addition to those five states, the Union consisted of the six New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, and California; also Kansas, which was admitted as a state in 1861. The majority of Northerners were anxious to preserve the Union, and felt that compromise would only postpone a conflict that was inevitable. They agreed with Lincoln that "The tug has to come, and better now than later." Yet opinion varied in the North as in the South. At one extreme, the *New York Tribune* declared, "If the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." At the other extreme, Senator E. D. Baker of Oregon asserted, "We of the North



Abraham Lincoln. By his hold on the affections of the people, not only in this country but in many lands of the world, Lincoln has finally become a symbol both of American democracy and of the Union.

Handy Studios

are a majority of the Union, and we will govern the Union in our own way."

The Leaders and Their Sections

Both Lincoln and Davis were born in the border state of Kentucky. The family of one moved into the farmlands of the Northwest, and the family of the other moved into the cotton kingdom of the South. One grew to manhood in a section which depended on free white labor, while the other was surrounded with the owners and slaves of cotton plantations. Neither was anxious to shed the blood of his fellow Americans. It was their destiny, however, that they became lead-

ers just when the moment arrived for their sections to settle their quarrels on the field of battle.

Abraham Lincoln

"Honest Abe" Lincoln came from Illinois to the White House. He had found his way to wisdom by the light of flickering fires and by studying the ways of men. He was known as a great "rail-splitter," a conqueror of bullies, and an honest but poor storekeeper. He had become a frontier lawyer before starting his climb up the political ladder.

Lincoln was six feet, four inches tall, and his lean figure made him appear even taller. He seemed like

a giant when he wore a top hat. His movements were awkward and his appearance homely. Black, bushy hair crowned a great forehead. His eyes were deep-set, gray, and dreaming. Kindness, sadness, and mystery were in his expression.

Lincoln was not as well known throughout the nation as were other Republican leaders such as Seward and Chase. His political experience had been confined largely to service in the Illinois legislature and one term in the national House of Representatives. Yet he had built up, in Illinois and other states of the Old Northwest, a personal following of men who had been drawn to him by his greatness of character. He was one of the founders of the Republican party and in 1856 was seriously considered as a candidate for Vice-President. He increased in prominence as a result of his debates with Douglas in 1858, and became popular in the Northeast after an excellent speech which he delivered at Cooper Union in New York City in 1860. As his personal following continued to grow, he won the election of 1860, and became President in 1861 at the age of fifty-two. Thus at a time of great crisis, when the future of the nation was at stake, the Union found in Abraham Lincoln one of America's greatest statesmen.

Inauguration Day in March, 1861, was disagreeable and stormy. The audience was nervous and restless, not knowing what might happen. Lincoln had already lived through one plot to kill him; another attempt might be made to take his life. Several Southern states had already seceded from the Union and established the Confederacy. General Scott kept

a watchful eye on the crowd, riflemen were placed on the roofs of certain houses, and artillery was in position for instant use.

Lincoln appeared in a new tall hat, a black suit of clothes, black boots, and a black cane with a gold head the size of a hen's egg. When he rose to speak, he awkwardly looked about for a place to set his hat; Senator Douglas, his former rival, took it and held it for him. Lincoln drew his address from his inside coat pocket and calmly began to read. He declared, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists," but he also asserted that "no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union." In closing he declared, "We are not enemies, but friends." Then the oath of office was given to Lincoln by Chief Justice Taney, who had written the Dred Scott decision. The artillery boomed a salute of thunder to the new President, and the inauguration was over.

Jefferson Davis

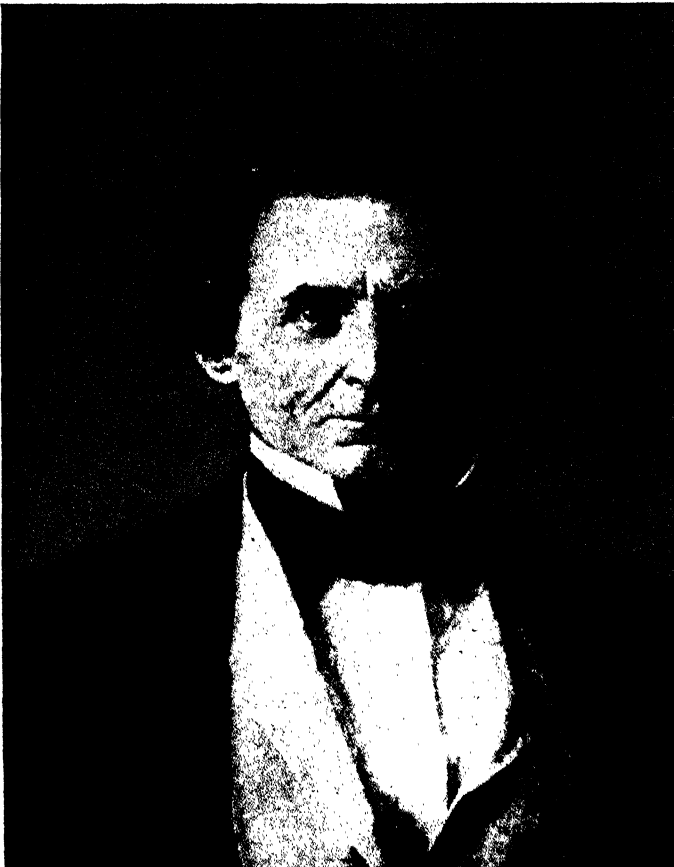
Jefferson Davis came from Mississippi to be the president of the Confederacy. His father, unlike Lincoln's, had been successful, and had made a fair fortune as a planter. This made it possible for the son to attend college in Kentucky. He then went to West Point, after which he made a fine reputation as an officer in the Mexican War. From the close of that struggle to the election of Lincoln he spent much of his time in Washington either in the Senate or in the President's cabinet.

Jefferson Davis made a fine appearance. He was fairly tall, erect, spare.

His square chin, firm nose, and high noble brow indicated his thoughtful spirit and iron will. His flashing blue eyes could belong only to a man of action. To the South he was the man of destiny who was to guide its new ship of state in its quest for liberty. The crowds at his inauguration were enthusiastic and cheered loudly. His hearers were certain that they would throw off the rule of the North just as their forefathers had thrown off the rule of Britain. For many years the United States had been almost two nations under one flag; now in March, 1861, the two seemed to be completely separate, each with its own flag and president.

The Commanding Generals

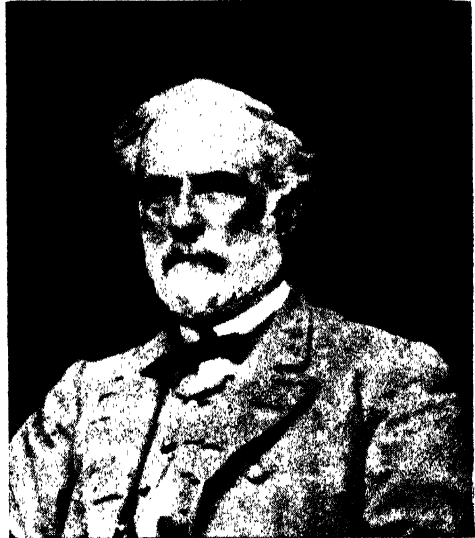
The South turned to Robert E. Lee of Virginia to command its soldiers on the field of battle. He had given ample proof of his great military ability in the Mexican War and had made a fine record as Superintendent at West Point. He was every inch a Southern gentleman, and at the same time a natural leader of men in both mind and body. He had a firm hold on the affection of the men who followed him. He loved his country and his state. It was difficult for him to choose between them, but in the end this great Virginian remained loyal to his native state. He left his



Jefferson Davis. In Richmond, Virginia, there is a monument to the memory of "Jefferson Davis, the first and only President of the Confederate States of America."

*Brown Brothers*

Ulysses S. Grant. As a general, Grant was more successful than he was later as President.

*Brown Brothers*

Robert E. Lee. He lived up to the highest ideals of the South.

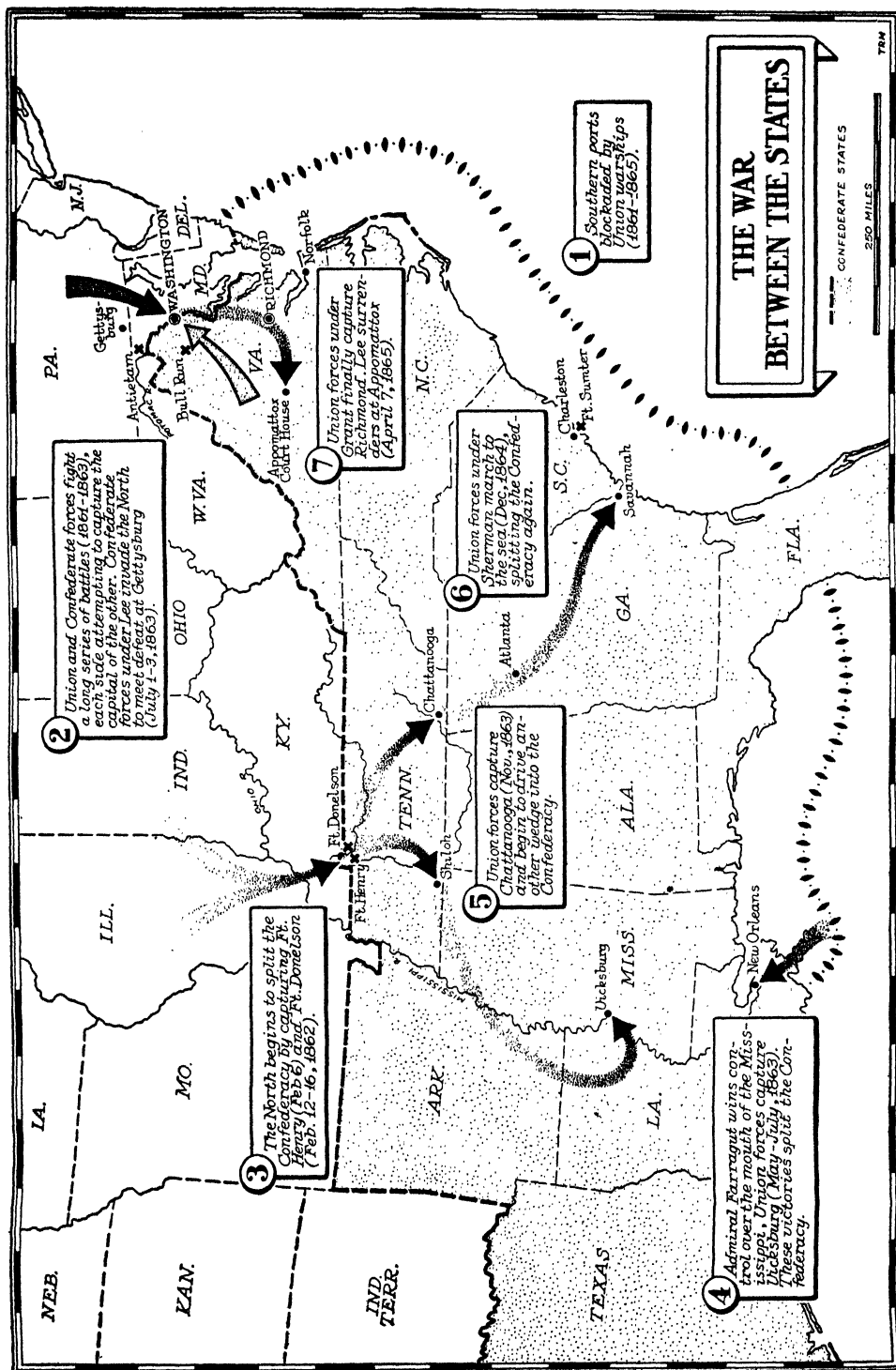
beautiful Arlington home behind him and answered the call of duty as he saw it. He was able to hold off the North for four long years of unequal struggle in spite of tremendous odds against him.

There was no soldier in the North to whom that section could turn with such assurance. Lincoln was forced to turn from one general to another without much success during the early part of the war. He did not find the general the North badly needed until he turned to Ulysses S. Grant. Grant was a graduate of West Point, but his record had been unimpressive there. He had been late for roll calls, had failed to keep his musket clean, and had dressed in a slouchy manner. Later he had served acceptably in the Mexican War, but after that he had quit the army, saying, "Whoever hears of me in ten years will hear of a well-to-do old Missouri farmer." Grant failed as a farmer, however, and in 1861 when war broke out

among the states he was, at the age of thirty-nine, earning \$800 a year selling hides at Galena, Illinois. He was about five feet eight inches in height, wore whiskers, and continued to dress as carelessly as at West Point. He was silent, cool, determined, grim, and courageous. His nerves were ever cool and steady. On one occasion an officer rode up and observed, "We are surrounded and will have to surrender." Grant's reply was typical: "I guess not. If we are surrounded we must cut our way out as we cut our way in." He became the victorious general of the war — "a first-class fighting man."

The Sections Compared

The white population of the eleven states of the South was about five million people. The North was larger in every respect. The North had a white population of about nineteen million without counting the four border states where there were people



favoring both sides. Therefore the North was nearly four times as strong as the South in man power. The difference in wealth was also tremendous, with the North possessing every financial advantage. Most of the better railroads were in the North, providing faster and easier transportation. The North had more factories with which to meet the needs of war.

The South, however, had certain advantages over the North. On the whole the better generals were on its side, and most of the war was to be fought on its soil. The South was also more firmly united than the North. It was in the position of defending its homes from conquering armies. The poor whites had no desire to see the Negroes free, because they thought their own struggle to make a living would be made much harder. Most of the slaves continued to work, and grew food to feed the Confederate soldiers. In the North there was less agreement. Many Northerners who would have fought to protect their own homes had no desire to conquer the South. They agreed with the New York *Tribune* that the Southern states should be allowed to leave the Union if they desired. Even those Northerners who were ready to fight did not agree in their reasons for fight-

ing. New Englanders seemed most concerned about freeing slaves, but the people in the Northwest were more anxious to prevent the nation splitting into two parts.

The South hoped that the Northwest would give it some support. Ties of ancestry and political friendship between the two sections remained strong. Also it was felt that their common interest in trade and commerce on the Mississippi would bind these two sections to each other. Southern hopes were disappointed, however, for railroads had bound the Northwest to the Northeast with bands of steel.

The South also depended too much on cotton. It was mistaken in thinking that neither the New England factories nor those in England and France could live without cotton. "I firmly believe," said one Southern Senator, "that the slaveholding South is now the controlling power of the world; that no other power would face us in hostility. . . . The North without us would be a motherless calf, bleating about, and die of mangle and starvation."

Thus each section had its own advantages and its weaknesses and its hopes as war began in the spring of 1861.

THE STRATEGY OF THE WAR

The Beginning of Bloodshed

In April, 1861, Charleston, South Carolina, was the center of excitement. Here was located Fort Sumter, a United States government arsenal. Its supplies were running low. Its commander told Lincoln that if the

garrison remained, more supplies must come soon. Would they be sent? If the supplies were not sent, the garrison would be forced to leave to escape starvation, and the Confederates would then march in. If supplies were sent, the South would look upon this as a warlike act di-

*Brown Brothers*

The Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter. Union forces later bombarded the fort many times, but throughout the war it resisted and was never surrendered by the Confederates.

rected against South Carolina and probably would take the fort by force. Finally news arrived in Charleston that the Northern ships were on their way with provisions. The Confederates opened fire on the fort and, after a bombardment of thirty-four hours, the United States flag there was hauled down. The war was on at last.

A wave of excitement swept over the country. In the South the people joyfully celebrated their first victory. The cry went up: "On to Washington." The war, they thought, would be over in a few months. In the North the news had an effect like that of Lexington and Concord. James Russell Lowell said, "That first gun at Sumter brought all the free states to their feet as one man." The cry arose: "On to Richmond," and it was be-

lieved that the Confederacy could be crushed within a few months.

Both North and South soon became convinced, however, that the war would not be ended so easily. In July, 1861, a fierce battle took place on the little stream of Bull Run, about twenty-five miles west of Washington, D. C. The battle was announced beforehand, and a crowd of spectators rode from Washington to the scene of the conflict in buggies, as they might have attended a sporting event. The soldiers on both sides were inexperienced and knew little about fighting. At first the Northern soldiers under General McDowell seemed to be winning; at three o'clock in the afternoon, McDowell thought the battle was won. The Southerners, however, held their ground, due largely to the example of their Gen-

eral Jackson, who was "standing like a stone wall." This brave leader was known as "Stonewall" Jackson ever afterwards. Finally more Southern soldiers arrived, and the South was victorious. The Northern army, like a great mob, ran in the direction of Washington. The South was unable to capture the capital, however. Nor was the North able to capture Richmond. Each side nursed its wounds and began to prepare more seriously for a bitter war.

War on the Sea

Lincoln realized that the South must depend largely upon Europe for its manufactured goods and would need to ship cotton to Europe in return. He decided to destroy the South's trade, and ordered a blockade of Southern ports. This blockade was successful, causing great hardship to the South. Day and night, winter and summer, Northern ships hunted for vessels going to or from the Confederacy. Shipments of cotton to England declined from 2,580,700 bales in 1860 to 72,000 in 1862. The South could not obtain enough medicine for its sick and wounded soldiers, nor enough salt to preserve the meat that its army needed. The South even had difficulty in obtaining enough high-grade paper from Europe on which to print its bonds.

The South made only one serious attempt to break the blockade during the four years of war. The Confederates made over an old wooden vessel and covered it with plates of iron. Its old name was the *Merrimac*, but the Confederates renamed it the *Virginia*. It resembled a "huge half-submerged crocodile." This vessel suddenly arrived off Hampton Roads,

near Norfolk, Virginia, in March, 1862. It crushed the wooden blockading ships of the North as if they were eggshells. Cannon balls fired in return bounced off the sides of the *Merrimac* without causing damage. The *Merrimac* had everything its own way for the remainder of that day. There were rumors that the *Merrimac* would move on to Washington or New York. This was "frightful news" to President Lincoln. Perhaps the *Merrimac* would destroy the seacoast cities of the North.

The Northern navy had one slight hope, however. It had an ironclad ship of its own, known as the *Monitor*, built by John Ericsson. The *Monitor* arrived off Hampton Roads during the night after the *Merrimac's* destruction of the Northern ships. Its tired crew had been without sleep for forty-eight hours because of storm, and had no food but hard sea biscuit. Their craft looked like an immense shingle floating on the water with a large turret in the center. It had but two guns compared with the ten on the *Merrimac*. The Confederates laughed when they first saw it, and someone called it "a Yankee cheese box on a raft." Confederate guns could not sink it, however. When the Southerners tried to ram it, the *Merrimac* suffered more than the *Monitor*. The tiny *Monitor* moved in and around the much larger *Merrimac* somewhat as a fast, small boxer might move around a huge but slower rival. The two ironclad ships traded blows for six hours. Neither ship won a clean-cut victory, but it was the *Merrimac* which steamed away in the end, leaving the *Monitor* without further challenge.

There were two very important results of this naval engagement. In



Brown Brothers

The Battle of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. Can you see why the *Monitor* was called a "cheese-box on a raft"? The ironclad monitors built by John Ericsson were equipped with revolving gun turrets.

the first place, Northern ships could continue their blockade of Southern ports. The South had failed to destroy Northern supremacy on the sea. It was unable to sell its cotton and to buy the supplies and munitions necessary to win independence. In the second place, the two ships had demonstrated to the world that the day of wooden fighting ships was at an end. The battleships of the future were to be constructed of iron.

The blockade of the Confederacy by sea on its eastern and southern sides grew tighter and tighter as the war progressed. On the western side no roads to markets or to help stretched west of Texas. And on the north the Union armies pressed harder and harder against the Southern states. The war was fought within the great rectangle of the Confederacy. Union strategy was to keep the South within that blockaded area and cut it into smaller pieces.

Confederate policy was to defend itself against attack, to try to break the strangle hold of the blockade, and to appeal to other countries, particularly Britain, for aid.

Desperate Battles

The greatest success of the South was achieved in the east in 1862 and 1863. General Lee with 55,000 picked troops crossed the Potomac River in 1862, telling the people of Maryland that he had come to aid them "in throwing off this foreign yoke" of the North. He fought the fierce battle of Antietam (ăn-tě'tăm) at Sharpsburg, near Antietam Creek, against 90,000 Northerners under General McClellan. When night came Lee still held his position, but he had lost 12,000 men, and he retreated southward across the Potomac two days later.

The next summer Lee crossed the Potomac again with 75,000 men and

moved into southern Pennsylvania, before he was stopped at Gettysburg by General Meade. At this point he was about seventy miles north of Washington (see map, page 264). A terrific battle raged at Gettysburg for three days. For two days the South held the advantage. Then on the third day Lee ordered an attack against Cemetery Ridge a mile away. Fifteen thousand Confederates, led by General Pickett, made a gallant charge up the slopes of Cemetery Ridge in the face of murderous rifle and cannon fire. A few of them did manage to reach the Northern lines and planted their flag on top of the ridge, but in vain. Many were captured, many were killed, while the remainder escaped to the Confederate lines. The Northern army under Meade made no effort to follow up its victory, and Lee was allowed to retreat without being molested. Perhaps the battle of Gettysburg was the most important of the war, for no Southern army was to advance so far north again.

Meanwhile the North had won great victories in the west. Lincoln had decided to cut the Confederate states into two parts by winning possession of the Mississippi Valley. The northern campaign in the west began when General Grant captured Forts Henry and Donelson in northern Tennessee early in 1862. It was at Fort Donelson that the general became "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. When asked for terms of surrender he replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works." In April, 1862, Grant was at Shiloh in southern Tennessee. Here he was

attacked fiercely and unexpectedly by a large force of Confederates led by General Albert Johnston. The battle of Shiloh was one of the bloodiest of the war. At first it seemed as if the Confederates would triumph, but Johnston was killed and Grant received reinforcements. The Northern army won after a desperate fight.

Three weeks later the Northern admiral, David Farragut, freed the mouth of the Mississippi. In spite of terrific gunfire he suddenly made a dash past the forts protecting New Orleans. By the time he reached the city's harbor, the Confederates had set fire to ships, cotton, and all other goods which might have helped the North. By May 1, 1862, the only important fort in the Mississippi Valley in the possession of the South was at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Vicksburg held out until more than a year later. Grant marched his men through 180 miles of strange country, full of swamps and ravines, to reach Vicksburg. There he surrounded the city until lack of food forced the Confederates to surrender on July 4, 1863, the day after Lee's defeat in the east at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The South was now completely cut in two, for the Mississippi was in Northern hands. Southern hearts were filled with dismay at the news.

Slowly but surely the North was squeezing the life out of the Confederacy. Northern ships continued their blockade of Southern ports. Then in the fall of 1863 the North began to cut the South in two again. Grant's army swept across Tennessee, winning important battles near Chattanooga in the southeast corner of that state. Northern troops, led by General William T. Sherman, con-



The Bellmann Archive

The burning and evacuation of Richmond was the tragic end of the Confederate capital. The city was slowly rebuilt. Its old Capitol and Confederate "White House" are famous historic spots.

tinued the invasion in 1864, moving southeast across the state of Georgia. On September 2 Sherman was in possession of Atlanta; on December 21 he captured Savannah on the sea-coast. So the South was cut in two a second time.

Meanwhile Grant had been put in command of all the Northern armies. He went east to lead the Union soldiers facing Lee north of Richmond, Virginia. He was determined to capture the Confederate capital. His advance was slow, although his army was vastly superior in numbers. The Confederates fought bravely and stubbornly, inflicting great losses upon Grant's army in the battles of the Wilderness, of Spotsylvania, and of Cold Harbor in May and June of 1864. Confederate cavalry led by General Early advanced on one occasion to within four miles of Washington. Grant continued to hit the

Southern army with sledge-hammer blows, however. Lee was forced slowly but steadily backward. Finally on April 3, 1865, Northern troops entered Richmond. Further resistance was hopeless, although many Southerners were anxious to continue to fight for independence.

A few days later Grant and Lee met in a farmhouse at Appomattox, Virginia. Here the bitterness of the four years of furious warfare was put aside. Grant treated Lee with deep respect, although he insisted of course upon the surrender of Lee's army. The Confederate officers were allowed to keep their sidearms. Both officers and men were allowed to ride off on their own horses because, as Grant observed, the animals were needed "for the spring plowing." When Lee mentioned that his men were near starvation Grant generously said: "I will take steps at once to have your army

supplied with rations." To his staff he declared: "The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again." Thus the War between the States, or

the War between the North and the South (called the "Civil War" in many histories), was really brought to an end.

BEYOND THE FIELD OF BATTLE

European Spectators

The European nations were very interested spectators throughout the war of 1861-1865. Napoleon III, nephew of the great conqueror, was on the throne of France. During the war he thought he saw a chance to carry out his uncle's dream of a great French empire in North America. He took possession of the government of Mexico, contrary to our Monroe Doctrine. He also gave as much help to the South as he dared. The North was anxious to uphold the Monroe Doctrine and drive the French out of Mexico, but was too busy fighting the South. Napoleon called the French troops home, however, when Northern armies were free to oppose him. He admitted that "no other power than England possessed a sufficient navy" to allow him to remain in Mexico, and the British government refused to give him any help.

Public opinion in Great Britain was rather evenly divided toward our war. The upper classes in general favored the South, but British workers favored the North. A million factory laborers lost their jobs when the shortage of cotton forced the cotton mills of England to shut down, but they continued to sympathize with the free workers in our own Northern mills. Sometimes it seemed that the British government was about to go to the assist-

ance of the South, but the attitude of the British workers prevented such action. The only help the Confederates received from Britain was indirect, such as the building of Southern ships in British shipyards.

The War on the Home Fronts

Democracy led a stormy existence in both sections of the nation during wartime. Jefferson Davis soon found that the eleven states under his authority were as opposed to "dictation" from the government of the Confederacy as they had been to that from the North. Some Southern leaders seemed to feel that their freedom was at an end when it was found necessary to draft men to serve in the army. The governor of Georgia made the astonishing statement that "No act of the Government of the United States prior to the secession of Georgia struck a blow at constitutional liberty so fell as has been stricken" by the draft. Southern generals fretted about Davis directing the war "from his cushioned seat in Richmond." Other Southerners objected violently when it was considered necessary to take away for the time being the right of citizens to be brought to trial as speedily as usual.

Lincoln was criticized as severely as Davis, and was looked upon by some as at least as great a tyrant. In the North as well as in the South it was necessary to put to one side the

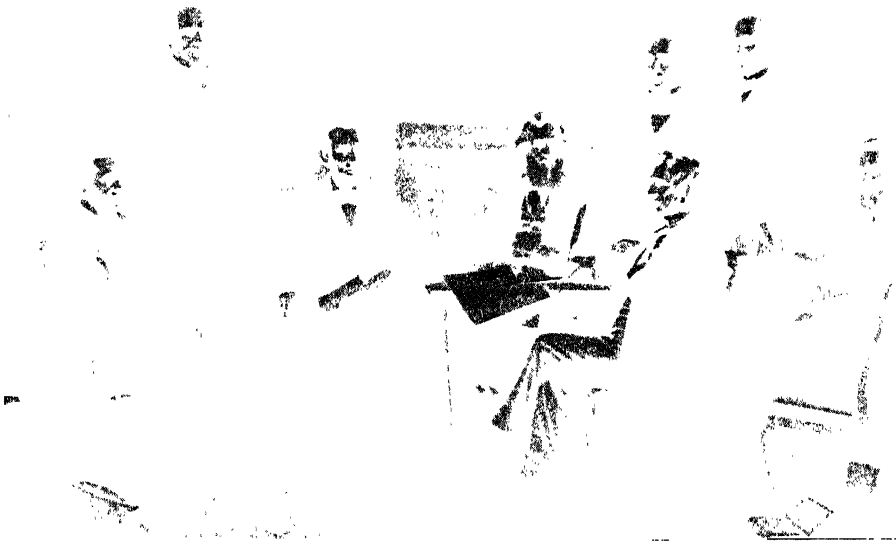
right to speedy trials. Many people were arrested who, the government was certain, had been assisting the enemy or interfering with the conduct of the war. This charge was difficult to prove, however. People charged with treason were likely to be set free, if brought to trial, giving them an opportunity to continue with their plots.

There were newspapers and public speakers in the North who were very bitter toward Lincoln. They made statements that were helpful to the South and harmful to the North. There had to be unity to win the war; the Northern armies could not be victorious if the section which supported them crumbled to pieces because of a lack of loyalty. Lincoln at times considered it necessary to keep some newspapers from being published. As

a result he was attacked fiercely as an enemy of liberty.

In the North as in the South people objected to being forced to join the army. Draft riots broke out, especially in New York City, where for four days a great mob ruled. A thousand people were killed or wounded, and a great amount of property was destroyed before troops arrived to restore order.

There was also a difference of opinion in the North about freeing slaves. Some people were finding fault because Lincoln did not free all the slaves at once. He was criticized, however, by two groups when he finally freed the slaves in the states that had seceded. Some were angry because the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed the slaves, applied only to the states out of the Union.



Culver Service

By the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, slaves in the Confederate states were declared free. Lincoln always favored compensation for slaveholders, saying the blame for slavery rested on both North and South.

*Handy Studios*

An army hospital in Washington, D. C. Compared with hospitals of today, those of the 1860's seemed poor, but this country developed the best system of army hospitals known up to that time.

Others declared that Lincoln had no right to free slaves at all, unless the owners were paid for them.

There was fine loyalty underneath in both North and South, in spite of harsh words. Tremendous sacrifices were made to win victory, although it was a conflict within the nation between former friends and relatives. The people back home worked hard to do their share in the war effort. In both sections it was as if the people were on a great crusade. To a thrilling tune the men and women of the North told the truth when they sang: John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.

To an equally thrilling tune the men and women of the South proudly sang words equally truthful:

In Dixie land I'll take my stand,
To live and die in Dixie.

War Is Expensive

The war was very costly to both North and South in men and money. Between three fifths and three fourths of a million Americans died, either in battle or as a result of wounds and diseases. Even more would have died but for the services of many nurses such as Clara Barton and Louisa Alcott. They not only cared for the sick and the wounded but comforted the weary and the distressed. Both

274 OUR NATION BECOMES STRONGER THAN SECTIONS

North and South paid heavy taxes and borrowed large sums of money because of the great cost of the war. Then, too, both sections found themselves compelled to print large amounts of paper money. The value of this paper money changed whenever news came of victories or defeats. It depreciated as it had at the time of the Articles of Confederation (Chapter 6). At one time the Northern paper dollar was worth only thirty-five cents in gold. The paper money of the South declined in value to zero when that section lost the war. The South suffered great losses to its property, because much of the fighting had been done on its soil. Many of its houses and barns were burned, much livestock was lost, its slave property disappeared, important railroad lines were torn up, and industries were ruined.

The Union had been preserved. Much had been written and many speeches had been uttered debating whether any state or group of states

had the right to secede. Probably every one of our states had claimed this right at one time or another, although none had actually tried it before 1861. It is true that might does not make right, and there is doubt whether a Northern victory on the battlefield settled the question of states' rights. The effect was much the same, however. States have talked about seceding from the Union since 1865, but no state has seriously attempted it.

This War between the States had been a conflict between two ways of living. One way of life was based upon the plantation system, and the other way of life was founded on the factory system. The South had put up a terrific struggle against almost impossible odds. Its soldiers had been outnumbered by more than two to one on the field of battle. Its fight was of no avail. The way of life that rested on slave labor was doomed. Cotton remained of importance in the South but was no longer King.

Study Activities

1. *A Map Study.* Draw or trace a map of the United States as of 1860 showing the states of the Union. Indicate the states which seceded by drawing a heavy line around the Confederacy as it was organized in 1861. As you study Chapter 16, locate on the map all the places mentioned in the chapter. For help see maps on pages 259 and 264. What does the completed map show about the basic strategy of the War between the States?

2. *The Greatness of Lincoln.* Abraham Lincoln is probably more widely known and revered all over the world than any other American. Write a short essay explaining why you think his reputation

is so great. Describe his qualities and achievements. Consult such books as:

Agnes Rogers, *Abraham Lincoln, A Biography in Pictures*, Little, Brown & Co., 1939.

Carl Sandburg, *Abe Lincoln Grows Up*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926.

James Daugherty, *Abraham Lincoln*, The Viking Press, 1943.

3. *Lincoln Stories.* Lincoln was known as a great story teller, often using an anecdote to explain or illustrate a point he wanted to convey. Have different members of the class consult different books about Lincoln which are available, and make a collection of "Stories Told by Lincoln."

4. *Lincoln and Davis.* Make a chart comparing Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis on the following points: (1) date of birth, (2) birthplace, (3) education, (4) public career, (5) attitude toward slavery, (6) attitude toward the Union, (7) place in history.

5. *The United States in 1860.* In the chapters of this unit you have read about the growth of the United States before 1860, and about the development of different sections of the country. Review them and then construct a wall chart comparing the North and the South on the eve of the War between the States. In parallel columns enter information about the two sections as to (1) geographic area (the number of square miles in each state can be found in the Appendix), (2) the population, (3) the cities, (4) wealth, (5) transportation both by rail and water, (6) farm products, (7) factory products, (8) ability of military and political leaders, and (9) feeling of unity.

6. *An Explanation.* References have been made to the fact that the railroads bound the Northwest to the Northeast more firmly than the Mississippi bound the Northwest to the South. What does this statement mean? How did it affect the War between the States?

7. *Choosing Sides.* In a house in West 20th Street, New York, a little boy named Theodore Roosevelt prayed for the Union armies at the knee of his Georgia mother. At the same time, in the Presbyterian parsonage of Augusta, Georgia, another little boy named Woodrow Wilson knelt with his family while his Ohio-born father called on the God of Battles to help the Southern side. Can you explain the motives and feelings which would prompt people to take opposite positions in such a struggle?

8. *An Outline.* Make a topical outline of the second section of Chapter 16 on the strategy of the war. In terms of that plan of strategy what do you think

are the five most important battles of the war? List them and explain why each battle is especially important.

9. *Committee Reports.* Divide the class into committees. Each committee should report on one significant battle or campaign of the War between the States. Each committee should secure all available information from the libraries, and should keep a list of all the sources of its information.

10. *A Report on Maximilian.* One member of the class should prepare a special report on French activities in Mexico during the War between the States. Look up the life of Maximilian and Carlotta. Compare Benito Juarez with Abraham Lincoln. For material see Stratton and Wilson, *Juarez of Mexico*, American Book Company, 1942.

11. *The Results of the War.* By discussion in class prepare two lists (which a secretary should copy on the blackboard) — the first, a list of the issues that were settled by the war, and the second, a tabulation of the cost — in men, money, and property — of the war.

12. *A Book Hour.* There are many interesting books about the War between the States and the events leading up to it. Plan a "Book Hour" at which members of the class give brief reports on the books read. Add to the list below books in your school or public library.

Genevieve Foster, *Abraham Lincoln's World*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

Belle Moses, *The Gray Knight*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936. Biography of Robert E. Lee.

Helen Nicolay, *The Boy's Life of Ulysses S. Grant*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1909.

Elsie Singmaster, *Boy at Gettysburg*, and *Swords of Steel*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924, 1932. Two of several interesting books she has written about the Battle of Gettysburg.

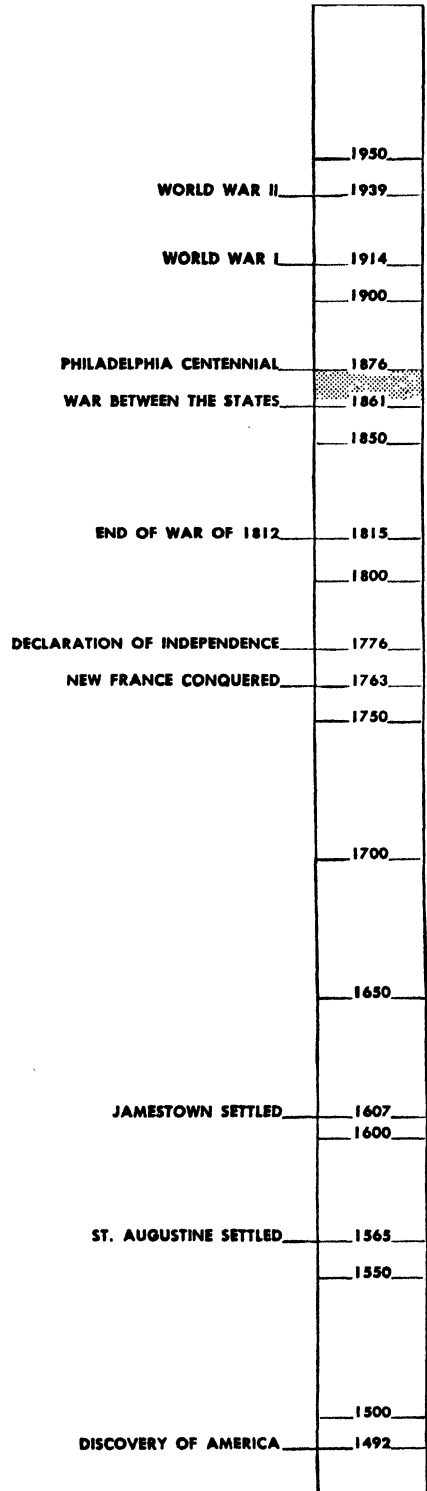
H. H. Swift, *Railroad to Freedom*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932. Story of Harriet Tuberman's escape from slavery and her work on the "underground railroad."

CHAPTER 17

RECONSTRUCTION

1876 HAYES-TILDEN ELECTION
 1876 IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN SECTIONS
 1867 RECONSTRUCTION ACT
 1865 DEATH OF LINCOLN

"I say we had best look our times and
 lands searchingly in the face, like a
 physician diagnosing some deep
 disease. . . . The spectacle is appalling."
Walt Whitman, 1871



THE NORTH'S TREATMENT OF THE SOUTH

Lincoln and Johnson Favor Friendship

The South lay in poverty and in ruin as the War between the States ended. Nearly all that it had built up and accomplished seemed to be wrecked. It would require a generation to get on its feet again. The task of reconstruction was enormous.

President Lincoln and many other Northerners were anxious to forgive and forget the recent bitterness between the sections. Lincoln desired to welcome the Southerners back into the union as quickly and as easily as possible. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace." The kindly Lincoln, however, did not have the opportunity to bind up the nation's wounds. Only a few days after Lee's surrender to Grant, Lincoln was shot. He had gone to a theater in Washington. A half-crazed actor crept into the box where the President was sitting, and shot him in the back of the head. The President died in the early hours of April 15, 1865. As Jefferson Davis was to say later, "Next to the destruction of the Confederacy, the death of Abraham Lincoln was the darkest hour the South has known."

Andrew Johnson, the Vice-Presi-

dent when Lincoln died, was anxious to continue Lincoln's policy of friendship toward the South. He argued that the Southern states had never really been out of the Union, and said that no serious punishment should be imposed on the Southern states. His main insistence was that they should approve the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which ended slavery. President Johnson, however, did not succeed with his policy of friendship.

The Spirit of Revenge

Many Northerners were very bitter toward the South although the war had ended. They were filled with the spirit of revenge. They felt that the Southerners should be punished severely and their leaders hanged. Many Northerners became even more angry at the South after Lincoln's murder because they suspected, mistakenly, that some Southern leaders were responsible for it. A majority of the members of Congress were controlled by the spirit of revenge and refused to accept the Lincoln-Johnson policy of friendship toward the South. The Northerners who wished to punish the South were called "Radicals," and their plan of treating the South was known as the "Radical plan of reconstruction." The main leaders of the Radicals in Congress were Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.

The Radicals insisted that the Negroes should be given immediately all the rights possessed by white

people, including the right to vote. Congress passed a Reconstruction Act in 1867 which provided that no Southern state could re-enter the Union until it accepted the Fourteenth Amendment which assured Negroes of all the privileges possessed by white people. The South was also divided into military districts under the command of Northern generals. Northern soldiers were to rule the South during reconstruction.

Johnson objected to this radical plan of reconstruction. He tried to halt the feeling of revenge toward the South, but only succeeded in making the Radicals more angry toward himself. The Radicals even attempted to remove Johnson from office. The House of Representatives started impeachment proceedings, charging him with violating a law passed by Congress. The Senate acted as a court, as the Constitution provides in such

cases. The Radicals, however, were not quite able to persuade two thirds of the Senators to vote for conviction, so Johnson remained in office.

The situation did not improve after Grant followed Johnson as President in 1869. Grant was a hero whose views commanded respect. He had been generous to Lee at Appomattox, but he now turned a deaf ear to the South. He was President for eight years, and during that period of time the Radicals continued to treat the South in the spirit of revenge. The Radical plan delayed the recovery of the South for a long time. It aroused much greater anger in Southern hearts than had defeat on the field of battle. Good feeling was not to exist between the sections for many years to come. The ten years that followed 1865 were an unhappy period in the history of our nation.

THE TASK OF THE SOUTH

The South in 1865

In 1865 Charleston was "a city of ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful and voiceful barrenness." Many other cities, such as Columbia, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, offered somewhat similar scenes. The back country also was "a broad black streak of ruin and desolation — the fences all gone; lonesome smokestacks, surrounded by dark heaps of ashes and cinders, marking the spots where human habitations had stood."

Returning Confederate soldiers did not possess the money needed to build railroads, erect factories, or carry on trade or commerce. Even the leaders of the South found difficulty in earning a living. Thomas Dabney, a great Mississippi planter, began to do the family wash although in his seventieth year. General William Nelson Pendleton started to do his own plowing. One officer made a living selling his wife's pies, and another by selling oysters and fish which he caught himself. One of Charleston's leading citizens peddled tea and molasses to his former slaves. All that many Southerners had were their ready hands, willing hearts, and the

A Southern soldier's return home was likely to be a very sad experience. Many returned soldiers stayed in the South through the trying days of Reconstruction while others went west to seek a new start in the mining camps and on the ranches.



Courtesy of the Confederate Museum, Richmond, Va.

soil. But for the soil many of them would have starved.

What could the great planter do with his large estate, burdened as he was with debts and without slave labor? As a rule he could do one of two things. In the first place, he might try to keep his plantation going. He could do this by persuading his former slaves to work for him. He also might divide up the land and rent sections of it to white farmers or Negroes either for cash or for a share of the produce. The "share-cropping" method was generally used because money was scarce. The planter supplied the land and the tenant farmers provided the labor. In the second place the planter might become discouraged and decide that he could not keep his plantation together under

such conditions. Then he would sell his estate at auction, often at a great loss, and turn to business, industry, or some profession. Some former planters abandoned their estates and moved into Northern cities, especially New York.

The Negro could not be blamed for feeling that the Day of Jubilee had arrived when the war was over. He was promised forty acres of "ol' massa's" land, and a mule, by New Year's Day, 1866. Because of such promises many Negroes decided not to work until the plantations were divided up by the government. One old Negro, living in Georgia, reasoned: "One say dis an' one say dat, an' we don' know, and so hol' off till Janerwery." Feeling "free as a bird," many a Negro was certain that his days of

toil were gone forever. He was soon to find, however, that he could not live without work. He also was to find that forty acres of land and a mule were not to be given to him on New Year's Day. He then felt that he was being treated unfairly.

Many of the Negroes who finally became farmers did not have great success. They knew how to plant, cultivate, and harvest cotton, but like many of the plantation owners did not know the need of keeping the soil fertile. Negroes generally continued to rent rather than to own their farms. Ten years after obtaining their freedom, only 5 per cent of the former slaves owned their land. (By 1900, however, the number had risen to 25 per cent.)

Many poor white farmers benefited from the end of slavery more than the Negroes themselves. No longer were they looked down on with sneers and contempt. No longer were they kept on the poorer lands in the back country. They returned instead to the fertile soil of the lowlands, where they bought small farms as some of the great plantations were broken up for sale. Then, too, the small farmers and the plantation owners became friends in politics and government. These two groups had to vote for the same candidates for offices if the Negroes were not to control the local and state governments. Thus the poor whites came to be looked upon with greater respect than before.

Changes in the South after 1865

The South was rapidly becoming a section of small farms instead of large plantations. The average farm in the South decreased in size from 400 to 230 acres in the 1860's. During

the same time, the number of owners of farms of 100 acres or less grew from 330,000 to 517,000. More cotton was being produced in 1878 than had been grown in 1860, in spite of all the difficulties which the South faced after the war. The growing of tobacco, fruits, vegetables, wheat, and hay also increased. The ambitions of the South were not confined to agriculture, however. Typical of its spirit was the utterance of a Southern newspaper, "If we have lost the victory on the field of fight we can win it back in the workshop, in the factory . . . in our mines, and in our school-houses."

Many Southerners were turning to industry. In the chapters that follow we shall see how Birmingham, Alabama, developed into a famous iron center, and how the textile industry developed rapidly in Southern communities until by 1910, 40 per cent of all the cotton goods manufactured in the nation was produced in the South. The fall lines of the rivers became dotted with factories, and many new blast furnaces were erected in Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia. Cottonseed mills, tobacco factories, canneries, and furniture plants were also becoming important.

Political Problems

One of the most difficult tasks of the South was political. The newly-freed Negroes were a majority in some of the Southern states. The North insisted that each Negro should be allowed to vote. The southern Negroes, however, had never had any experience in electing men to hold public office or in running the government. The Federal government did little or nothing to help them

become responsible citizens, and the South was unable to solve the problem unaided. Men from the North went to the South and told the Negroes for whom to vote. These Northerners were called "carpetbaggers" because they were often so poor that they carried all their possessions in a handbag usually called "carpetbag" because it was made out of carpet material. White Southerners who helped them were called "scalawags." The carpetbaggers and scalawags were not interested either in good government or in the welfare of the Negro. Their main interest was in their own wealth and political power. Sometimes they would be elected to offices in the South by Negro votes. Sometimes they would permit Negroes to hold the offices while some of the carpetbaggers and scalawags stole from the public funds.

The carpetbaggers kept the best jobs for themselves. In the seven states reconstructed in 1868, four of the seven governors and ten of the fourteen United States Senators had never even seen the states they served before the War between the States. Most of the lower officials were Negroes. In the lower house of the state legislature of South Carolina only 23 members were whites out of a total membership of 124. Seven years before, as reported in 1868, the Negroes were "raising corn and cotton under the whip of the overseer. Today they are raising points of order and questions of privilege."

The results were unfortunate in the states where the scheming carpetbaggers and the inexperienced Negroes held control of the government. Money was spent much faster than the taxpayers could pay it; the states



The Bettmann Archive

In "The Man with the Carpet Bag" cartoon, Nast showed "The bag in front of him filled with others' faults he always sees," and "The one behind him filled with his own faults he never sees."

were becoming bankrupt. In South Carolina a free restaurant and bar was provided for members of the state legislature. Among the articles that were purchased by the members as supplies necessary in carrying out their duties as lawmakers were hams, perfumes, suspenders, champagne, and a coffin.

The former Confederates banded together in self-defense against the rule of carpetbaggers and Negroes. One of their organizations was the Ku Klux Klan. Its members dressed themselves in white sheets or other white cloth, visited Negro cabins at night, and warned the Negroes not to vote. Generally the Negroes were frightened by these visits of the Klan and were willing to do as they were told. If they insisted on voting, they would be visited again and punished. By 1876 the white people in the South had won control of the state governments from the "carpetbaggers" and Negroes.

CORRUPTION IN POLITICS AND BUSINESS

Boss Tweed

The ten years that followed the war were a period of great dishonesty in both North and South. Many people regarded a politician as a clever man rather than a thief if he managed to steal money from the government. Conditions were especially bad in the cities. New York will serve as an example.

A large part of the voters in New York City had been born in foreign countries. Many of them had had but little education. They knew little about our problems because they could not read our newspapers. Most of them had had no experience with democracy. Clever politicians took advantage of their ignorance. Some of these politicians were members of Tammany Hall in New York City.

Tammany was the name of a famous Indian chief who had been adopted as the patron saint of the Sons of Liberty during the Revolution. It became the name of a social and welfare society. In 1800 Aaron Burr brought the Tammany society into politics when he needed votes. In time Tammany Hall came to control the government of the City of New York.

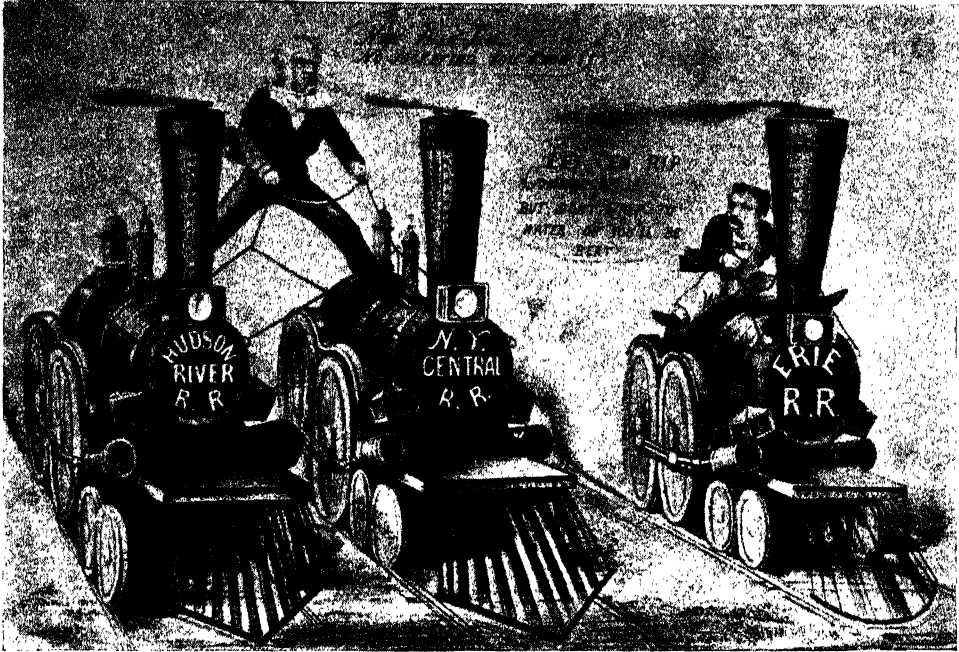
In the 1860's William Tweed became the leader of Tammany Hall. He used this organization for his own selfish purposes, keeping himself and his friends in office with the aid of immigrant votes. The immigrants did not know that Tweed was a crook. All they knew of Tweed was that he was always ready to assist them in time of need, giving them food and

fuel, or doing other favors. They showed their appreciation by voting for him and his friends on election day.

Tweed and the other crooks working with him became famous as the Tweed Ring. They stole from the city treasury at every opportunity. At least \$54,000,000 of the public money found its way into their pockets.

Tweed ruled the city of New York as he liked. For years no man dared to risk his hatred. One of his followers was Governor of New York state for four years, and during that time Tweed was the real boss of the state. Tweed even hoped to select the President of the United States and control the national government. The crooks began to quarrel among themselves, however, as frequently happens in such cases. Some were not satisfied with their share of the stolen money. Soon hints of wrongdoing reached the ears of the public. Criticism of Tweed began to grow, even though the only newspaper with enough courage to attack the gang was the *New York Times*.

At first Tweed was not disturbed. He was only amused when Thomas Nast, the cartoonist, began to draw pictures of the gang. Many voters, however, could see all the pictures even if they could not read. They could understand what Nast's cartoons meant even if they did not know what the *Times* said. Soon Tweed ceased to smile and began to tremble. He realized that he might lose all of his power unless he could get Nast to stop drawing pictures. Finally he



Culver Service

"The Great Race for the Western Stakes," the title Currier and Ives gave to this cartoon, is an example of a serious strife between railroads.

offered the cartoonist a bribe of \$500,000. With such a fortune Nast could have lived in luxury the remainder of his life, but to Tweed's surprise Nast refused the offer.

The power of the Tweed Ring then collapsed like a punctured balloon, in 1871. Tweed was arrested and found guilty, but he escaped, sailing for Spain as a common sailor. He was recognized, however, and brought back to the scene of his crimes, dying in jail in 1878 — a fitting reminder that crime does not pay.

The slimy trail of dishonesty led even to the nation's capital. President Grant was an honest man himself, but he soon found himself surrounded by clever men who managed to pull the wool over his eyes. His private secretary, General Babcock, was associated with a band of crooks

known as the Whisky Ring, which cheated the government out of taxes on whisky. Secretary of War Belknap was forced out of office because he had accepted bribes from an Indian agent. Vice-President Colfax was guilty of fraud in connection with the building of Western railroads. The votes of some Congressmen were bought and sold.

Jim Fisk and Jay Gould

Dishonesty was not confined to politicians, however. Two New York financiers, James Fisk and Jay Gould (gōld), wormed their way into Grant's confidence and talked him into allowing them to get control of the country's gold supply. They used this control to manipulate the stock exchange to their own financial advantage. Before Grant found out that

he had been hoodwinked, hundreds of innocent businessmen had been forced into bankruptcy. The business of the entire nation was paralyzed for weeks. Among others, Grant's brother-in-law had been bribed to make the swindle possible.

Gould and Fisk were as interested in railroads as in the gold market. On one occasion Fisk placed a large force of his fighting men on a train and then sent them full steam ahead on the tracks of a rival to do as much damage as possible. His rival responded by sending a trainload of men down the tracks to meet the invaders. The

two engines collided with terrific force. The men on both trains jumped off and fought a furious battle in the darkness of the night.

This was not an unusual event. Taking any advantage of a rival by fair means or foul was an everyday happening. It was not confined to the railroads but existed in the oil fields, in the mines, in the factory centers, and among the banking houses. In the unhappy period that followed the war there were many businessmen like Fisk just as there were many politicians like Tweed.

A NATION REUNITED

The Election of 1876

By 1876 there were many signs that Americans were dissatisfied by conditions that existed both in the North and in the South. News of the Tweed Ring and of dishonesty in Washington shocked the nation. At about the same time the North was becoming convinced that forcing military rule on the South had been a mistake. In 1875 a request was made to Grant for Federal troops to uphold Negro rule in the state of Mississippi. He replied by stating a well-known fact: "The whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and the great majority are ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government."

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President in 1876. He had become a public hero because of his success in proving that Tweed was a crook. He was cer-

tain to be elected President if opposed by anyone connected with Grant. The Republicans were having a house-cleaning of their own, however. They finally nominated Rutherford B. Hayes (hāz), who, like Tilden, was anxious for reform in government. The election was extremely close and even after all the votes were counted it was difficult to say who had won.

Tilden had received more popular votes than Hayes but, as you know, our Presidents are not chosen directly by the people. In 1876 there was a dispute over which electors had been chosen in certain states. If the electors from those states were evenly divided between the two parties, Tilden would be elected President; in fact he needed only one out of the twenty disputed votes. A commission was appointed by Congress to settle the dispute. Each of its members voted according to his political party. Since a majority were Republicans, the commission decided in favor of the

Republican electors from those states, and Hayes was declared President.

The Democrats felt that they had been cheated out of the presidency. This election might have led to civil war. It is to the credit of the American people, however, that on the one-hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, ballots were considered more important than bullets. One of the strongest tests of democracy was passed with flying colors. For this result we owe much to Tilden himself. He took his great loss like a gentleman and displayed a fine sense of sportsmanship.

Out of this disputed election the South was granted a new deal. Hayes was not a revengeful man. He would not interfere in the affairs of the South. The last of the Northern troops were withdrawn from the South in April, 1877, and Hayes made several visits to the South. The War between the States was now really over. Once more all Americans were brothers. Gradually the Ship of State again sailed on an even keel.

The Decline of Sectionalism

There had been rivalry between sections throughout most of our history up to 1876. Much of this rivalry had developed into bitterness and hatred instead of remaining friendly competition. Americans had shown on various occasions that they loved their state or section more than they loved their country. Americans of all sections had been at fault. This bitter feeling between sections did not come to an end suddenly. By 1876, however, the nation was becoming stronger than its sections. We were becoming a united people. This was our fourth great political victory as a nation.

Our fight for independence had been won by 1783; our efforts to gain strength were being crowned with success by 1800; one struggle for democracy — giving real control to the common man — was being won by 1840; while bitterness between sections was being conquered by 1876.

There were two good reasons why bitterness between sections declined at that time. In the first place, the North and the South were no longer traveling in opposite directions. No longer were the needs of one section opposed to the needs of the other section. Now both North and South depended upon free labor. Differences continued to exist between these sections, but these were not likely to cause bitterness or bloodshed.

In the second place, the much older rivalry between East and West was also disappearing in 1876. You will recall that this older rivalry had been due mainly to the East being the center of wealth and the West being an area filled with poor people in debt. Their interests had always been opposed to each other. The new frontier of the Far West, however, was in certain ways different from the older frontiers. California, for example, was never a section of poor farmers and debtors as the earlier frontiers had been. Some of the earliest settlers became men of wealth overnight, due to the gold rush. Their interests were not opposed to the interests of Eastern bankers as much as those of Daniel Shays had been in an earlier period (see Chapter 6).

Besides, the frontier was gradually coming to an end as the great West was filling up with settlers. Soon there would be no new frontier to be filled with debtors who would quarrel

bitterly with Eastern bankers. The West was gradually becoming more and more like the East. The problems it faced more and more resembled those found in the older regions.

Meanwhile great railroads stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific were binding East and West together with bands of iron. They harnessed the entire nation to the factory system like huge belts on some giant machine. From East to West went the products created within factory walls. From West to East went raw materials needed to make manufactured goods and food to feed the large populations of the factory towns.

By 1876 more people were thinking of themselves as Americans rather than as residents of a section or a

state. More Americans felt like Patrick Henry when he had declared that he was not a Virginian but an American, and like Daniel Webster when he had said that he spoke not as a Massachusetts man but as an American. More of the people realized that the prosperity and happiness of any state or section was closely connected with the prosperity and happiness of other states and sections. Each state and each section had its own peculiar contribution to make to the growth of the nation. Co-operation and harmony led to increased strength just as quarrels and bitterness had led to disunity and weakness. Americans of all sections joined together in a common cause — of uncommon importance.

Study Activities

1. *If Lincoln Had Not Been Killed.* As told in this Chapter 17, Lincoln was shot, and died in April, 1865. Have a discussion about what would have happened in our history if Lincoln had not been killed, but had served his full second term as President. Would Lincoln have been successful in a policy of friendliness toward the South? Would Lincoln have been attacked by the Radicals as Johnson was? Would there have been Carpetbaggers and a Ku Klux Klan? What would have been the chief events of 1865–1868?

2. *Constitutional Amendments.* Lincoln and Johnson felt that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was sufficient to settle the issue of slavery. The Radicals, in addition to certain Acts of Congress, wanted the Fourteenth Amendment also. Read these amendments carefully, in Appendix pages xxxv–xxxvi, and explain what they mean.

3. *The Story of Slavery.* The United States is by no means the only country which has had to face the problem of slavery. Appoint two pupils to read the accounts of slavery in *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* and in Wilson, Wilson, and Erb, *Richer Ways of Living* (American Book Company, 1946, pages 75–83) and report to the class on the long story of slavery and men's efforts to abolish it throughout the world.

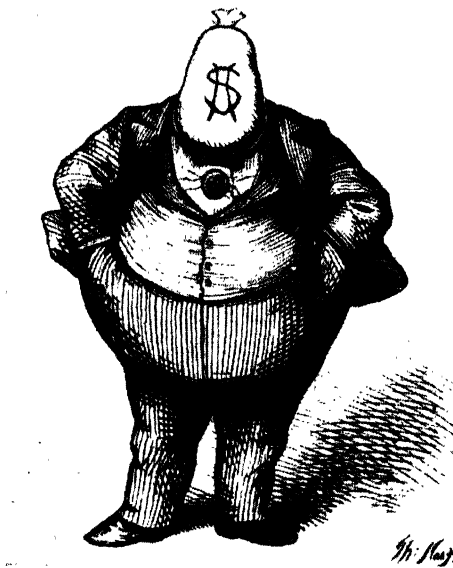
4. *The Program of the Radicals.* Make a list of the things the Radicals in Congress believed were necessary for reconstruction. What parts of their program do you agree with?

5. *Thomas Nast vs. Big Bill Tweed.* The story of Thomas Nast's cartoon attack on "Boss" Tweed is told in Chapter 17. On the next page are three of Nast's cartoons. Study them carefully, and explain their meaning. Can you draw similar

cartoons? Using these cartoons as models draw a series of cartoons about Jim Fisk and Jay Gould.

6. *A Graph to Explain.* Before the War between the States most of the cotton was sent to Great Britain or New England

to be made into cloth. After 1865 this situation began to change; more and more factories were built in the South with spindles for making cotton into thread and cloth. Examine the following chart on page 288 and answer the questions that follow.



288 OUR NATION BECOMES STRONGER THAN SECTIONS

a. In what decade did the number of spindles in use in the North increase most rapidly? In what decade did the number of spindles in the South increase most rapidly?

b. In what year did the North reach its peak of cotton manufacturing? In what year did the South reach its peak?

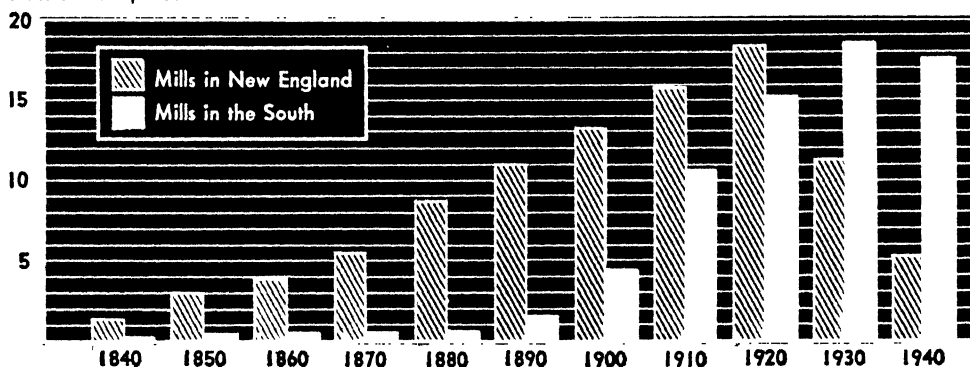
c. What was the total number of

spindles in use in 1840? In 1860? In 1880? In 1900? In 1920? In 1940?

d. In what decade did the South first exceed the North in number of spindles in use?

For an excellent summary of the history of cotton and its uses in the United States see the issue on "Cotton" in *Building America* (Vol. VII, No. 7).

Millions of spindles



7. *The Election of 1876.* Write an editorial explaining why the peaceful settlement of the disputed election of 1876 was important. In the editorial describe the attitudes of Hayes and Tilden.

8. *A Nation United.* Make a list of the reasons given in the textbook why sectionalism was not as important in American history after 1875 as it was during the fifty years before 1875.

Review Activities for Unit IV

1. *A Time Line.* Examine the time lines given at the beginning of each chapter in Unit IV, and make a list of all the date-events that are given on them. Then, by class discussion, choose the ten most important dates on the list. With these construct a time line for Unit IV.

2. *Facts to Explain.* Following is a list of statements about changes which occurred in the period described in Unit IV. Explain each statement, giving evidence to show that it is true.

a. By 1860, only eleven years after the gold rush, California's population was greater than that of New Hampshire.

b. It was possible for slave and free states to compromise on questions of western expansion in 1820, but by 1860 compromise was no longer possible.

c. The Erie Canal and the railroads proved more important than the Mississippi River in the relations of sections of the country at the time of the War between the States.

d. The War between the States might not have taken place except for the invention of the cotton gin.

e. It may be that the Compromise of 1850, by postponing the War between the States about ten years, made Northern victory possible.

f. Between 1820 and 1860, the urban population of the United States grew much faster than the rural population.

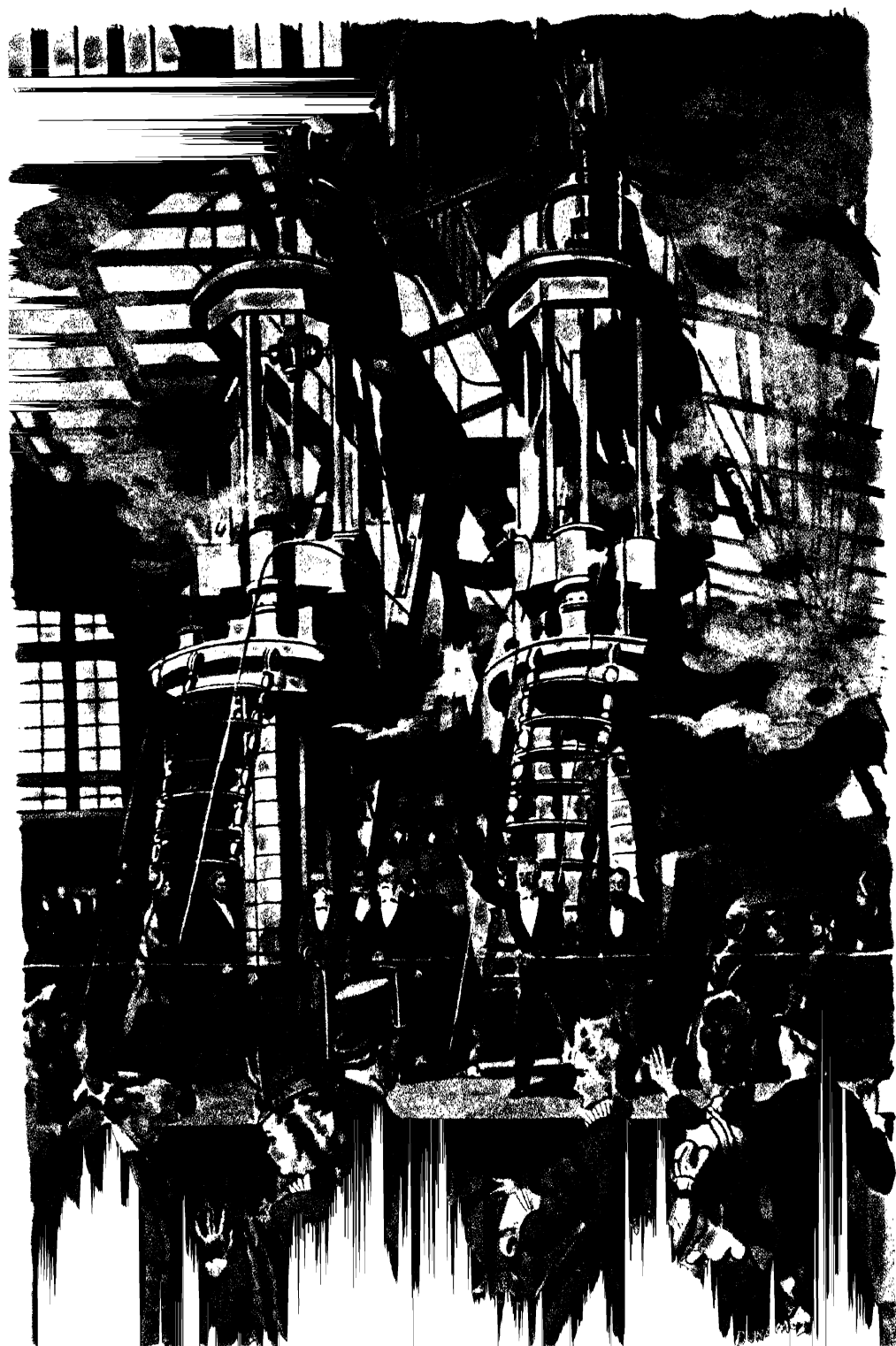
g. In 1820, the area of the United States was 1,792,223 square miles; in 1860 it was 3,026,789 square miles.

h. After 1865, the South had many more small farms than before 1865.

3. *Amendments to the Constitution.* The Constitution of the United States is the plan of our government. Important changes in our plan of government can be made by adding amendments to the Constitution. What amendments were added between 1820 and 1877?

4. *Presidential Administrations and Important Events.* On pages xv-xxi of the Appendix, there is a list of important

events in United States history and their dates. From information on page xxxviii, draw up a chart of the Presidents who were in office between 1837 and 1877, and list the events that took place in each administration. The class may decide that certain events not listed in the Chronological Outline are so important that they should be included in the chart. Put a star before the ten events the class thinks most important. Select a class member or a committee to copy the completed chart on the blackboard or on a large poster. Compare the chart with the time line called for in item 1 of this review.



UNIT V

TAKING STOCK ON OUR ONE-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY

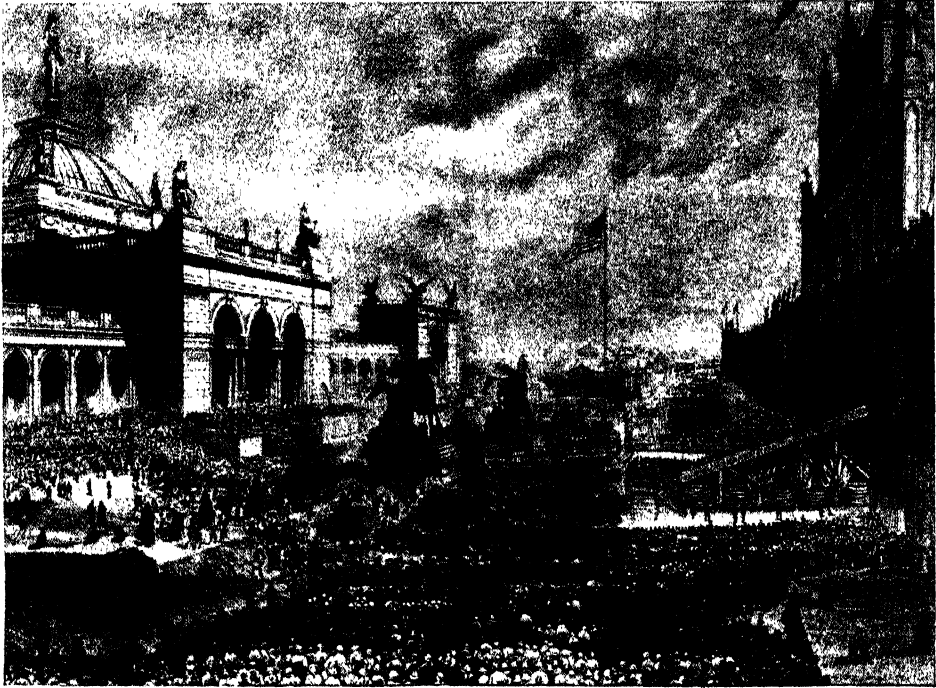
OVERVIEW

The United States celebrated its one-hundredth birthday on July 4, 1876. In 1776 there had been no city of Washington; in 1876 the capital city was hallowed with memories of John Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. Ulysses S. Grant was in the White House; people still remembered Calhoun, and Clay, and Webster. A full century had passed between the Declaration of Independence and the presidential election in which Hayes and Tilden were rivals. The earlier units of this book have told of some of the events and developments of that century. Great changes had taken place, and the nation in 1876 was vastly different from the group of struggling colonies in 1776.

Just what was the country like in 1876? Unit V answers the question; it gives a cross-section view of the nation and tells of developments in art, science, and social welfare. Chapter 18 describes the United States in the Centennial Year when our first World's Fair was held in Philadelphia. It tells of the immigrants who had come to the United States, and of the ways of living of ordinary Americans. Chapter 19 tells how a democratic spirit of friendliness developed. It describes how the country was

beginning to care for its unfortunates, and of ways in which Americans were working together for the common welfare. Chapter 20 tells of the beginnings of American science. It describes some of the inventions which were submitted to the Patent Office, and tells how scholars were searching for more scientific knowledge. Chapter 21 describes what American authors and artists had been doing during our first century. It tells about plays and theaters, newspapers and magazines, about painting and sculpturing and other forms of art.

Americans of 1876 asked themselves many questions. They criticized themselves and praised themselves. They wanted to know in what ways the United States was successful and in what ways she had failed during her first century. There had been some mistakes, of course, but the record as a whole was very good. The country had grown tremendously. It had maintained its independence, had grown steadily stronger, had grown more and more democratic. The dark days of the War between the States had passed. To achievements in politics and industry and agriculture had been added achievements in friendly living, in the arts, in science and in-

*Brown Brothers*

On May 10, 1876, a large crowd gathered on the Grand Plaza in front of Memorial Hall for the opening of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. It was America's first successful international exposition. In 1893 there was an exposition in Chicago, followed by still others in the first half of the twentieth century.

vention. Americans were proud of their hundredth birthday; they faced the future with hope.

Today, the year 1876 seems long ago; the year 1976 is not far away. In that year the nation will take stock on its two-hundredth birthday. Some of the pupils who read this book will be grown men and women then. What do you think their nation will be like in 1976?

Questions Answered in Unit V

1. What was the United States like in 1876?
2. How did the ordinary ways of living

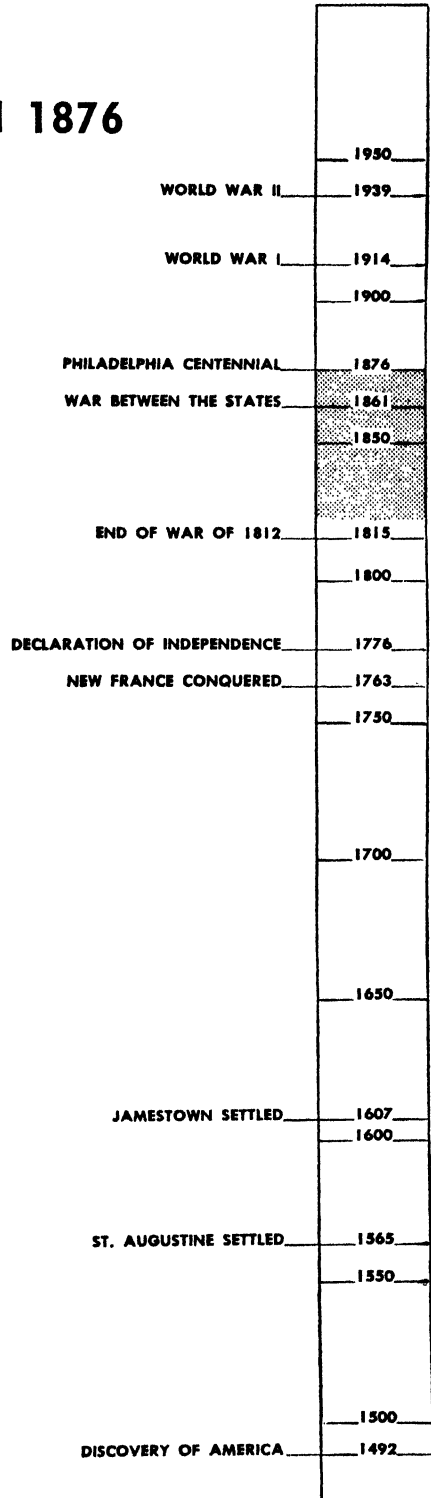
in 1876 differ from those of 1776? From those after 1945?

3. What were the American people like in the Centennial Year?
4. How had the care of unfortunates improved during the first century?
5. How did education contribute to the common welfare?
6. What outstanding inventions had been patented between 1776 and 1876?
7. Who were our first great scientists?
8. What had Americans achieved in literature and art before 1876?
9. Did Americans have a right to be proud of this first century?

CHAPTER 18

THE UNITED STATES IN 1876

1876 PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL
 1876 TELEPHONE INVENTED
 1869 FIRST FOOTBALL GAME
 1845 BEGINNING OF GREAT GERMAN
 MIGRATION
 1839 RULES FOR BASEBALL OUTLINED
 1820 BEGINNING OF GREAT IRISH MIGRATION



"America,—half brother of the world!"
P. J. Bailey

"The face of America is many faces.
 Many races molded it, many weathers
 seasoned it. The eyes are blue or brown
 or gray, Indian-black, almond-shaped.
 But the light in the eyes is the same.
 Freedom put it there."
Donald C. Peattie

OUR FIRST WORLD'S FAIR

On its one-hundredth birthday the United States had a great celebration in Philadelphia. It was the sixth of the world's great fairs, and the first to be held in our country. It opened on May 10, 1876, by proclamation of President Grant delivered in person. The most dramatic moment occurred on the night of July 3 as one hundred thousand people waited in front of Independence Hall for the hour of twelve. According to a newspaper report, "As the minute hand swept slowly past the hour there was a profound silence, and then came rolling out of the lofty steeple the deep, liquid tones of the new liberty bell, sounding wonderfully solemn and sweet as they floated down to the crowd below. Thirteen peals were struck, and the first tone had hardly died away when there went up from the crowd such a shout as had never been heard in Philadelphia before." The end of the fair came on November 10 at a signal from President Grant after nearly ten million people had marveled at the exhibits.

The Exhibits

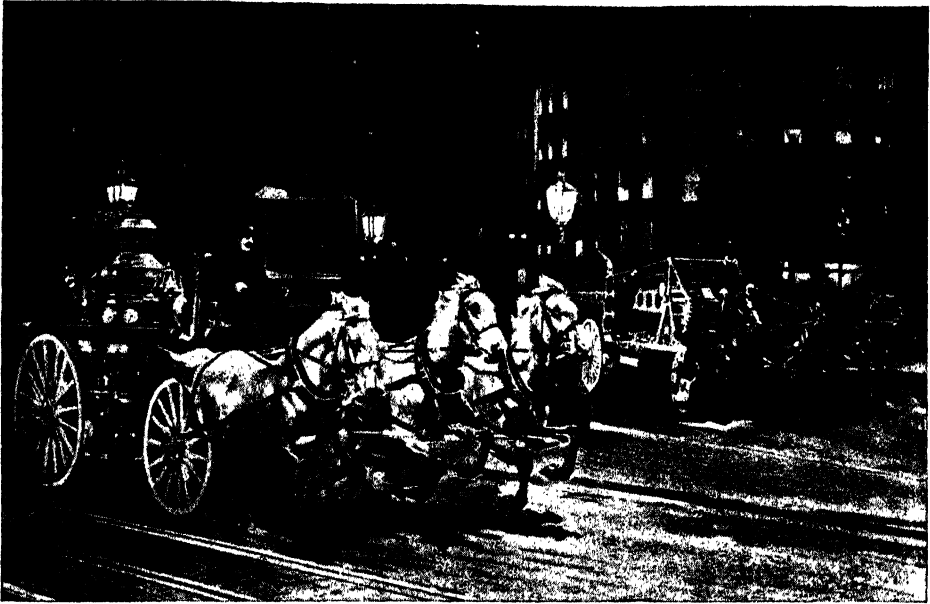
Most of the nations of the world attended in one way or another. Here were to be found interesting articles from all parts of the earth; shawls and jewels from India, ivory and ostrich feathers from South Africa, corals and shells from Hawaii, beautiful birds from Brazil, and lacquer ware from Japan. Here one could examine kinds of clothing made in Sweden and in Austria, and could compare some Swiss watches with German

clocks. Here also was a fine exhibit of English paintings.

If we could have been among the millions of people who went to the fair we should also have found a fine bird's-eye view of the United States. In Machinery Hall stood a great steam engine, of steel and brass, producing power equal to that of 1600 horses. When it was running, the whole building quivered. This huge engine towered above the heads of the crowds to a height of forty feet. With twenty-three miles of shafts and more than forty miles of belts, it supplied the power to run all the other machinery in the building. All who gazed at it marveled at its ceaseless, almost silent operation (page 290).

There were several new fire engines on exhibit. It was no longer necessary for firemen to form bucket brigades or to use pumpers worked by hand. Now there were engines that were worked by steam, and others that sprayed chemicals instead of water. On exhibit also were several kinds of washing machines. Like fire engines, they were operated mainly by hand or by steam. Many of the housewives watching them work thought it would be fun to try one at home, but did not believe a machine could get clothes as clean as they could by hand. Many varieties of sewing machines were shown at various places. Kerosene had come into use for lighting purposes during the 1860's. There were better and finer-appearing kerosene lamps, some of which had wicks shaped like cylinders instead of being flat like ribbons.

They would make the long winter evenings more cheerful. All of these inventions were much superior to what had existed before. The age of electricity, however, would soon make them all appear old-fashioned.



Brown Brothers

One of the first horse-drawn fire-engines. It was very urgent that the rapidly growing cities should have more efficient ways of fighting fire than could be supplied by voluntary bucket brigades.



Culver Service

Kerosene lamps pictured in an advertisement of the 1870's. From the advertisement what can you tell about the clothing and furniture of the period?

Another exhibit was a peculiar machine called the telephone which a man named Bell had invented in a Boston garret. According to rumor, it permitted men to talk with each other even though miles apart. It did not appear to be much more than a mere toy, however, and did not attract much attention until June 25. On that day a committee of scientists were examining the exhibits to determine who should be awarded prizes. The judges were tired when they reached Bell's table late in the day. They paid little attention to the telephone and seemed ready to pass on to other exhibits. Just at that moment Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, stepped forward and greeted Bell warmly. He had visited Bell's school for the deaf and was acquainted with the young inventor personally. The judges paused and regarded Bell with greater interest. The emperor began to examine the telephone. He picked the instrument up and placed it to his ear. His amazement was great when he heard a voice speaking through it. "It talks!" he exclaimed in surprise. The judges were equally amazed. From that day until the end of the fair, Bell's telephone was the most popular exhibit.

Another peculiar-looking machine was called "typewriter." It had just been invented by the Remingtons. Few people took any notice of it, however. Those that did examine it decided that they could write more easily and faster by longhand. The visitors at the fair were much more interested in the high-wheeled bicycle, shown for the first time.

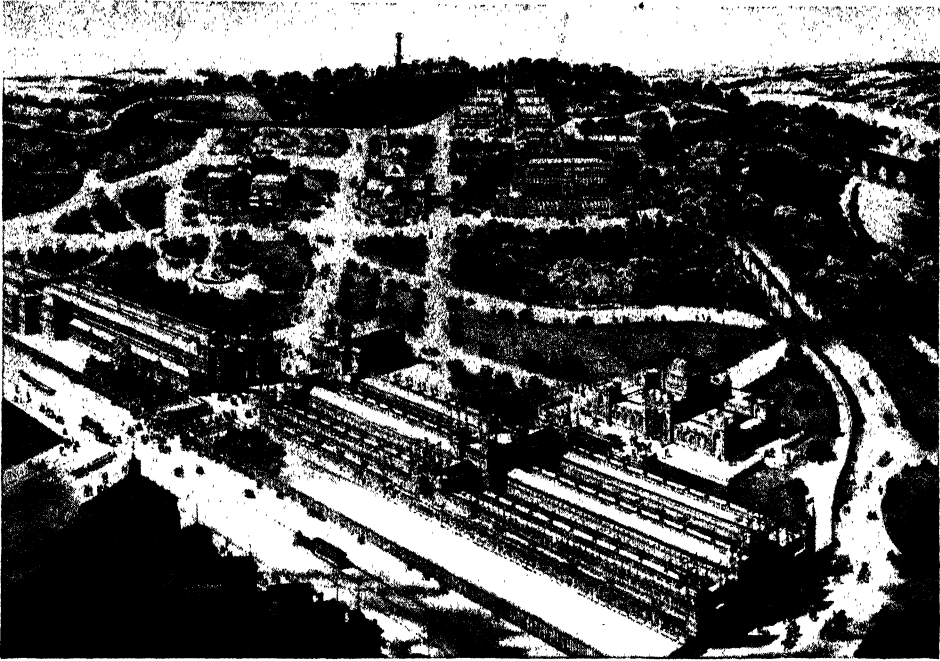
Critics were somewhat surprised at the fine quality of our paintings. Some of the scenes pictured on canvas

by Winslow Homer were art of a very high order. The sculpture exhibit was not one to arouse envy, but at least such work was exhibited. Many fine buildings existed in our nation, but beautiful homes were not considered necessary. "Houses were built for the same reason as boxes, to contain something." The buildings which visitors saw as they approached the fairground were unattractive. The only thing outstanding about them was their size, the main building being advertised as the largest in all the world.

Some of the needlework of American women aroused admiration. A favorite exhibit at the fair was a crocheted bedspread containing seven thousand skeins of silk. A woman from Alabama had spent two years making the bedspread. In general the fair showed that Americans were depending less than before on Europe for beauty and grace. Within the next fifty years our artists, sculptors, architects, and other creators of beauty were destined to accomplish things undreamed of in 1876.

Mr. and Mrs. America

When Mr. and Mrs. America boarded the train for home they were strangely quiet. There was so much to think about. Mr. America could not keep his mind away from the machinery that he had seen making such things as newspapers, tacks, shoes, carpets, clothing, and bricks. He thought also that perhaps some day he would buy one of those typewriters for his business. Mrs. America hoped she might have a washing machine some day. Perhaps if she hinted about it in the right way her husband might get her one for Christmas. Then



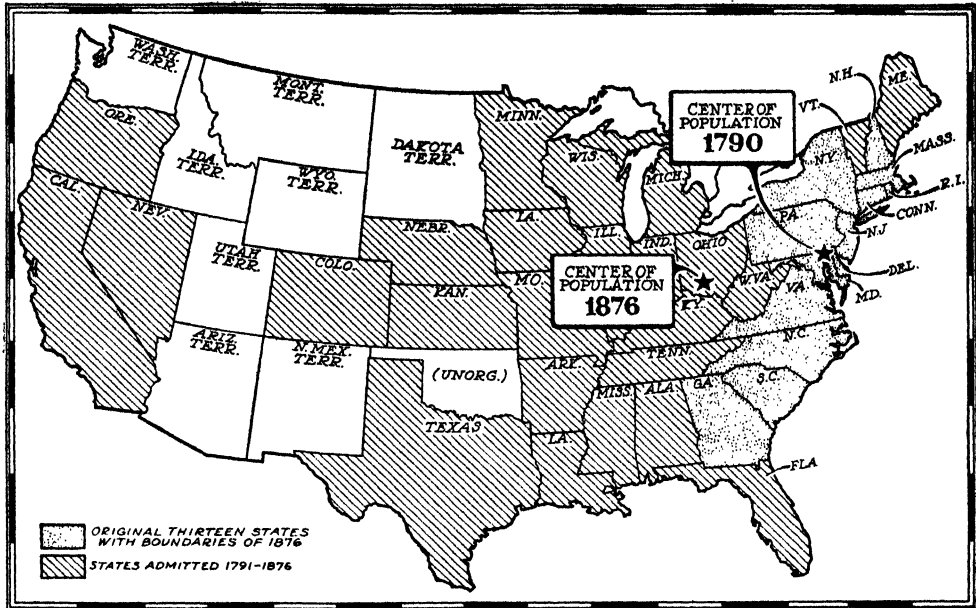
The Bellmann Archive

This view of the Centennial Exposition shows no midway or amusement area. It is doubtful that amusements would have competed in interest with the working models of many new machines and processes that were on view in the exposition.

her thoughts turned to food. She wondered about the salmon from Oregon, put up in tin cans and all ready to eat. It just did not seem possible that food kept in tin would be good for one's stomach. Those who had eaten it had not complained, however. Well, perhaps she would have the chance to eat some again, sometime. Then there were those hard-crusted Vienna rolls which she had meant to buy and take home to show the neighbors. How careless of her to forget them!

It seemed as if everything was changing faster than it had before. It was difficult to guess what the United States would be like even ten years from 1876. Not all the unusual things were within the fairgrounds. In Philadelphia itself there was being

held the first convention of a new political party, called Socialist Labor. It had many strange ideas which were said to have come from Europe. Mr. America wondered if the Socialists would ever become as important as the Democrats and the Republicans. Perhaps some day they would have a candidate for President like Hayes or Tilden. He wished he could make up his mind for which of these two gentlemen he would vote after he reached home. According to the newspapers a new church was being formed up in Lynn, Massachusetts. It was called the Christian Science Association. Mr. America wondered whether it would ever be large like the Baptists and the Congregationalists. He had heard men talking of investing money in the Pennsylvania



The United States in 1876.

oil fields where a certain Mr. Rockefeller seemed to be important. Perhaps he should put some of his money in oil instead of enlarging his factory back home.

Mrs. America shuddered whenever she thought of how those terrible Sioux (sōō) Indians had massacred General Custer and all his men far out on the Little Big Horn River in June. She wondered what the great West was like, but was certain she would never go there until the Indians were tamed. It seemed so strange that large areas were not yet settled when the papers claimed that San Francisco was one century old this very year.

As the train lurched and swayed, the thoughts of Mr. America always drifted back to the machines at the fair. He was certain there would be many more new inventions soon. So many men were busy thinking up improvements. Many of the inventors seemed to be young fellows with their lives ahead of them. According to a conversation he had heard in Machinery Hall, great things were expected of a young man named Edison who had already improved the telegraph. Perhaps some day man might even fly, but Mr. America scarcely dared to mention such a possibility to his wife. She might think that he really meant it.

THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

The Nation

Since the outbreak of the War between the States in 1861, four more

states had been admitted to the Union: West Virginia in 1863, Nevada in 1864, Nebraska in 1867, and Colorado in 1876. There were now thirty-

eight states in the Union, taking up two thirds of our present land area. The remaining third was divided into territories still under the rule of Congress, as shown by the map on page 298. Following New York in order of population were Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri. Chicago was becoming our third largest city, following New York and Philadelphia.

The nation was rapidly growing in population. By 1880 it would pass the fifty million mark. The greatest percentage of increase was in the mountain states of the West where there were two people in 1880 for every one that had been there in 1870. If we compare the growth of states and territories, however, we find that Dakota Territory was increasing the most rapidly. It had over nine times as many people in 1880 as in 1870.

There were hard times throughout most of the nation in the middle 1870's. Thousands of business firms went into bankruptcy. Millions of laborers were thrown out of work. Southern and Western farmers could not sell their crops. People talked about "hard times" and their financial difficulties, as much as about the World's Fair or the Hayes-Tilden campaign for the presidency.

The Older Sections

Great and interesting changes were taking place in all sections of the nation. The Northeast continued to be the center of industry. Here men of wealth were trying to make their big fortunes bigger. In Pennsylvania, John D. Rockefeller and others were devoting much attention to oil fields.

In New York City, "Boss" Tweed had escaped from jail (see Chapter 17) but was being brought back again.

The South was gradually recovering from the evils of war and reconstruction. People continued to move westward; the population of Texas nearly doubled. There were more small farms in place of large plantations. Industry was being established in the South. Birmingham, Alabama, changed from a cotton field in 1870 to a thriving community of more than 3000 people in 1878, producing iron. To a lesser extent similar changes occurred in other parts of the South.

In 1876 the old Northwest continued to be an important farm area. Illinois led all other states in the production of wheat. Throughout the Middle West the farmers felt that the railroads were taking unfair advantage of them. The farmers depended upon the railroads to market their goods, and had to pay whatever rates the railroads asked. The rates were not the same day after day, and some towns and some individuals were required to pay more than others. The farmers of the 1870's were organizing themselves politically in clubs or "granges" to correct this unequal treatment. They managed to get control of some state legislatures and began to pass laws regulating railroads. At the same time factories were rapidly increasing in size and in numbers throughout the Middle West. That section was beginning to resemble the industrial Northeast.

Beyond the Mississippi

By 1876 the western boundary of the settled regions was a considerable distance west of the Mississippi. Missouri, which had been admitted to the Union as its twenty-fourth state in 1821, was now fifth in the list of states with the largest populations. Ne-

300 TAKING STOCK ON OUR ONE-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY

braska was growing from about 123,000 in 1870 to over 452,000 in 1880. Kansas was growing from about 364,000 to 996,000 in the same period.

Across the western part of this area, from central Kansas to the Rockies and from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border, stretched the great cow country. Over this tremendous area eleven million cattle roamed in huge herds. Here life belonged to the strong and the rugged. Sometimes, when wind and rain made the cattle difficult to control, cowboys were compelled to go for several days at a time with scarcely any sleep. They had to fight off Indians, and rustlers who tried to steal from the herds. They sometimes had to ford great rivers that might be flooded. It was their job to check stampeding cattle whenever the animals became frightened and tried to run away.

The days of the cattlemen, however, were numbered. Each year more and more people pressed westward seeking free farms. They built homes and put up wire fences around their fields. These farmers waged open warfare with the cattle men for many years. Their fences were cut by the cowboys, and their fields were trampled by herds of cattle. Each year, however, there was more fence and there were more farms than the year before.

The Indians were alarmed as white men destroyed the buffaloes and settled on land which the government had promised would always belong to Indians. The Sioux Indians of Dakota Territory were especially angry when white gold seekers rushed into their reservation in the Black Hills seeking wealth. In 1876 they

went on the warpath under the leadership of Sitting Bull. A terrific battle took place at the Little Big Horn River. It was an unequal struggle. On one side was General George Custer and less than three hundred soldiers; on the other side were ten times as many fighting Indians. Custer and all his men were killed.

By 1876 the millions of buffaloes on the southwestern plains had practically ceased to exist. More than 3,700,000 of the buffaloes in southern herds had been slain in the four years from 1871 to 1874. The buffaloes on the northern plains were also being destroyed; they would last only a few years longer. Buffalo meat was left to decay on the ground, and the price of buffalo robes declined so low that often the hunters did not even bother to skin the animals.

In 1876 the Rocky Mountain area faced serious problems. Mining resulted in great riches for some people; one Westerner fitted his entire house with door handles of solid silver. Most of the mining towns, however, did not remain prosperous or develop into strong towns or cities. Many of the miners hurried from place to place upon the heels of each new rumor of a gold discovery. A new mining town might arise almost overnight, but if no precious metal was found, it was quickly abandoned. As one writer said, the mines "made Nevada, but they did not make it a populous, stable, steadily-growing community."

In the Far West, along the Pacific coast, the main occupation of the people was farming. Agriculture had been favored in Oregon from the beginning. California was learning that the great riches locked up in her

mountains were less valuable than could be obtained from her fertile valleys and plains. San Francisco continued to grow rapidly, and by 1880 about a quarter of a million people lived on the hills overlooking the magnificent Golden Gate.

By 1876 "far-off" California was no longer so far away. It was not necessary to take an ocean voyage or a caravan route overland to reach the Pacific coast as in 1849. Seven years before, in 1869, the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads had met in Utah, uniting the East and the Far West by rail. By 1884 there were three other railroad routes that crossed the continent. Similar changes had taken place in communication. Twenty-five days had been required to take mail from Missouri to California by stagecoach. The time had been greatly decreased by the Pony Express, which in 1861 had carried Lincoln's inaugural address from Kansas to California in seven days and seventeen hours. Even the Pony Express ceased business in October, 1861, however, when telegraph wires 3595 miles in length connected New York and San Francisco.

Our entire nation was a land of great contrasts wherever we might look. In the industrial Northeast we found both a new religious movement and "Boss" Tweed. In the South we saw a cotton field changing into an iron center almost over night. In the Middle West the farmers were fighting the railroads which connected them with the outside world. Farther west on the Great Plains, a region of buffaloes was rapidly becoming a cow country. In youthful Utah stood one of America's finest buildings, the great Mormon Tabernacle. On the Pacific coast a state that had felt the stampede for gold not long before could boast vineyards equal to those of Europe.

The regions of the nation differed greatly among, and within, themselves. Many of the differences, however, were to become less and less. Settlement was to continue until there was no frontier after 1890. The last-settled regions were to see towns and cities rise. The building of factories was to continue to increase in the South and Middle West; soon there would be factories in all parts of the nation.

AMERICANS ALL

Our English Foundation

The foundation of our nation had been English from the time the first English settlements had been made on the Atlantic seacoast. Most of the settlers came from England throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century. Their main purpose was to earn a better living. Even when most of the newer

immigrants were no longer English, many of them came from other parts of the British Isles. The Scotch-Irish had moved from Scotland into northern Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century, but large numbers of them had never been happy there. Many of them moved to our frontier. They and their descendants were always among the leaders who moved from one frontier to another

until the Pacific was reached. Among the immigrants from northern Ireland were ancestors of such well-known Americans as Daniel Boone, Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, and Alexander Graham Bell.

The large non-British groups' here before 1800, except for the Negroes, were the Dutch and the Germans. The Dutch lived mostly in New York. The first Germans settled mainly in Pennsylvania, although the Germans of a later day tended to move west. They kept very much to themselves, clinging to their own language, customs, and religion so firmly that to this day their descendants are called "Pennsylvania Dutch." Included among the early immigrants from Holland and Germany were many whose names have been mentioned in this book. Americans can never afford to forget the story of John Peter Zenger, who became famous in the fight to secure freedom of the press. Baron Steuben was a German officer who played an important part in our war for independence.

In 1790 more than four out of five Americans were of English descent. Their greatest strength was in New England, where there were very few of any other national group. In Pennsylvania only one out of every four inhabitants was German or of German descent, and in New York only one out of every six was Dutch. The English found their greatest competition in New Jersey, but even in that state they made up 58 per cent of the population. Immigration was very small for nearly half a century after our independence. During that period most Americans continued to be descendants of English

settlers. The ways of life that were carried across the great West were largely English. Our New England was well named. In some ways parts of both Ohio and Oregon were other New Englands. At the time our nation was celebrating its one-hundredth birthday in 1876 Oregon's leading citizens were largely of New England origin. Sunday was observed as strictly in the valley of the Willamette (wī-lām'ēt) as it was in the valley of the Connecticut.

The Irish Arrive

After the War of 1812 immigrants came to our shores from other countries in great waves. First to come were the Irish. Between 1820 and 1850 the number of Irish immigrants equaled those of all other nations combined. In a period of sixty years one half the entire population of Ireland came to our shores to flee from starvation and British rule. Once in this country their condition did not improve rapidly. They were not used to factory machinery because they had come from farms. They generally huddled in miserable conditions in the port cities until some contractor needing cheap unskilled labor for railroads or canals would come along and hire them to use picks and shovels. They were more or less at the mercy of their bosses, who took advantage of them in many ways. The Irish tended to prefer the cities to western farms and soon every city had an Irish section where the immigrants lived together.

The Irish aroused some opposition among the groups already here. Many of them were so poor that communities had to help them. They were ready with their fists to punish those



Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York

Immigrants arriving at the Battery in New York City in the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days they had passed the immigration inspection at Castle Garden, shown at the left. Later immigrants went first to Ellis Island.

who ridiculed them. They possessed a different religion in a day when there was little respect for the opinions of others. Up to this period most Americans were Protestants, but the Irish were Roman Catholics. The older groups regarded the newcomers with suspicion. They feared that if the Irish became strong enough these newcomers might be opposed to freedom of religion. Many years were to pass before the older groups were to be convinced that their fears were needless. In the end it was found that love of freedom was not confined to men of any national or religious group.

The Irish soon became famous for their ability in politics, and began to contribute leaders to cities and states, and to the nation. Their influence

on the American way of life was even more important. They became noted for their devotion to their homes and their church. Their wit, their cheerfulness, and their optimism did much to replace the gloomy outlook of the Puritans with greater joy. No amount of hard luck could dim their faith in life. A poet of the 1850's wrote:

"But though her sons in exile roam,
They sleep on Freedom's pillow,
And Erin's Daughters find a home,
Beyond the Western billow."

Germans in America

At the time when the Irish immigration began to decline, there came a great tide of German immigrants. They were the opposites of the Irish in many ways. They made their way into the West in search of

land. They had a different language which separated them somewhat from other groups. They aroused less opposition because they often ignored ridicule, and because they remained out of politics in general. At the same time they were slower to become like earlier Americans because they tended to live by themselves and keep their own customs.

Between 1845 and 1860 about 1,250,000 Germans came to our shores. From New York they made their way to Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, then spread out in all directions. It was largely due to the German migrations before the War between the States that the north-western states gave their votes to Lincoln in 1860. Many Germans — Carl Schurz (shöörts), for example — had come to our nation to win freedom for themselves. They were not inclined to keep it from black men already here; and they did not settle where slavery was profitable.

The Germans aroused some opposition among the older groups. They looked upon Sunday as a day of recreation and enjoyment, while many of their neighbors of English ancestry frowned upon any kind of merry-making on holy days. The Germans were also fond of drinking beer, while by this time many Americans of English ancestry had become opposed to the drinking of beer and other alcoholic liquors. The Germans objected to joyless Sundays and to restrictions on the drinking of beer. Another cause of ill-feeling was the dream some of the early Germans had of establishing a new Germany in Missouri, Wisconsin, and even Texas; but they generally did not keep on dreaming long.

Most of the Germans who came to our shores before 1870 were firm believers in democracy. They brought with them a spirit of independence which sometimes seemed like stubbornness. Carl Schurz escaped from a German prison, where he had been sent for political reasons, to become in our own country one of our leading reformers in government.

After 1870 a great change took place in the type of German immigrants. Instead of moving to our country chiefly to find political freedom they came to earn a better living. Instead of becoming the owners of western farms they were becoming factory workers in our towns and cities. By 1876 this change was not yet important, but it was destined to be important in the years ahead.

The Scandinavians

By 1876 a third great wave of immigration was under way, although it did not reach its crest until the 1880's. These immigrants were Scandinavians (Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes) whose main interest was in western lands. They settled mainly in the Northwest, although many of them made their new homes in New England and Ohio. They were especially numerous in Minnesota and the Dakotas. One could travel through the rich farmlands of those states for miles and find only Scandinavians. They considered themselves Americans from the moment they landed on our shores. They were quick to adopt American ways of life, although they liked to keep their language.

Asiatics

Meanwhile many Chinese had been tempted to California by dreams of

wealth. There were more than 49,000 of them in that state in 1870 and more than 75,000 by 1880. At first the Chinese were welcomed because labor was extremely scarce. Their willingness to work for low wages pleased railroad builders, who imported them into this country to build paths for the "iron horse." The Chinese were also willing to do the tasks which the miners needed to have done, such as cooking and laundering. They were neat, hard workers and minded their own business.

In time the Chinese aroused more opposition than did either the Irish or the Germans. Labor was no longer scarce when the railroads neared completion. American laborers flocking in from the East found they could not live as cheaply as the Chinese, and objected to their competition for wages. Unlike the other foreign groups, the Chinese made no effort to become like other Americans. They insisted on keeping their queues and their chopsticks even in remote mining camps.

Labor unions took the lead in opposition to the Chinese. American workingmen demanded "four dollars a day and roast beef" and declared that the Chinese were the chief obstacle to achieving that goal. Riots broke out in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In 1876 the problem was far from solved. On its one-hundredth birthday the United States was a land of opportunity to the white man, but not so much to the black, the red, or the yellow.

The Early Jews and Other Groups

As late as 1818 there were only 3000 Jews in the United States. By 1865, however, there were 150,000, and

they were entering our country in rapidly increasing numbers. Often mistreated in Europe, they came to our shores in search of freedom and a better living. Most of the early Jews remained in New York City, but they had four synagogues in Cincinnati as early as 1855. They became important in trade and finance; they were strong supporters of the theater and good music; and one of the South's leading senators was Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, a Jew. By 1876 also a Polish immigration was under way. Many Bohemians settled in some states such as Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Texas. These migrations, however, were very small compared to the great waves of immigrants destined to come. Most of the Jews, the Italians, and the Poles were to arrive in our country long after 1876.

Another meeting with foreign groups occurred in New Mexico and Arizona, but this was due to American, not foreign, migration. There the Spanish-speaking residents were not happy about the arrival of our own restless frontiersmen. In time the Spanish inhabitants were to be more or less outnumbered by our settlers. The Spanish influence remains strong, however, even in our own day. Much of the western mining law was of Spanish origin, and the same was true of the early business laws of Louisiana. In our Southwest today we find the influence of Spanish colonial architecture with its arches, cloisters, tiled floors, and grilled windows. Many inhabitants of New Mexico and Arizona speak only Spanish; many others speak both Spanish and English.

There were about 300,000 Indians scattered throughout our nation in

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1876. Most of them lived on the Great Plains west of the Mississippi and in the Rocky Mountain territories. As white men seized their land and destroyed the buffaloes upon which the plains Indians depended, their ways of living were changed rapidly. Some tribes almost starved because of the lack of game, and went almost unclad even in the winter months because of the shortage of skins and furs. They were unable to support themselves by hunting, and were becoming farmers instead.

Because of railroad building and the settlement of the West, more immigrants came to our shores than ever before during the early 1870's. By 1876, however, there had been a very sharp decrease due to the hard times that followed the panic of 1873. In that year the largest group of immigrants were the 31,937 Germans. Following them in order of size were

those from England (24,373), China (22,781), British North America (22,505), and Ireland (19,575). A noticeable change was beginning among the groups of immigrants who flocked to America. Until 1870 hardly any had come from Italy, Russia, Hungary, and other nations of southern and eastern Europe. During the 1870's, however, one out of every fourteen immigrants came from there.

The greatest numbers of foreign-born in 1876 were to be found in the factory centers of the Northeast, but their greatest proportion to the whole population in various states and territories was to be found in the West. In Nevada seventy per cent of the population was foreign-born, in Arizona sixty-five, in Dakota sixty-two, in Minnesota fifty-two, and in California fifty-one. In the nation as a whole the percentage of foreign-born was decreasing slightly.

HOME AND FIRESIDE

Homes and home life varied greatly from region to region. On the cattle ranges of the West the only home possessed by some was the open range, and the only roof the sky itself. Many settlers lived in huts built of adobe or of sod. In many parts of the mining area there were the same kind of crude cabins that had been seen on earlier frontiers. Life in those regions was far different from what it was in our most thickly populated states — Rhode Island and Massachusetts. In the South in 1876 great changes were taking place in home life, in education, and in ways of thinking. In the Northeast the influence of the newly arrived immigrants upon the older

population was becoming greater and greater.

Americans and Their Homes

There are certain things, however, that should be noted about the American family in general. The size of the average American family decreased from 5.09 in 1870 to 5.04 in 1880 in spite of the large numbers of children among the newly-arrived immigrants. The average American was living longer, thanks to better health habits and greater medical knowledge. Gradually our families were consisting of a larger proportion of older people and a smaller percentage of young people and children.

Then, too, more and more American families were living in cities. Only one American out of twenty lived in a city back in 1789, when Washington was inaugurated. By 1876, however, more than one American out of five lived in communities with a population of 8000 or more. The average American family also possessed more money. The wealth possessed by the average American citizen increased from \$514 in 1860 to \$780 in 1870, and to \$850 in 1880. These changes would not have been so important if they had been limited to the 1870's, but they continued for decades later.

Most of the homes found in the older regions were heated with stoves and fireplaces in 1876. Many of the better dwellings in the cities, however, were warmed by hot-air furnaces with pipes leading to large registers in the floors. In general, the homeowners preferred to fasten down carpet with tacks rather than to follow the European fashion of placing loose rugs on hardwood floors. A new floor covering, called linoleum, was being advertised, but hardly anyone seemed to know much about it. The better homes had running water, even in some of the smaller towns. Bath-tubs had been in use since 1832, but had not been considered sanitary for many years; their use had not been allowed in Boston in 1845 except on the advice of a physician. The bath-tubs used in 1876 were certain to be of black walnut or pine, lined with zinc. Furniture was elaborate and uncomfortable, as a rule. Painted dishes were the fashion; at the White House handpainted china was used, with fruit, fish, or poultry pictured on each dish. It was not unusual to see Japanese fans tacked on the cheap,



The Beltmann Archive

A washing machine such as Mrs. America saw at the 1876 Fair in Philadelphia, soon found its way into many homes.

gaudy wallpaper. Kerosene lamps were also common, although there were objections to them because the kerosene sometimes exploded and the glass chimneys easily cracked. Gas lamps were found in some homes.

Clothes and Food

In dress Americans copied French styles as far as possible. During the 1870's sealskin coats were the height of fashion. In the latter part of the period the bustle became popular. Shawls were much used by women, but men no longer wore them. Men had also given up bright waistcoats, and dressed mainly in black broadcloth. Well-dressed little boys appeared in kilts, and wore boots with black tassels.

Eating habits were those of people who were accustomed to the hard



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Fashions of the 1870's. Notice the ruffles, bustles, and capes worn by the women and the top hats worn by the men. The children's clothes are interesting too.

labor of the farm. A man who tilled the soil needed a hearty breakfast and another big meal at noon, but not so much at night. He tended to eat the same way when he moved to the city. Breakfast might include not only fruit, coffee, and rolls but also steak or ham and eggs, and often fried potatoes. One of the main changes due to immigrant groups was in favor of what was known as "Irish oatmeal." In many parts of the North the master of the home felt that he had had no breakfast unless he had found his way through a large stack of buckwheat griddle cakes. In New England baked beans and pork on Saturday night continued to be popular. Many people, like Emerson the author, were in the habit of eating pie for breakfast.

Dinner at noon was the really important meal. Two kinds of meat were not considered extravagant.

Most homes on farms and in small villages had pork barrels in which pork was placed in salt brine to keep the meat from spoiling in warm weather. Most families regarded that pork barrel as one of their greatest needs. Sometimes there were as many as a half-dozen vegetables at dinner. It is no wonder that America sounded like Heaven to half-starved men in Europe who heard tales of our eating habits. Supper was a simpler meal and as a rule was served early. Nearly all bread was made in the home. One of the most recent products at the housewife's elbow in 1876 was oleomargarine.

Ways of Living

Both Northern and Southern states were very strict in observing Sundays. Vermont and South Carolina made attendance at church compulsory although not all obeyed these laws.

Nowhere could theaters open their doors on Sunday. In Baltimore a man felt fortunate if he could hire a carriage for a drive on that day. In New Orleans the fish market was open for an hour or two on Sunday mornings because the fish would not keep, but all the other markets were closed. The newer immigrants, however, were not used to Puritan customs. Sunday was their only day of freedom from factory machines. They preferred to use the day for fun as well as for religious observance. They failed to see how recreation and religion conflicted in any way. In time they were to change greatly our customs in this respect, although by 1876 such changes had not taken place. The largest church denominations were the Methodist and the Baptist, with the Presbyterian third, and the Catholic fourth.

Factory towns were influencing the way that American families lived. The mother became more and more the manager of the home, with the father giving more and more attention to his business and other interests. Women enjoyed greater independence because they could support themselves by factory jobs. Many Americans came to regard the possession of money as their main purpose in life, whether or not they used their wealth as a means to something finer. Both rich and poor became more concerned with putting on a better show than their neighbors.

Recreation

At about this time the nation was swept by two fads. The most popular was croquet. Lawns from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River were strewn with balls, mallets, and wickets. A less popular but more exciting fad

was the bicycle of that day. One type of bicycle had a very high front wheel with pedals and an extremely low rear wheel. The rider's seat was placed over the large wheel. From this seat, when the bicycle struck a bump, the rider might fly through space over the handlebars and fall on the ground "with the greatest of ease." Then after shaking the dust from his clothes and possibly also from his mustache our brave hero would "try, try again." Americans also were turning their attention to tennis, golf, and polo, which were brought to our country from Britain in the 1870's.

In 1869 the first football game was played between Princeton and Rutgers, with twenty-five men on each team. In 1876 when we were celebrating our one-hundredth birthday the American Intercollegiate Football Association was formed by Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale.

Meanwhile the great American game of baseball was rapidly becoming popular over the nation. Abner Doubleday, a young civil engineer in Cooperstown, New York, had laid out a diamond and outlined the rules of the game in 1839. Thirty years later, in 1869, the Cincinnati Red Stockings became the first professional team. Finally in 1876, the year of the World's Fair, the National League of Professional Baseball Players was formed. Within a few years Americans were to have the opportunity to see their first World Series.

At the same time Americans were giving increased attention to vacations. No longer did resorts exist just for the pleasure of the well-to-do, for they were visited also by people of the middle class. Our present-day

resorts began to develop in the 1870's; these included the White Mountains in New England, Colorado Springs in the West, and Florida in the South. By 1874 many Florida cities already had twice as many residents in the winter as in the summer. The practice of camping in the woods of the North during the summer months was also becoming more popular.

Americans of 1876 were, in many ways, unlike those of a century earlier. Their homes, their clothes, their food, their recreation, and their ways of life had changed as well as had their business and government. The descendants of the early English settlers had become less and less like their ancestors. The development of Ameri-

can life had been influenced by many things, especially by the frontier and by the foreign groups.

The foreign influence in 1876 was small, however, compared to its influence since that time. In the 1870's, 2,812,000 foreigners came to our shores, yet that figure was to be nearly doubled in the 1880's. Instead of coming from countries whose customs were on the whole similar to ours, they were to be quite different. Between two thirds and three fourths were to remain here and become Americans. Such vast numbers of people coming from so many parts of the world, each group with its own special contribution to offer to our America of today, were to have a tremendous influence on our older way of life.

Study Activities

1. *A Classroom Mural.* Chapter 18 describes many phases of life in the United States in 1876. Construct a classroom mural, or large wall painting, showing scenes illustrative of the chapter. Agree as a class on the general design for the mural, and then organize class committees, each of which paints one section of the mural.

2. *A Guide for the World's Fair.* Visitors to the Philadelphia World's Fair in 1876 complained that there were no handbooks or guides to tell them which exhibits were especially interesting. Read carefully the first section in Chapter 18, and any other material about the fair you can find in the library. Then have each member of the class choose one exhibit and write a paragraph describing it and telling why it is especially interesting. Combine all the paragraphs to make a

"Visitor's Guide to Interesting Exhibits at the Fair."

3. *Newspaper Ads in 1876.* During the summer of 1876, while the fair was in progress, the following advertisements appeared in American newspapers. Read them carefully and tell what they reveal about life in the United States in 1876. Write other advertisements which you think might have appeared about the same time.

"*Situations: Male.* Coachman and Groom . . . Thoroughly understands road and carriage horses; is an experienced city driver; cares for horses and turn-outs. Is strictly temperate and respectable. Highly recommended for city and country service. Address M. B. Box 321." *New York Times*,

"*New Route to Boston.* Boston and New York Air-line, 23 miles shorter than any other line, magnificent scenery. The finest and most comfortable riding cars in New England.

Express trains leave Grand Central Depot for Boston at 11 A.M. and 1 P.M." *New York Times*.

"*Vacation Resort*: Tower Hill House, Narragansett Pier, R. I. Will open on June 15. Splendid Sea Bathing. Location dry and healthy. Terms \$12 to \$17 per week. Special rates to families. Music, bowling, billiards, croquet grounds. Branch railroad connects this hotel with Boston and Stonington Line." *Boston Daily Advertiser*.

4. *Old Prints*. During the period around 1876 an American firm, Currier and Ives, published many pictures, called "lithographs," of scenes in American life. Today the old prints are valued by many collectors. Can you locate any of these prints in your home or in the library? In this book there are several reproductions of Currier and Ives' lithographs. Find some of them. If possible, examine H. T. Peters, *Currier & Ives*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1942, and write a one-paragraph description of the most interesting picture of the 1870's you find.

5. *The Pageant of America*. *The Pageant of America* is a set of books (Yale University Press) telling the story of American life in pictures. Report to the class on the pictures showing life in the 1870's which can be found under the following topics: in Vol. III, "Farming"; in Vol. IV, "Plays and the Theater"; in Vol. V, "The Factory System"; in Vol. VI, "Labor-saving Inventions"; in Vol. VIII, "Transportation and Communication"; in Vol. XII, "Music, Painting, and Cartooning"; in Vol. XIII, "Architecture"; in Vol. XV, "Sports."

6. *A Pessimistic View*. Can you explain all the references in the Centennial Poem written by James Russell Lowell? What do you think of his criticisms of American life?

"Columbia, puzzled what she should display,
Of true home-make on her Centennial Day,
Asked Brother Jonathan; he scratched his head,
Whittled away reflectively, and said,

'Show 'em your Civil Service, and explain
How all men's loss is everybody's gain;
Show your new patent to increase your rents
Paying quarters for collecting cents.
Show your new bleaching process, cheap and brief,
To wit: a jury chosen by the thief.
Show your State Legislatures; show your rings
And challenge Europe to produce such things
As high officials sitting half in sight
To share the plunder and to fix things right.'

7. *A Pictorial Map of the United States in 1876*. Draw a large, freehand map of the United States, showing the states and territories as they were in the year 1876. For help see the map on page 298. Draw pictures on the map to show the characteristics of each part of the country as they are described in the second section of Chapter 18. Locate on the map the areas in which most of the immigrant groups described in the third section settled.

8. *Immigrant Contributions*. The third section of Chapter 18 describes the English, Irish, German, Scandinavian, Asiatic, Jewish, and other groups which migrated to America during our first century of independence. Make a list of the contributions each of these groups made to American life. Make a list of the problems encountered by each group in the New World.

9. *A Living Room in 1876*. Can a group of class members construct a model of a living room in a well-to-do city home in 1876? See the description of American homes of that period on page 307 and the picture on page 295. It would be useful to examine the illustrations in the *Pageant of America* and in the volume on Currier and Ives in constructing the model room.

10. *A Menu of 1876*. Write out a menu for a Christmas dinner in a well-to-do American home of 1876. Write a paragraph describing an imaginary Christmas on a prosperous farm in 1876.

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11. *Costumes of 1876.* Can a group of girls in the class dress dolls in the styles which were popular in 1876? See the picture here of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee at work in their headquarters in Philadelphia, and other pictures showing costumes in Chapter 18.

12. *The History of Baseball.* In addition to the material on the history of baseball given in the text, consult available encyclopedias to see what they say about the game and its originator. Delegate one or two boys to give a special report on the history of the game.

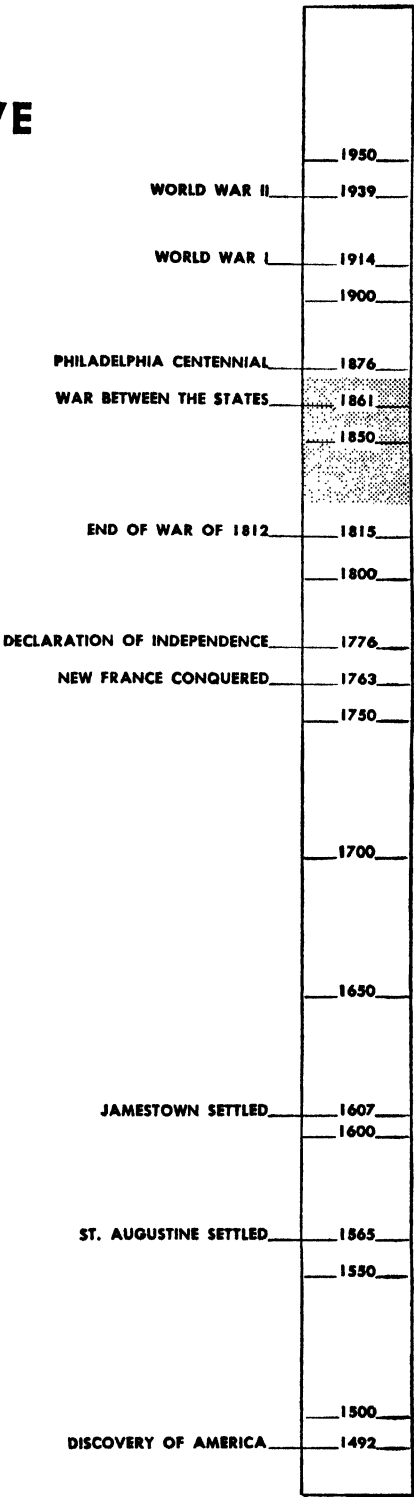


CHAPTER 19

ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE
SOCIETY

- 1869-70 IMPORTANT STEPS IN ATTEMPT TO REFORM CRIMINALS
- 1867 LOUISIANA STATE BOARD OF HEALTH
- 1866 FIRST IMPORTANT SOCIETY IN BERGH'S FIGHT AGAINST CRUELTY
- 1850 BATTLE FOR FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BEING WON
- 1848 FIRST WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION
- 1847 NEW HAMPSHIRE'S 10-HOUR DAY LAW
- 1841 DOROTHEA DIX BEGINS WORK FOR THE INSANE
- 1832 PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND
- 1826 "T-TOTALERS" TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES STARTED

"Let me live in a house by the side
of the road
And be a friend of man."
Sam Walter Foss



CARE OF THE UNFORTUNATE

The United States had become a strong and democratic nation by 1876. Its citizens were growing in numbers and in wealth. Much remained to be done, however, to make the nation a better place in which to live. The unfortunate who were poor, blind, or insane through no fault of their own needed better care. More protection against disease, cruelty, and unfair treatment was needed. Equal rights had yet to be guaranteed to all. If we are to have a clear picture of the United States on its one-hundredth birthday, it is necessary to see how far the country had improved the "general welfare" which is mentioned in the preamble to the Constitution.

Treatment of the Poor

There was little excuse for an able-bodied man to be unemployed before the rise of large factory towns. Labor was generally scarce because fertile lands continually beckoned American workers westward. If a community included people who had been unfortunate and deserved assistance, the neighbors were always ready to help. If a stranger arrived with hopes of getting support from the town he was rudely received. He was likely to be taken to the boundary of the town, possibly on a rail, and sent on his way with an empty stomach and a strong warning not to return.

Poverty became more of a problem in the cities that grew up around factories. A man was trained to tend a certain machine. If he was thrown out of work, he did not know how to

operate a different machine in another factory. Many thousands who lost their jobs in the hard times that followed the War of 1812 were placed in jail because they could not pay their debts. Families who became a burden on the public were sent to live on "poor farms." Here the deserving and undeserving, the old and the young, were all cared for together and given much the same treatment. Generally the "poor farms" were let out on contract to private individuals who were mainly interested in the money they could make running those farms. As a rule the poor were not well-housed or well-fed, and no effort was made to enable them to support themselves again. Orphans were fortunate to be bound out to private families, if they received any kindness at all.

As cities grew larger, conditions among the poor became worse instead of better. Slums, where poverty had its home, were run-down sections of the cities, where buildings were old and in bad repair. Streets were unclean; there was not enough fresh air; there were no playgrounds and very few parks. Slums were overcrowded, especially with the newer immigrants in American cities. In slums, in 1876 as now, the death rate was high, and crime found a fertile breeding ground. In 1865 about 100,000 residents of New York City lived in the slums; and 20,000 of these people lived in damp, dark, underground rooms. By 1873 one fifth of the population of Boston lived in tenement homes. Frequently an entire family lived in



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Tenements in New York City late in the nineteenth century. A few years earlier New York probably had the worst slum in the world.

one filthy room without proper heat, clothing, or food. Other cities were faced with similar problems.

Reform was needed, but it came slowly and still has a long way to go. For a long time, only kind-hearted individuals gave charity and relief to the poor. Later, philanthropic societies were organized. In 1863 Massachusetts formed a state board of charities to supervise relief. During the next five years similar bodies were created in New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. The hard times that followed the panic of 1873 made the problem of poverty more difficult than ever to solve. Thus while in 1876 the nation was pointing with pride to the great inventions shown at the World's Fair in Philadelphia, our slum areas and "poor farms" remained unpleasant sights.

The Blind, the Deaf, and the Insane

No special attention was given to people with serious physical defects



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The dinner hour at a home for the aged. Does this picture, made in 1876, look good? or poor?

until the nineteenth century was well under way. Unfortunate individuals who through no fault of their own could not care for themselves were placed in poorhouses. In New York state alone as late as 1867 there were 1842 of the insane confined with the poor. These helpless individuals were often placed in grated cells, gloomy cellars, or bare dungeons.

The blind were the first to secure much relief. Samuel Gridley Howe, son of a wealthy Boston merchant, first became interested in blindness because he was the doctor of certain blind people. It was his habit to keep some of his patients in his father's home. Finally in 1832 he secured the establishment of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, of which he became the first superintendent. The Perkins Institution provided a home for blind children and gave them special education. Howe succeeded in winning for it the support of the public; at one fair the ladies of Boston raised over \$14,000 for his work. The state began to contribute part of the money needed by the Perkins Institution to care for and educate blind children.

Massachusetts also led in the war on deafness. Alexander Graham Bell was one of many who sought to make the deaf hear. It is quite possible that if he had not been conducting a school for deaf mutes in Boston in the early seventies, neither he nor his telephone would have been at the World's Fair in 1876. It was out of his efforts to assist the deaf that his great invention was born. Massachusetts established two schools to teach deaf mutes — one in Boston, the other, the Clarke Institution, at Northampton. Other states began to establish special schools for the deaf.



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Dorothea Dix as she appeared about 1840 — an oil portrait in the New Jersey State Hospital in Trenton, one of the many hospitals she helped to found.

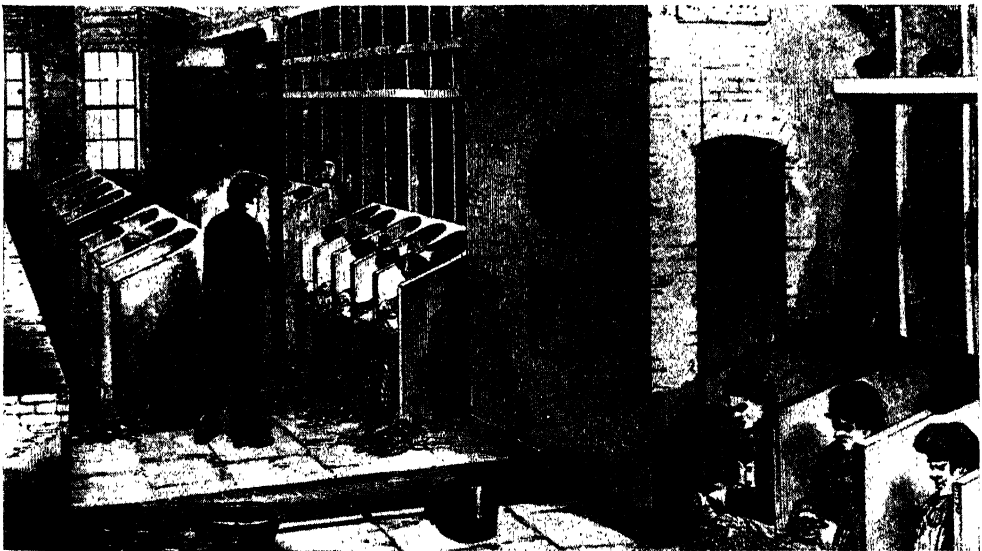
The fight for better treatment of the insane was led by Dorothea L. Dix. She was born in Maine but spent much of her life in Massachusetts. After 1841 she devoted her life to arousing public sentiment in favor of better care for the insane. In 1843 she called the attention of the legislature of Massachusetts to "the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens!" The Worcester Insane Asylum was enlarged as a result of her work. Asylums already established were reorganized and many new ones were built. Her chief weapon was public speaking, and her main battlefield was the lecture platform. In 1845 she wrote, "I have traveled more than

ten thousand miles in the last three years" visiting jails, poorhouses, hospitals, and other such places. Between 1845 and 1852 she was largely responsible for the establishment of state hospitals for the insane in several different states. Congress passed a bill providing that money from the sale of ten million acres of land would be used for the care of the insane, but it did not become law because President Pierce vetoed it. He thought that such a law was contrary to the Constitution. By 1876 the insane were not yet given proper treatment in most of our states. Miss Dix, however, continued her fight for the insane until 1882, when she was eighty. She presented the problem to the public so clearly that improvement was to be much easier thereafter; but even today the treatment of the insane varies greatly in the different states of our country. In some states the treatment of the inmates of our

asylums for the insane is very poor or severe.

Treatment of Criminals

During the first century of our independence as a nation, jails were thought of mainly as places for punishment. Seldom was any attempt made to change criminals into useful citizens. In fact the jails tended to make criminals worse instead of better. All kinds of criminals were confined together. In 1829 seventy-five thousand Americans were put into jail for debt. More than half of those unfortunate people each owed less than twenty dollars, yet they were placed in cells with thieves and murderers. Jails became "schools of crime," and those inmates whose only offense was failure to pay their bills became pupils of those who knew how to steal and kill. Then, too, the treatment received was not the kind that would make criminals better citizens. In



The Bettmann Archive

Inmates at work in a nineteenth-century prison. Do you think working in such small cubicles was likely to lead to improvement of the prisoners?

one state penitentiary in 1876 it was the practice to lock two or three men in a cell seven feet long and three and a half feet wide. In other states gangs of convicts were leased out to contractors and, like slaves, were completely at the mercy of their bosses.

After 1840 Dorothea Dix and others began telling the public about the conditions of the jails. Gradually improvements began to be put into effect. In 1867 a 500-page report to the New York state legislature showed that American prisons were far behind those of Europe. Special attention was given to the British idea of using jails to reform criminals instead of merely to punish them for past crimes.

From Great Britain, too, came the idea of sentencing criminals to indefinite terms, holding before their eyes the chance of a shorter period in jail if they had a good record. In 1869 New York decided to build the Elmira Reformatory where these ideas could be carried out. The new institution was nearing completion while our nation was celebrating its one-hundredth birthday. It received its first inmates in 1877.

Meanwhile in 1870 the National Prison Association was formed. Through this organization, the new ideas of changing criminals into useful citizens spread over the nation. Other reformatories were built similar to that at Elmira.

PROMOTING THE COMMON WELFARE

Temperance

One of the earliest efforts to improve the welfare of our people was the campaign against the use of liquor. Many Americans became very much concerned about the great amount of drunkenness that existed. Societies were formed of people who pledged themselves not to use liquor. These societies started in Boston in 1826. The people who signed the pledges were called "T-Totalers." The main strength of the temperance societies was in New York and New England, but there were such societies all over the nation. Members from twenty-one states met at a national convention in Philadelphia in 1833. Some of the most able leaders were men who had been drunkards themselves. The greatest of these lecturers was John B. Gough (gŏf). He journeyed from

city to city, year after year, persuading his listeners to sign pledges not to use liquor.

Meanwhile many reformers were becoming convinced that signing pledges was not enough. They decided that the liquor evil could never be conquered without laws to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks. Such laws were called prohibition laws. In 1851 Maine became the first state to have a law which prevented the sale of liquor. Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts promptly followed Maine's example. By 1855 every northern state legislature, except in New Jersey, had approved some kind of prohibition.

In the 1850's, however, beer was becoming popular, especially among some of the immigrant groups. During the 1860's the war led to an increase in drinking. For these reasons

the temperance movement declined. Many men tore up their pledges and states repealed their laws against the sale of liquor. By the end of the war only Massachusetts and Maine were "dry," and even Massachusetts changed its laws in 1868.

Even then a new temperance movement was under way, under the leadership of church groups. The Prohibition political party was founded in 1869, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1874 in Cleveland. Frances Willard was secretary of the W.C.T.U. until 1879, and after that its president. In 1876 her work had just begun, but while Americans were flocking to the World's Fair she was making plans to conquer drunkenness. Her name was to become as well-known in the cause of temperance as that of Dorothea Dix in the cause of the proper care of the insane.

Public Health

Health conditions became steadily worse, especially in the slums, as the factory towns and cities increased in size. Drinking water came from rivers, into which, in many cases, sewage was emptied. In our largest city garbage was allowed to accumulate in many streets until they were almost impassable. In our second largest city hogs continued to roam over many of its streets as late as 1870. Disease was certain to increase because of such conditions. Epidemics spread like wildfire. In 1873 half the people of one entire Southern city fled in a panic when yellow fever, smallpox, and cholera broke out at the same time. In 1865 the death rate in the city of New York was almost double that of London.

Meanwhile great advances were being made in medicine, as we shall see in Chapter 20. Americans were beginning to realize the need of clean streets, pure drinking water, and other safeguards to protect themselves against disease. In 1866 New York led the way in the fight to improve public health. That city closed all the foul unhealthful cellar tenements within four years. Vaccination was encouraged to prevent the spread of smallpox. Regulations were adopted to control the butchering of hogs, cattle, and other domestic animals in certain sections of the city. Louisiana and Massachusetts set up state boards of health in 1867 and 1869. Thirteen other states followed their example before 1878. In 1876, however, on the one-hundredth anniversary of our independence, our public-health problems were far from solved. Two years later yellow fever blazed a trail of death through the South and almost destroyed Memphis. There was no national organization to fight such diseases and nurse the victims until Clara Barton organized the Red Cross in 1881.

Labor

You have seen in Chapter 13 how the workers in our early factories worked for extremely long hours and for very little pay. Their opinions and desires were not considered important by some employers because the workers were generally few in number and not united. Most Americans did not approve of labor unions. In 1806 a Philadelphia judge declared that unions were against the law.

Workers did not begin to grow in strength until about the time Andrew

Jackson was elected President in 1828. In that year a Working Men's party was organized in Philadelphia. It asked three things. First, it wanted free public schools where poor children as well as rich would have the opportunity for an education. Second, it desired laws to protect workers from rascally contractors who sometimes took advantage of their ignorance or lack of experience. Third, it asked for laws to prevent people being sent to jail for failure to pay their debts.

Meanwhile labor unions were being organized. By 1836 these unions had about 300,000 members in the factory centers of the East. What these early unions wanted most was a ten-hour day. The workers won their first victory for a ten-hour day in Philadelphia in 1835 as the result of a strike. In 1847 New Hampshire became the first state to limit the factory day to ten hours.

Most workers were not so fortunate, however. Fourteen or fifteen hours of labor were often demanded of mill hands in New England in the 1850's. Drivers of horsecars in New York City worked from twelve to sixteen hours a day in the 1860's. The conditions of labor were not to be greatly improved until after the American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881 — five years after the World's Fair.

Public Education

The great battle for free public schools was led by Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard, of Connecticut. These two leaders were regarded by some Americans as dangerous radicals and dreamers. Their opponents asked, Where did the government get the right to tax "one man's property to educate an-

other man's child!" The movement to establish free, public education, however, was carried on from one state to another throughout the second quarter of the century.

By 1850 the battle for free schools was not over by any means, but victory had been largely won in the North and the old Northwest. Wisconsin's first constitution in 1848 opened the doors of her schools freely to all. Indiana followed her example in 1852, and Ohio in 1853. Well-trained teachers were needed if a good education was to be provided. Normal schools were established to train teachers to teach. The first state-supported normal school was founded at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839, due to the efforts of Mann.

Many Americans felt that a college education also should be free — serving rich and poor alike. State universities became important after the War of 1812, especially in the Middle West. The University of Michigan was established in 1817, the University of Indiana in 1820, and the University of Wisconsin in 1849. The growth of state universities was encouraged by the Morrill Act which Congress passed in 1862. This law provided that grants of land would be made to states for the support of universities which met certain standards. It was mainly intended to provide more and better instruction in agriculture and engineering. It led to the reorganization of the University of Wisconsin in 1866, to the founding of the University of Illinois in 1867, and to the birth or improvement of many other universities. Most states had public universities by 1876; the University of Colorado was founded in that year.

As we have seen in Chapter 14, the Southern plantation owner did not believe in education for Negroes in the days of slavery. Efforts were made however, to provide schools for Negroes as soon as the War between the States was over in 1865. In 1866 about 150,000 Negroes were attending school, and their number continued to grow. All the Southern states established normal schools to train Negroes to become teachers; some of them founded universities for Negroes. In 1868 the American Missionary Association established the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. By 1876 Hampton was providing teachers for Virginia schools and was proving that Negroes could become experts in farming. Booker T. Washington became a student at Hampton in 1872 with only fifty cents in his pocket. He was to become one of the greatest leaders of his race.

During the 1870's a campaign was under way to make attendance at school compulsory, especially in the North and the West. By 1880 several states and territories had taken this step. Generally these laws provided that children had to attend school from eight to fourteen years of age for from twelve to sixteen weeks each year. In 1876, however, these laws were not being enforced except in the older communities; elsewhere parents could do as they pleased about sending their children to school.

The first public high school was established in Boston in 1821. It was followed rather slowly by other public high schools in the Northeast and in the Middle West. Until 1880, however, more pupils continued to be educated in private academies that charged tuition than in high schools

that were free to students. In any case, most boys and girls living in 1876 left school before they completed the elementary grades. Those who did go on to high school lived mostly in the large cities.

Attempting to Overcome the Cruelties of War

War has long been one of the big problems facing men of all nations. It has seemed to be a needless waste of human life and property — an unnecessary cause of misery and suffering. In 1815 peace societies were formed in New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts. These were the first organizations of their kind in all the world. The movement spread to other states. In 1828 a large number of these societies banded together to make the American Peace Society. Chief credit for its formation belongs to William Ladd.

The program of this society was to abolish war. It believed in a congress of nations, definite laws dealing with the rights of nations, and a world court to make decisions in disputes among nations. At a conference of nations held at Brussels, Belgium, in 1848, other countries approved this program. For a brief period it looked as if man might be able to overcome the cruelties of battle by stopping war altogether. Wars in Europe and our own War between the States cooled such hopes, however. The peace movement declined steadily and was of little importance in 1876; in fact, it did not become strong again until the twentieth century.

Some of the suffering could be overcome, however, even if wars could not be stopped. During the War between the States, women took up nursing



The National Woman's Suffrage Association held many meetings through the years before women all over the country could vote. Here they are shown in session in Chicago in 1880.

and relieved the cruelties of the battlefield. Most famous of these women was Clara Barton. She had been frail and shy as a young girl, yet became a woman of great courage on the field of battle. She served so often near the firing line that the soldiers called her "the Angel of the Battlefield." She spent four years after the war searching for missing soldiers. Then she went to Europe for her health and became interested in the Red Cross. She returned to the United States in 1873 and started a movement to organize the Red Cross in our nation. She finally succeeded in 1881. Since that time the Red Cross has been one of our most effective agencies both in wartime and in peace. It has provided care for the victims of battle, flood, fire, accident, and disease. It was of great importance in both World War I and World War II.

Women's Rights

At the same time that efforts were being made to improve the condition of the poor and the handicapped, women were attempting to secure for themselves the rights that the Declaration of Independence said belonged to the people, or to "all men."

Before the rise of factories it was generally agreed that a woman's property should belong to her husband when she married him, and that he should have as much control over her as over the children. The whirl of factory machinery changed all that, however. A job spelled independence. No longer did a woman need to accept treatment reserved for interior beings.

The fight for equal rights for women, like other reform movements, was won state by state. In 1839 Mississippi gave married women control

of their own property. During the next ten years similar laws were passed by Texas, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York, California, and Wisconsin.

Encouraged by this success, women began to demand the right to vote. In 1847, at the age of twenty-nine, Lucy Stone became active in this movement. In 1848 the first woman's rights convention in the world was held at Seneca Falls, New York, under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Here the delegates declared "that all men and women are created equal." They demanded that men and women should receive equal treatment in law, equal privileges in education, equal opportunities in earning a living, and equality in the right to vote. The National Association for Woman Suffrage was formed in 1869, with Miss Stanton as its president. Susan B. Anthony became one of the recognized leaders in the movement for woman suffrage. She wrote: "We speak in schoolhouses, barns, sawmills, log cabins with boards for seats and lanterns hung around for lights, but people come twenty miles to hear us."

As early as 1861 Kansas allowed women to vote in school elections. Wyoming, however, then a territory and not yet a state, became in 1869 the first to allow full equality in voting. In 1872 Miss Anthony and fourteen other women succeeded in voting in Rochester, New York, but they were arrested. About two thirds of a century later, in 1937, women were to serve on a jury in the same room where women had been found guilty of voting.

Meanwhile women were winning equality in education. In 1821 Emma

Willard opened a school for girls in Troy, New York. In 1837 Mary Lyon established the first women's college in Massachusetts. Some colleges already existing began to admit women as well as men. Oberlin College led the way in 1833, Urbana University in 1850, and Antioch College in 1853. In 1858 Iowa allowed women in its state university.

Thus by 1876 women had made many gains in their struggle to obtain equality with men. As we have seen, however, they met failure as well as success. Especially discouraging to such leaders as Miss Anthony was the failure to obtain the right to vote throughout the nation. Those who led the fight for women's rights would not retreat. For every argument they had an answer. In one debate over the value of women's clubs an irritated male protested, "They make women strongminded." "At any rate," Lucy Stone answered, "that is better than being weak-minded."

Campaign against Cruelty

Henry Bergh was the son of a wealthy New York shipbuilder. So aroused was he by the brutal treatment of animals that he decided to devote his life to their protection. A tall, lanky figure with long face and intense eyes—he looked as most people expect a reformer to appear. He could be seen on the streets of New York at all hours seeking to protect animals from injury and abuse.

One of his first tasks was to prevent the overloading of horsecars. He asked some of the passengers to get off if the load was too heavy. He sometimes knocked them into the gutters if they objected and began to



Brown Brothers

Faultlessly attired Henry Bergh, friend of dumb animals, stopping an overcrowded horsecar. Do you think this picture shows that he was justified in taking such action?

cause trouble. He insisted that cattle must be transported and butchered without cruel treatment. He sought to prevent such sports as dog fights and cock fights.

In 1866 Bergh organized the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in New York. It spread at once to other states. The movement was strengthened as the result of a horse race in New England in 1868. Both horses were driven to death, causing great indignation against cruelty to animals. By 1873 Bergh's society was strong throughout the nation.

Bergh's attack on cruelty to animals served to hasten the day when cruelty to children was to be prohibited. In 1874 a little girl of nine, who had been cruelly beaten and starved by her mother, was found in a New York

tenement. The only way that could be found to obtain justice was to arrest the mother on charges of breaking the law about cruelty to animals. Jacob Riis (rīs) described what happened. It was a cold winter's day when the child was brought into the courtroom "carried in a horse blanket, at the sight of which men wept aloud. I saw it laid at the feet of the judge, who turned his face away, and in the stillness of that courtroom I heard a voice raised claiming for that child the protection men had denied it, in the name of the homeless cur on the streets." In that courtroom was born the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children — an organization which spread rapidly under the leadership of Henry Bergh and his followers. In 1876 unknown numbers of children continued to

receive unjust treatment. Americans were beginning to realize, however, that there must be an end to cruel treatment of children in both homes and factories.

Churches and Charity

The churches were greatly interested in all the efforts to help the unfortunate and improve the welfare of the people. Many of these movements would have failed without the support of the churches. The success of some of the reform movements was due to the leadership of great clergymen such as Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks. In 1876 the most important religious organization concerned with social conditions was the Young Men's Christian Association, which was brought to this country from England in the 1850's. At the time of the World's Fair it had more than 100,000 members in the United States and Canada. The Young Women's Christian Association, which was organized soon after the men's organization, was also doing fine work, especially among the girls working in stores and offices.

On the whole, however, the churches

of 1876 did not realize the part they could play in the crowded streets of cities and factory towns. They continued to influence the minds of their congregations, but did not make any great effort to improve conditions in the slums. Such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. failed to go into the city districts where the newly arrived immigrants urgently needed their assistance. The Salvation Army did not yet exist here, and settlement houses to help those in need came at a later date.

The nation was producing millionaires who wished to use their riches to better the lot of their unfortunate neighbors and to make this a better world in which to live. George Peabody won fame because of the greatness of his heart. He was a wealthy American whose gifts to charity amounted to \$8,500,000. Much of his money went to the support of schools and colleges. In 1867 he lessened the burden of reconstruction by giving \$3,500,000 at one time to help education in the South. One of England's greatest statesmen said of him, "He taught us how a man may be master of his fortune, not its slave."

CONCLUSION

Under the leadership of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson, Americans had fought for and largely won their political freedom. It was largely due, however, to the equally heroic and unselfish leadership of Horace Mann, Clara Barton, Dorothea Dix, Susan B. Anthony, George Peabody, Henry Bergh, and others like them that the blessings of American liberty were

finally given to all instead of just to the strong. They were the advance agents of a new type of freedom — freedom from fear and want. Their battles were as important as those for other kinds of freedom. By 1876 their fight had only begun, but they made possible much greater victories won since then. They set standards of democratic effort for the general welfare for all of us to follow.

Study Activities

1. *Becoming Better Acquainted with Leaders of Reform.* Your class can have a very interesting time gathering more information about leaders who worked to improve life for many. In preparation for your talks and discussions, consult encyclopedias, dictionaries of biography, and such books as the following:

R. C. Benét and S. V. Benét, *Book of Americans*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1933. Beautiful verses to read to class.

W. C. Jackson, *A Boys' Life of Booker T. Washington*, The Macmillan Company, 1922. A great leader who helped improve opportunities for his people.

Charles Morris, *Heroes of Progress in America*, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1919. Collection of biographical sketches.

Mildred M. Pace, *Clara Barton*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

Mary R. Parkman, *Heroines of Service*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1917. Outstanding women who helped in reforms.

Anna H. Shaw and E. G. Jordan, *Story of a Pioneer*, Harper & Brothers, 1915. Autobiography of pioneer in woman-suffrage movement.

Louise Hall Tharp, *A Sounding Trumpet*, Robert M. McBride & Co., 1944. Describes home of Julia Ward Howe, to which many reformers came.

2. *"Friends of Man."* The story of attempts to improve society is first of all a story of sensitive, friendly persons — individuals who were willing to struggle for the sake of the general welfare. Some people are on the list of great Americans simply because they were friends of man. Make a list of all such persons who are mentioned in Chapter 19. Let each member of the class choose one person from the list and write a brief inscription, in good literary form, such as might be carved on a public memorial to that person.

3. *Organizations.* Most of the friendly individuals mentioned in Chapter 19

helped establish societies or organizations to work for certain social improvements. Make a list of all the humanitarian organizations mentioned in the chapter. Had you been asked to contribute money to one of them, which one would you have supported? Why?

4. *A Famous Quotation.* Many years after 1876, Jane Addams, a noted humanitarian, often quoted the statement that "The private charity of one generation becomes the organized philanthropy of the next generation and the public responsibility of the third." What does the statement mean? Are there any illustrations in Chapter 19 of the truth of the statement?

5. *State and Local Leaders.* In many states and communities the reform movements described in Chapter 19 were led by outstanding local leaders. Select a committee of pupils to examine available books on the history of your state and community, and to report on the biographies of outstanding humanitarians who have worked for social improvements.

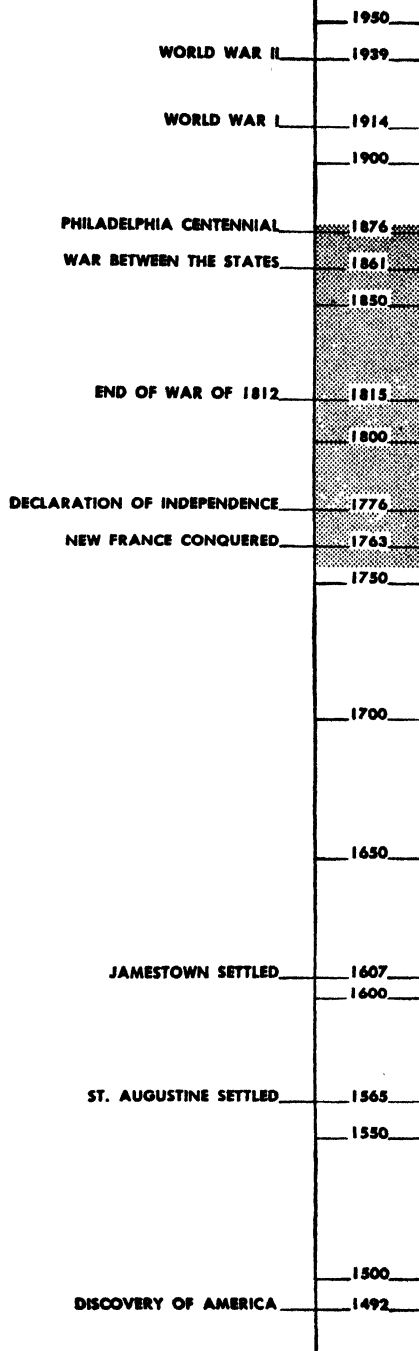
6. *State Leaders in Free Public Education.* What Horace Mann did for free public education in Massachusetts and Henry Barnard in Connecticut had to be done in every state of the Union. Appoint a committee to find out who the leaders in your state were in the fight for free public education. Consult the state histories or write to your state Department of Education for information.

7. *What Is Democracy?* In earlier pages of this book there have been accounts of "Jeffersonian democracy," "Jacksonian democracy," and "the democracy of the frontier." Are the reform movements described in Chapter 19 also a part of democracy? Try to write a definition of democracy.

CHAPTER 20

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

- 1878 GEOLOGICAL SURVEY ORGANIZED
- 1869 WESTINGHOUSE PATENTS AIRBRAKE
- 1866 FIRST SUCCESSFUL TRANSATLANTIC CABLE
- 1848 AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR
ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE
- 1847 KELLY'S DISCOVERY OF STEEL MAKING
- 1846 ROTARY PRINTING PRESS
- 1846 HOWE'S SEWING MACHINE PATENTED
- 1846 SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION ORGANIZED
- 1842 DR. LONG USES ETHER
- 1835 TELEGRAPH INVENTED
- 1831 INVENTION OF REAPER
- 1830 INVENTION OF ELECTROMAGNET
- 1824 RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE BEGUN
- 1823 FIRST CITY SEWAGE SYSTEM
- 1798 INTERCHANGEABLE PARTS
- 1773 FIRST STEAM ENGINE IN AMERICA
- 1769 AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
- 1756 FIRST STREET LIGHTS.



"Steam is no stronger now than it was a hundred years ago, but it is put to better use."

Ralph Waldo Emerson

MEN AND MACHINES

Patent Office, 1876

As 1876 dawned many Americans were trying to patent new inventions. A few of the inventors were to become famous, but the names of most of them are not widely known. Edwin G. Adams of Cohoes, New York, had made a new oil-burning stove. The oil was forced upward to the upper or fire chamber by water pressure. John A. Bower of Eureka, Kansas, had a new and improved method of loading hay. William Hagerty and John Corey of Monongahela City, Pennsylvania, had a new fire-proof safe containing chambers of water so that valuable papers would not be burned. T. Newman of New Orleans, Louisiana, had a new type of street-railway switch. James Sangster and William S. Grosvenor of Buffalo, New York, had new electrical apparatus which would regulate the steam of steam engines.

These typical American inventors had written to the Bureau of Patents in Washington, D. C., asking for patents for their inventions. They sent along drawings or models of what they had created. They declared themselves to be the actual inventors of the articles to be patented, and paid a registration fee. On January 4, 1876, the Bureau of Patents granted their requests for patents. Each inventor who was issued a patent was to be protected for a period of seventeen years. The patent meant that no one else could sell or market a duplicate of that invention during that period without permission from

the inventor who had the patent. Thus each inventor had the opportunity, for seventeen years, to take all the possible profit from his invention. This encouraged Americans to become inventors and resulted in more inventions than would have been possible without protection from the government.

On June 6, 1876, a patent was issued to Alexander Graham Bell for his telephone. On various occasions during the year patents were granted to Thomas A. Edison; some of these were for improvements of the telegraph. Patents were granted for one hundred different kinds of washing machines and thirteen types of steam radiators. In 1876 a total of 17,026 patents, including trademarks and labels, were granted.

American inventors had been protected by patent laws since 1790. In that year Samuel Hopkins of Vermont had been issued the first patent, for a new process of making pot and pearl ashes. These ashes were made by boiling and baking wood ashes. They were used in soapmaking, in glass-making, and as a fertilizer. During the remaining ten years of the 1700's, however, only 276 patents had been issued. As late as 1846 only 619 patents were granted in one year, although this seemed like a great number at that time. The work of the Bureau of Patents then began to grow in astonishing fashion. The number of patents, including trademarks and labels, increased to 2502 in 1856, to 9450 in 1866 and then to 17,026 in 1876. More inventions were being

made in the United States than anywhere else in the world.

The Steam Engine

Most of the inventions patented in 1876 were made possible by the inventions of earlier times. For example, many of the machines depended upon steam for power. Just as many of the inventions seen at the World's Fair were useless without the giant steam engine in Machinery Hall to drive them, so machines throughout the nation could not run without power that came from steam. It is not too much to say that the steam engine was one of the most important inventions of modern history.

The heating of water to the boiling point produces steam which "will do for man work he cannot do with his own hands." Steam has tremendous strength — only a little is required to make the cover of a teakettle move. We can easily make steam with strength equal to the power of many horses. The first successful attempts to use steam in place of human muscles and beasts of burden occurred in England. The steam engine made its appearance in this country at Philadelphia in 1773. Within twenty years, it was in rather general use in the larger industries along the seacoast. By 1814 it was in use in Cincinnati, and by 1819 it had advanced as far west as St. Louis. Neither the steamboat nor the locomotive would have been possible without steam. Many of our great factories could never have existed without the great power produced by steam.

Interchangeable Parts

All machines consist of a number of parts. If it were necessary to fashion,

file or hammer each part to make it fit accurately the part next to it, the labor and expense of making most machines would be very great. Few people could afford to own automobiles, and the cost of watches and sewing machines would be more than the average American could afford. The repair of machinery would also be very costly.

Eli Whitney discovered a way to save labor and money. He found that it was not necessary to fashion each part of a machine to fit the parts next to it. He applied the idea first to firearms in 1798. He made a mould of each part of a gun so that the castings of any gun were interchangeable with the same parts of any other similar guns. Parts of machinery which could be interchanged in this way were called "interchangeable parts." Whitney's idea was soon applied to many machines, and manufacturers began to make parts in great masses at full speed, taking great care to secure accurate measurements. By 1850 a watchmaker could keep a supply of factory-made watch screws, wheels, and gears, instead of having to make each item by hand. Interchangeable parts made possible most of the large factories and most of the fine inventions which we use today. But for the idea of interchangeable parts, most of the machines which the average American enjoys now would be denied to him and reserved for the rich alone.

Iron and Steel

Iron is by far the most important metal in the world. It has made possible most of our inventions and almost all of our factory machinery. It has supplied tools needed by car-



Courtesy of Bethlehem Steel Co.

A Bessemer converter in action. How important to the world, do you think, is this quick, cheap way of making steel?

penters, farmers, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, and other workers. Iron nails and screws hold our homes together, iron hinges swing our doors, welded rivets hold steel ships together, and from iron comes the steel for the building of bridges and skyscrapers and for other uses.

Until 1840 iron ore was made into iron in small forges with charcoal as fuel. That iron was never completely melted so that it could be poured into the shape desired, but was kept red hot and hammered into shape. So much charcoal was required to supply the forges that wood for making charcoal became scarce and the production of iron was limited. Then during the 1830's furnaces were invented which would burn coal and coke for making iron. The new fuel heated the iron to a higher temperature so that it became liquid and could be poured into the shape desired. Furnaces for making iron were built close

to the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh became known as the "Iron City." Three tons of iron were produced in our country in 1870 for every ton made in 1850.

In 1844, great deposits of iron ore were discovered near Lake Superior. By 1870 the Lake Superior mines were producing more than half the iron ore mined in the United States. In the Mesabi (mĕ-să'bĕ) range in Minnesota the ore was close to the surface and could be mined by steam shovels. The Mesabi mines became important in the 1890's; after that the region about Lake Superior produced most American ore and became the greatest source of ore in the entire world.

Steel is a form of iron that is much harder and tougher than other iron. It had been known and used for centuries, but was difficult and expensive to make until the middle of the nineteenth century. About 1847 an American named William Kelly made an important discovery in his iron works in Kentucky. He noticed how a draft of air affected molten iron. The air burned off most of the carbon, leaving a metal that could be beaten and pressed into various shapes without breaking. Kelly had accidentally discovered an easy and cheap method of making steel. A few years later an Englishman named Henry Bessemer made a similar discovery. Using air-blast furnaces he changed fifteen tons of ordinary iron into steel in about half an hour. Six months would have been required to make that much steel by older methods. The first steel produced in large quantities in the United States by the method discovered by Kelly and Bessemer was made in the 1860's. By 1879 our nation was making more steel than



Courtesy of the International Harvester Company

Cyrus McCormick strides behind his reaper at its first public try-out, as pictured by the famous artist N. C. Wyeth. On the road beyond, notice a covered wagon heading to the west, where improved reapers were to be a great help.

England. Steel began to take the place of iron everywhere, because it was several times stronger and only slightly more expensive.

Farm Inventions

Some inventions of farm machinery have already been discussed. Perhaps the greatest of these inventions was the reaper first made by Cyrus McCormick, a Virginia blacksmith, in 1831. These earlier inventions were continually being improved. Some of the newer farm machinery was demonstrated at the International Exposition in Paris in 1855. A French reaper cut an acre of oats in seventy-one minutes, an English machine in sixty-six minutes, and an American machine in twenty-two minutes. There was a similar contest among threshing machines. The American machine threshed nearly as much

wheat as its three competitors combined. By 1860 it was estimated that new farm machinery had cut the expenses of farming in half. By 1880 over ten thousand patents had been granted inventors for machines connected with the cultivation, harvesting, and handling of grain. In that year four fifths of all the grain grown in the United States was cut by machine.

Travel and Communication

Travel by early steamboats and trains was neither safe nor pleasant. Wood was generally used for fuel, resulting in showers of sparks which fell on passengers as well as on wooden decks and cars. The steam boilers were made of inferior metal and frequently burst. Sometimes a rail was torn loose from the roadbed, suddenly shooting up through the floor of a

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wooden railroad coach. Once under motion a train sometimes was difficult to halt, for there were at first no good brakes.

Improvements were made gradually. Coal replaced wood as fuel; boilers were made stronger; and travel in general became safer and more pleasant. One of the greatest of all railroad improvements was the airbrake. After a bad wreck near Schenectady, New York, George Westinghouse began working on an airbrake. His invention included a steam-driven pump on the locomotive to compress air to a pressure of about seventy pounds per square inch. An engineer could stop a train by turning a valve which controlled the pressure of air on the brakes. The airbrake was first tested near Pittsburgh in 1868. The engineer turned on the new brakes too abruptly, so that the passengers were hurled to the floor. Other demonstrations were made and orders for the new brakes began to come in. Westinghouse secured his first patent in 1869 and improved his invention in 1872. By 1876, the year of the World's Fair, two fifths of all the locomotives and passenger cars of the nation were equipped with airbrakes. Westinghouse was one of our greatest inventors.

The first great improvement in communication was the invention of the telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse. The first instrument was made in 1835 or 1836. Morse was so poor that he had to make it out of the wheels of an old clock, bits of wire, and an old picture frame. He did not have the money to build several miles of telegraph lines to test out his invention. He tried to persuade Congress

to provide money but was unable to do so until 1843. Finally in 1844 a line was completed between Baltimore and Washington. In Washington, Morse clicked off the words, "What hath God wrought!" and his partner in Baltimore flashed the message back to Morse. The use of the telegraph spread rapidly. By 1850 it carried news all over the nation except the Far West. By 1862 a telegraph line reached the Pacific Coast.

The telegraph led to other inventions such as the cable, which consisted of wires wrapped in rubber and laid on the bottom of the ocean. Cyrus W. Field decided to attempt to lay a cable clear across the Atlantic to Europe. Like Morse, he did not succeed for many years. Several attempts were made to lay a cable but accidents would happen and the wires would break. Finally in 1866, after twelve years of failure, Field laid the first successful Atlantic cable. Men could communicate with each other by telegraph across the Atlantic Ocean.

The telegraph also helped in the invention of the telephone by Bell, who had been working on an instrument to help the deaf. The first words heard clearly by telephone were uttered by Bell to his assistant on March 10, 1876. They were, "Mr. Watson, come here; I want you." Three and a half months later the telephone became a source of wonder at the World's Fair, as we have seen (in Chapter 18).

The Rotary Press

To print a newspaper by hand was hard work; the most a man could do was to turn out about four hundred pages an hour. In 1846, however,



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

To Cyrus Field, for his perseverance and courage in the face of countless difficulties, should go the major credit for the successful completion of the Atlantic cable in 1866.

Richard Hoe completed a new kind of printing press. Instead of laying a page of type down flat he put his type on a circular drum which resembled a small barrel. Instead of moving type back and forth for each page, fresh sheets of paper would be shoved under the drum as it was turned around and around. Hoe's invention was called the rotary press. With its use, many thousand pages could be printed in an hour. This meant that news could be received by the public more quickly. It also meant that daily papers could be sold for one cent a copy instead of six; and nearly every American could afford to buy them. By 1870 there were nearly six hundred daily papers in the United States with about 2,500,000 customers. By 1876 almost every American who could read could know

what was going on in the world in which he lived.

Inventions of Convenience

In 1874 Mark Twain was experimenting with a typewriter which he had just purchased. "I believe it will print faster than I can write," he declared. "One may lean back in his chair and work it. It piles an awful stack of words on one page. It don't muss things or scatter ink blots around. Of course it saves paper." The first successful typewriter was invented in the 1860's by Christopher Sholes, a Wisconsin printer. The Remington Company was organized soon after, selling four hundred machines in 1874. In 1876 most business letters were still written laboriously by hand; but typewriters became a great help to business, and

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later provided employment for thousands of women.

The invention of refrigerated cars meant that Americans everywhere could enjoy fresh meat, even in the crowded cities of the East. It did away with many local slaughterhouses. In the fall of 1875 two carloads of refrigerated meats were sent from Kansas City packing houses to New York, and one to Boston. The meat arrived in excellent condition. New artificial ice also helped to preserve food in homes, especially in the South. By 1876 residents of Southern cities, such as New Orleans, were enjoying better food as a result. American millers discovered new ways of making flour, and copied methods used in Hungary. The flour made after 1874 "made better bread than Americans had ever before eaten," and much of it attracted buyers by its snowy whiteness.

New wooden tank cars were invented to carry oil from the oil fields of Pennsylvania to all parts of the nation served by railroads. So much oil was transported that many New England whale fishermen gave up their trade and set out for the Pennsylvania oil fields.

During the War between the States, Gordon McKay had supplied the Northern army with shoes made by machine. A single worker could turn out three hundred pairs of shoes in one day. A single factory in Massachusetts was soon producing as many shoes as thirty thousand Paris shoemakers. The new machine-made shoes were cheaper and more attractive than those that had been made earlier by hand. The sewing machine had a similar effect on clothes. Elias Howe patented the first successful machine in 1846, and by 1876 it was

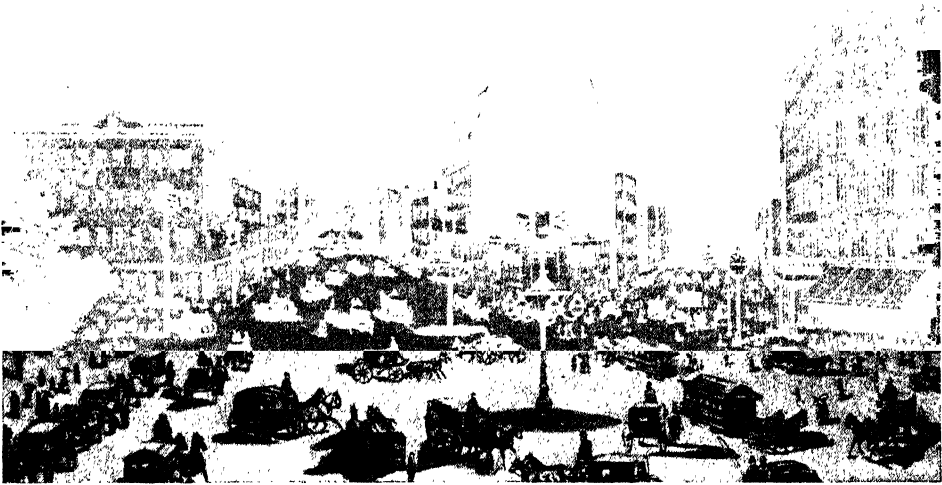
in common use both in homes and in factories.

Improvements in Cities

Most community planning is of recent origin. Few efforts were made before 1876 to plan the development of communities so as best to serve the needs of their citizens. To a certain extent New England towns were planned, but these plans were limited to the village common and a few near-by roads. William Penn made plans for Philadelphia, but his main purpose was to sell real estate. The best example of community planning in our early history was our national capital city, Washington. Most cities just grew in a haphazard manner. In New York in 1870 "the most desirable parts of the island . . . were largely given up to pigs, ducks, shanty squatters, and filth, while lower Broadway was so jammed that a man in a hurry almost lost his mind."

The installation of street lights was among the first city improvements; they were installed in Philadelphia in 1756. Without lights, travel at night was unsafe because of thieves and uneven pavements. The use of street lights, however, did not become general during the eighteenth century. Gas was not used for outdoor lighting purposes until 1816. By 1830, however, most of the large cities used gas lights and by 1875 gas was in general use wherever a town was large enough to make the operation of a gas plant profitable.

Cities also needed pure drinking water. Philadelphia was the first large city to supply its citizens with good water carried through iron pipes from outside reservoirs, instead of depending on wells and cisterns.

*Culver Service*

Lower Fifth Avenue in New York City was a brilliantly lighted thoroughfare at the time of the Fair of 1876. How many kinds of horse-drawn vehicles can you see in the picture?

Other cities followed Philadelphia's example. In 1866 Chicago built a two-mile tunnel under Lake Michigan to obtain pure water. The first city sewage system was installed by Boston in 1823; others were installed by 1850, correcting some of the unhealthful conditions mentioned in Chapter 19. City streets were wretchedly paved as late as the 1870's, the pavements commonly consisting of cobblestones, stone blocks, wooden blocks, and broken stones. Asphalt had been used extensively in Paris since 1854, but was regarded as too expensive in the United States. Concrete also was just coming into use for pavements and sidewalks in the 1870's. The best-paved city in the nation at the time of the World's Fair was Washington, with roads made of five million dollars' worth of chemically treated wooden blocks.

The cities of the 1870's depended mainly on horses to meet their transportation needs. The slow-moving

coaches, cabs, and horsecars crowded the main streets of the larger cities. This congestion became so serious in New York that an elevated railroad was built (1867-1870), providing much faster travel than was possible in the streets below.

City fire companies were organized, with regular firemen taking the place of volunteers. Newer and better fire-fighting equipment was purchased as pumpers operated by steam replaced those which were worked by hand. A series of disastrous fires, especially the great Chicago fire of 1871, led to regulations governing the construction of buildings in cities. Meanwhile fire-resistant materials such as concrete, steel, plate glass, and asbestos were coming into use in building construction, partially replacing wood. Police departments were established at about the same time. Several cities reserved space for parks. Central Park in New York was laid out in the 1850's, and Chicago was soon making

plans for parks even beyond the city limits. Various cities were also becoming interested in museums, libraries, and beautiful public buildings (Chapter 21).

By 1876 most American cities enjoyed the improvements mentioned, but our inventors and scientists would soon make some of them appear hopelessly old-fashioned.

THE SCIENTISTS BEHIND INVENTIONS

Individual Scientists

In colonial times Benjamin Franklin was anxious to find out whether electricity and lightning were the same. As an experiment he built a kite of cedar strips covered with a large thin silk handkerchief. He attached a long iron wire to the kite and tied an iron door key to the cord. One day when a thunderstorm approached, Franklin carried the kite out of doors and flew it. He took along his small son and made it appear that the child was taking part in the sport because he feared the ridicule of his neighbors. At first Franklin was disappointed. Finally, however, some electricity ran down the cord and out at the key. The experiment was a success; — electricity and lightning were the same. It was a dangerous experiment, however; — Franklin might have been struck by the lightning. The success of the kite-flying experiment led Franklin to invent the lightning rod to protect buildings from lightning. He also made other experiments in electricity. In 1751 he put the results of his studies into a book. Then other men who lived after him, both in America and in Europe, continued to experiment.

A century later Joseph Henry was a leader in the development of electricity. He intended to become an actor but changed his mind after

reading a book on science. In 1830 he invented the electromagnet which made most other electrical inventions possible. An electromagnet consists of an iron bar, with insulated wire wound around it and electricity passing through the wire. By using his electromagnet, Henry was able to ring a bell at the end of a mile-long wire. By using electromagnets Morse was able to invent his telegraph, and Bell was able to create the telephone. In 1831 Henry also invented an electric engine, or motor. He was the most important authority on electricity in our country in the years between Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Edison. Edison was only beginning his great experiments at the time of the World's Fair in 1876.

Matthew Maury of Virginia lived at about the same time as Joseph Henry. He was called "the pathfinder of the seas." He was able to tell sea captains the safest routes to travel because of his study of winds and ocean currents. He also learned much about the depth of oceans. His knowledge of the ocean made Field's cable possible. There was a growing number of scientists who, like Franklin, Henry, and Maury, made inventions by others possible.

Scientific Organizations

Various societies have been formed to study science and encourage exper-

iments. One of the first was the American Philosophical Society which Franklin organized in 1769. Its purpose was to encourage experiments "that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life." Almost all the leading scientists of the colonies, and many European scientists as well, belonged to this society. A library was begun consisting of information from the world of science. Men gathered to discuss the latest discoveries, and local societies and museums were encouraged.

James Smithson was an English scientist. He never visited the United States and never had close friends in our country. For some unknown reason, however, he willed his fortune of half a million dollars to found the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C. The gift was accepted by our government and the institution was organized in 1846 with Joseph Henry as its first secretary. Henry declared that the purpose of the Smithsonian Institution was "to assist men of science in making original researches, to publish them in a series of volumes, and to give a copy of them to every first-class library on the face

of the earth." It supplied apparatus, provided money for experiments, and furnished information to many thousands of persons. Various Americans gave money to assist the Smithsonian Institution, and our government voted funds as the services of the organization grew. The Institution has devoted considerable attention to studies of the weather and of the American Indian. It has charge of our National Museum, our National Zoological Park, and our National Gallery of Art. James Smithson died in Italy in 1829, but his bones were brought to the United States in 1904, and buried on the grounds of the Institution which he had made possible.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1848. Meanwhile Americans established colleges and universities that were mainly devoted to science. In 1824 Stephen Van Rensselaer (rĕn'-sĕ-lĕr) founded at Troy, New York, a school of science which was to become Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. By 1876 other colleges of this type existed, and most of our universities and colleges included courses in the sciences in their programs. They did much to equip our inventors and engineers with a greater knowledge of science.

THE SEARCH FOR SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Seekers after Facts

There were many instances when man's search for knowledge did not lead mainly to invention. Many scientists were chiefly concerned with explaining the mysteries of the world in which they lived. One of the earliest and best-known seekers after facts

was a great New England clergyman, Cotton Mather (1663-1728). He collected together a vast quantity of information, but he added to ignorance as well as truth because he believed in such superstitions as witches. He was interested in inoculation for smallpox, and he used his great influence to permit the first surgical operation in

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Boston. He was the first American to be elected a member of the Royal Society of London.

Thomas Jefferson was eager to collect scientific facts. As you already know, he sent Lewis and Clark to explore the Louisiana Territory in 1804. He directed them to make a study of plants and animals as well as to find routes to the Pacific. On their return, Lewis and Clark brought back an important report of what they had observed. Jefferson was especially interested in their discoveries of bones thought to be the remains of peculiar animals that lived millions of years ago. He would often inquire about the "big bones" found at the salt licks of Kentucky, when he talked with Kentucky settlers.

Benjamin Silliman of Yale (1779–1864) was one of our great teachers of science. He was famous for his lectures on geology, or the study of the earth. He also founded, in 1818, *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, which was widely read and which had a great influence on scientists everywhere.

Louis Agassiz (äg'â-sè) (1807–1873) was important in geology and in zoology, which is the study of animals. He was born in Switzerland but came to the United States in 1846. At the age of forty he was a professor at Harvard. He visited all parts of the United States and went to other continents collecting animals. He made a thorough study of the soil around Lake Superior. He was able as a result to tell us much about the action of glaciers, those huge sheets of ice which once covered much of our continent.

A geologist who mapped the features of the Far West was Clarence

King (1842–1901). He published a study of the ore deposits which he had discovered in large quantities. These findings were important in the development of that section of our nation. He also was able to prevent a huge diamond swindle. In 1872 some swindlers placed some rough diamonds in Arizona. Then the discovery of diamonds was announced and the swindlers prepared to sell land to customers at great profits. King investigated the rumors of diamonds and found that the reports were untrue. He exposed the swindle and prevented many Americans from losing their savings to crooks. King was anxious to have the government organize a special bureau to have charge of the geological survey, as the scientific study of the earth is known. He was successful in 1878 and became the first head of the United States Geological Survey.

John James Audubon (aw'dōō-bŏn) (1785–1851) was another of our foremost pioneers of science. He was at first a businessman, but lost his money. For some years he earned a living by drawing portraits of people and by giving lessons in drawing, fencing, and dancing. He also liked to draw birds and began to roam through the forests and swamps east of the Mississippi River seeking new birds to draw. He finally published more than four hundred colored drawings. Each of these drawings was about three by two and a half feet in size. He painted in all more than one thousand figures of birds, natural size. His pictures are still widely sold today.

Another famous pioneer of science was Asa Gray (1810–1888). He was a Harvard professor who became our

greatest authority concerning plants and flowers. He collected new plants wherever they could be found and did much to arouse a love of flowers among Americans. On one of his western trips he rushed off his train searching for flowers whenever the engine stopped. Soon many of the other passengers began to follow his example. Finally the conductor of the train was driven to despair at the quick scattering of his passengers at every stop. They were more interested in finding flowers than in reaching their destination.

Henry and Maury, already mentioned for other work (page 336) became also our first scientific weather experts. Henry was able to draw weather maps which were very helpful to men whose lives or prosperity might be menaced by storms or other bad weather. And by 1876 there were many other American scientists busily engaged searching for greater knowledge of the world in which we live.

Advances in Medicine

Meanwhile great changes had taken place in medicine. In colonial days, salt herrings were sometimes placed on the soles of a patient's feet to cure fever. The sick were given queer combinations of herbs and barks, sometimes flavored with worms, lice, and even snakes. Such medicines were not entirely worthless, for snakeskins contained a drug we call adrenalin, but most of us would prefer our medicine in some other form. Bleeding was considered the proper cure for many ailments; George Washington was one of the many men whose deaths were hastened instead of being prevented by this attempted cure. Sur-

gery was attempted only as a last resort. Operations were very painful, infection and blood poisoning were likely to result from wounds, and many surgeons were only barbers without any special training in surgery.

The first great advance in medicine came in the 1840's with the use of anesthetics which put patients to sleep so that they would feel no pain during operations. In 1842 Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia used ether to perform a very difficult operation which would have been impossible without some kind of anesthetic. Two years later, in 1844, Dr. Horace Wells of Connecticut used nitrous oxide gas when pulling teeth. It was Dr. W. T. G. Morton, a Boston dentist, however, who was so successful with the use of ether that doctors in general were convinced of the value of anesthetics. In 1846, as a result, a successful operation was performed with ether in the Massachusetts General Hospital. In 1847 chloroform came into use, following a demonstration by Sir James Simpson of Scotland. No longer was it necessary to keep a patient quiet by main force or by being bound to the table by straps. No longer was a surgeon required to operate upon a patient who was wriggling. Doctors were slow, however, in learning the secret of preventing infections in wounds. During the War between the States, thirty thousand soldiers in the Northern army had arms or legs cut off because of lack of knowledge about infections.

Most American doctors of 1876 had seldom had more than a poor high school education before taking medical courses. Even in medical school they had not been required to show

their ability in order to obtain diplomas. Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, led the fight against ignorance in the medical profession. He proved that several shocking deaths in a near-by community had been due to the ignorance of a doctor who had been graduated from medical school only recently. He advocated thorough training for all students who wished to be doctors and surgeons. He tested their ability with severe written examinations. Gradually the

requirements for getting a license to practice medicine were raised.

On our nation's one-hundredth anniversary there had been important accomplishments not only in medicine but in all forms of science and in invention. These achievements, however, were only beginnings. What has been accomplished in science since that time would have seemed utterly impossible to the America of 1876.

Study Activities

1. Great Inventions. Make a list of all the inventions which are mentioned in Chapter 20. Have each member of the class prepare a special report on the history and the importance of one of the inventions. Consult the encyclopedias and other available books for information to add to that given in the text. The following are useful books:

Frank P. Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*, American Book Company, 1946.

Francis E. Benz, *Talking Round the Earth*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942.

C. J. Hylander, *American Inventors*, The Macmillan Company, 1934.

Waldemar B. Kaempffert, *Popular History of American Invention*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.

Franklin M. Reck, *Romance of American Transportation*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1938.

Wilson, Wilson, and Erb, *Living in the Age of Machines*, American Book Company, 1940.

2. The Patent Office. In the second paragraph in Chapter 20 it is suggested that the Patent Office has "encouraged Americans to become inventors." Do you think this is true? What is the evidence? Select a small committee of class members to prepare a special report on the Patent Office. The committee should

consult the encyclopedias and other available books, and perhaps write directly to the Patent Office for information. For its report to the class the committee should prepare (1) an exhibition of pictures of outstanding or unusual inventions which have been patented, and (2) a chart showing in bar-graph form the number of inventions patented in 1846, 1856, 1866, and 1876. Figures for these years are given in the text on page 328.

3. Interchangeable Parts. Explain in your own words the idea of "interchangeable parts" in the manufacture of goods. Illustrate the principle by describing how it works in the manufacture of pencils, fountain pens, desks, and other objects in the classroom.

4. Iron Ore and Steel. Have a committee of class members construct a pictorial map of the United States showing the location of the major sources of iron ore, the location of major steel mills, and the route the ore travels to the mills. As a border around the map make drawings of objects in common use today which would be unknown if we had no iron or steel.

5. *Steel Making.* Can a pupil in class who is especially interested in science explain to the class the modern process of making steel? Tell of the Bessemer-Kelly process and its importance.

6. *A Picture Collection.* Make a collection of pictures of locomotives and trains used in the United States before 1876. Each picture should be mounted on a card-board and given a descriptive title. With all the best pictures collected by class members arrange an exhibit showing the development of railroad travel during the first fifty years of railroads in the United States. For the exhibit have one member of the class construct a graph-chart showing railroad mileage during the years before 1876.

7. *Effects of an Invention.* On page 333 is an account of the invention of the rotary press, in which it is suggested that the rotary press reduced the cost of newspapers and increased the news-reading of the American public. Make a list of all the changes in journalism to which the rotary press contributed. Did it affect the size of newspapers? The number of papers? The kind of work done in the press? The advertising? The appearance of the papers? The kinds of stories printed? The reading habits of the public? Have each member of the class select one invention mentioned in Chapter 20 and make a list of all the changes in American life the invention produced.

8. *An Explanation.* It is often said, "One invention leads to another." Write a short paragraph explaining what the statement means and why it is true. Give an illustration of the truth of the statement.

9. *Improvements in Your Community.* On pages 334-336 is an account of some of

the improvements in community life brought about by invention and science. Delegate committees of the class to find out when and how your own community has (a) established an electric-lighting or gas-lighting system, (b) improved its streets and means of local transportation, (c) provided for a sanitary water supply and a system of garbage disposal, and (d) established police and fire-fighting systems. Construct a time line showing important date-events in the improvement of your community's life.

10. *Great Scientists.* After making a list of all the scientists mentioned in Chapter 20, consult your science teacher and with his help make a list of the ten greatest scientists of the United States before 1876. Be able to explain why each person selected deserves a place on the list of ten.

11. *The Smithsonian Institution.* If any members of the class have visited the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, ask them to describe the Institution and some of its exhibits. Or invite to the class some member of the faculty or some resident of the community who has visited "the Smithsonian" and can tell something about it.

12. *A Report on Ether.* Have a member of the class consult available encyclopedias about *ether* and *anesthetics* and report to the class any information he can find to supplement that given in the textbook.

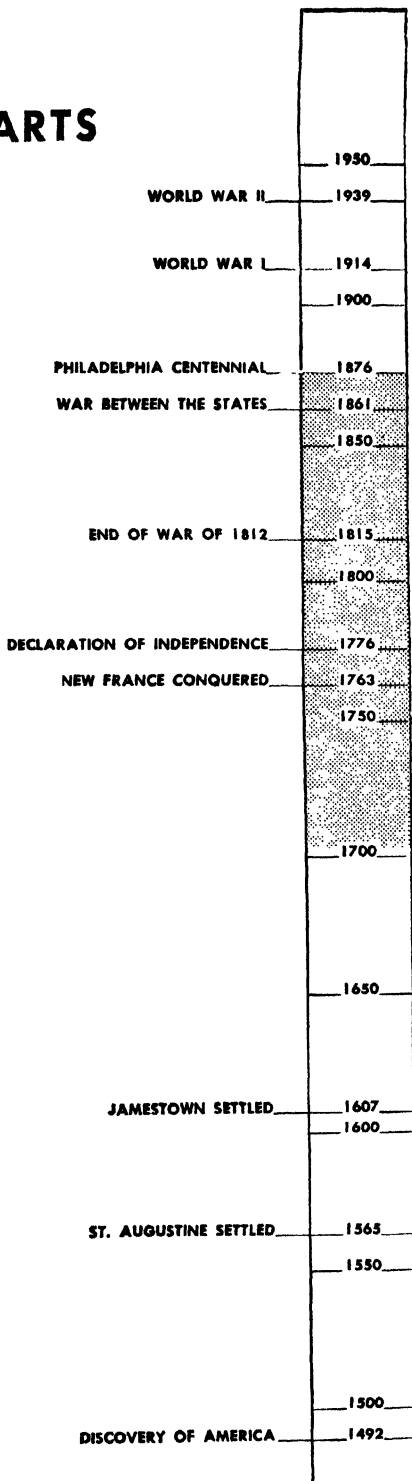
13. *Some Definitions.* Make a list of the words used in Chapter 20 which might be called "technical words" in science or invention. Start your list with the words *science* and *invention* themselves. Write a short, exact definition of each term on the list.

CHAPTER 21

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

- 1876 "THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER"
- 1874 CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT BEGINS
- 1869 NEW ENGLAND CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC ORGANIZED
- 1850 "HARPER'S MAGAZINE" ESTABLISHED
- 1839 DAGUERREOTYPE INVENTED
- 1832 BOSTON ACADEMY OF MUSIC FOUNDED
- 1826 LYCEUM MOVEMENT BEGINS
- 1784 FIRST DAILY NEWSPAPER
- 1704 FIRST NEWSPAPER IN THE COLONIES

"All the arts are brothers;
each one is a light to the others."
Voltaire



THE MIRACLE OF THE WRITTEN WORD

Meeting Some of Our Authors

In 1876, Mark Twain was America's most popular author. He was well-known ever since his first funny story, about the "Jumping Frog," had appeared in a New York newspaper several years before. The champion jumper was a frog named "Dan'l." He outjumped all other frogs with ease until one fateful day when a strange man appeared. The stranger ridiculed Dan'l's ability to jump, and claimed that other frogs could jump even farther. A match was arranged and bets were placed. But Dan'l was not to have a fair opportunity to defend his championship: the stranger poured shot down Dan'l's throat, filling the frog's stomach full of lead. Poor Dan'l could not jump that day, no matter how his master coaxed and pleaded. Mark Twain had also written *The Innocents Abroad*, a humorous tale of travel in other lands. Americans of the 1870's chuckled at the idea of one traveler asking his European guide: "Is Columbus dead?"

In December, 1876, Mr. America found a brand new book by Mark Twain among his Christmas gifts. Its title was *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, and it was different in some ways from the other books Twain had written. It was mainly a story of a boy who lived on the banks of the Mississippi River. Some of the experiences told were actually from the boyhood of the author himself, when as young Samuel Clemens he was growing to manhood in Hannibal, Missouri. There was

plenty of humor in the new book, surrounding such commonplace incidents as whitewashing a fence. There were many exciting adventures, however, as well as much humor. When the book was ended, the reader felt



One of the pictures in the first illustrated edition of "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer."

regret at leaving so lovable a character as Tom Sawyer; but other books by Mark Twain were to appear, one after another, for many years.

Among recent additions to Mr. America's library in 1876 there were also some short stories by Bret Harte (härt). He had gone to California in

time to see the mining camps of the Pacific coast grow into cities. There he had become a teacher, a miner, a printer, a drug clerk, an express manager, but also an author. He wrote of the people of the mines and frontier settlements in a new magazine, the *Overland Monthly*, which he began to edit in 1848. Perhaps the most famous of these stories were "The Luck of Roaring Camp," and "Outcasts of Poker Flat." His characters were mainly gamblers, miners, and reckless adventurers.

John Oakhurst was a gambler in the story "Outcasts of Poker Flat." It tells of his walking down a street and noticing two or three men who were conversing earnestly together. They stopped talking as he approached, and exchanged significant glances. "There was a Sabbath lull in the air, which, in a settlement unused to Sabbath influences, looked ominous. Mr. Oakhurst's calm, handsome face, betrayed little concern. . . . 'I reckon they're after somebody,' he reflected; 'likely it's me!'" Oakhurst's guess was correct. The gambler had several interesting experiences before he was found, at the end of the story, under the snow with a bullet in his heart.

In 1876 Walt Whitman was a well-known poet. He had been born on Long Island in the dim, distant year 1819. He had known the great New England poets, especially Emerson. The style of poetry which Whitman wrote, however, was something new. His *Leaves of Grass* was written in 1855, but in the year of the World's Fair there were differences of opinion whether his poetry was fit for people to read. It might be said that Whitman lived ahead of his time. Many

of the poets coming after 1876 were to follow in his footsteps. In our own day we appreciate what he wrote much more than Americans did who lived at the time of the World's Fair in Philadelphia. Of all the poems that Whitman wrote, the best-known was his poem on Lincoln, —

"O Captain! my Captain! Our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won."

Many of the volumes found in the libraries of the centennial year had been written by New Englanders. In a Massachusetts library might be found something written by Cotton Mather, the great clergyman who lived in early colonial days. Mather wrote more than four hundred books and pamphlets. He addressed himself to whales and codfish on one occasion, —

"Ye monsters of the bubbling deep,
Your Maker's praises spout.
Up from the sands ye codlings peep,
And wag your tails about."

Several New England authors made their section of the nation famous for its literature in the first half of the nineteenth century. One such author was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who wrote many famous poems. In one poem he wrote:

"Listen, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

In another poem by Longfellow is found the story of Miles Standish's courtship, and Priscilla's startling answer to John Alden after he proposed to her in behalf of his friend Standish. In yet another poem,

"Under a spreading chestnut tree
The village smithy stands."



Readers who bought Washington Irving's works in 1848 were delighted to find this sketch of the puzzled Rip talking to his neighbors after his long sleep.

In another volume of poetry, Oliver Wendell Holmes is seeking to keep the tattered ensign floating on *Old Ironsides*. In yet another book is to be found Emerson's poem in honor of Concord, for

"Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the
world."

Another volume might include "The First Snow-Fall," written by James Russell Lowell.

Several well-known books had been written by New Yorkers. These included James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. This is a story of the American wilderness at the time of the French and Indian War. Some

of the main characters are Indians, and there are thrilling accounts of Indian warfare. Another well-known New York writer was Washington Irving. His books told the experiences of Rip Van Winkle, the world's champion sleeper, and Ichabod Crane, who was scared out of his wits by a headless horseman. William Cullen Bryant spent much of his life in New York, but he wrote his well-known poem "To a Waterfowl," while yet living in Massachusetts. He was inspired to write this poem by a black duck which flew across a vivid sunset on a December afternoon. It seemed as solitary and homeless as himself.

William G. Simms of Charleston, South Carolina, was the greatest

novelist of the South. In all, he wrote nearly a hundred books. His novels were similar to James Fenimore Cooper's in some ways, but his scenes and characters were Southern rather than those of New York wilderness.

Edgar Allan Poe was another of our best-known writers, producing many literary treasures before he died in 1849. He wrote many excellent stories such as the fearful "Black Cat" and that amazing puzzle "The Gold Bug." He also wrote some fine poetry. If people find themselves keeping time

"To the tintinnabulation that so musically wells

From the bells, bells, bells. . . ."

they are doubtless Poe's "Bells."

Magazines and Newspapers

Many magazines were being published in 1876. The leading monthly publications devoted to literature were *Harper's Magazine*, established in 1850, the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1857, and *Scribner's Magazine*, in 1870. A weekly publication of literary importance was *The Nation*, established in 1865. These magazines helped to support authors by the money paid to them for their writing. The magazines also provided readers with the best literary articles and poems at very little cost.

Some magazines were not mainly important as literature, but influenced readers greatly in various ways. The most interesting of these publications was *Godey's Lady's Book*, published from 1830 to 1898. It greatly influenced what Americans thought and how they dressed. "The stories and poems were read and reread and

cried over, the fashions were studied and copied, the engravings were cut out and framed," and the editor's advice was considered final. The well-known poem "Mary Had a Little Lamb" was a sample of the literature it contained.

New types of magazines were beginning to appear about 1876. In 1872 *Popular Science Monthly* was created to explain the new ideas of science. In 1873 *St. Nicholas* was established for children. In 1877 a humorous weekly, named *Puck*, was to make its appearance. In 1882 *Outing* was to be published for sports lovers, and in 1883 the *Ladies' Home Journal* was to be founded for women. The new magazines gave Mr. and Mrs. America and their children a new outlook on life.

The earliest printed newspaper in the colonies was the *Boston News Letter*, first printed in 1704. The papers printed in colonial times consisted of only four small pages. They contained but little news and were very uninteresting as compared with modern newspapers. They were printed weekly and had few readers. Their number increased to about 40, however, at the close of the Revolution, and to about 350 by 1810. Meanwhile daily newspapers were becoming popular. The first daily was the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* printed in 1784 in Philadelphia. By 1809 there were nearly 30 dailies in the country; by 1860 there were nearly 400. This rapid development in newspapers was due to the spread of education, to improvements in the manufacture of paper, to better methods of printing, to decreased prices, and to improvements in both communication and transportation.

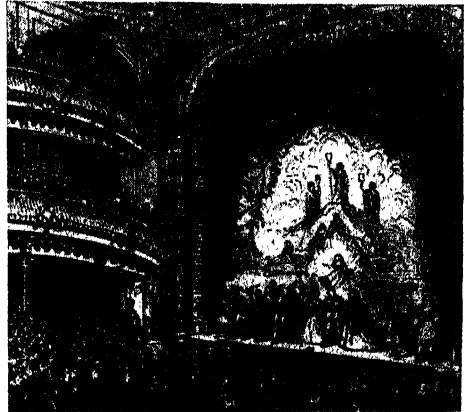
ON PLATFORM AND STAGE

Public Lectures

In 1874 Bishop John H. Vincent established a sort of camp meeting at Chautauqua, New York, for the training of Sunday-school teachers. Five or six hundred people attended the two weeks' session, most of them living in tents. The auditorium consisted of rows upon rows of benches placed among the trees around a platform. Old-fashioned pine fires, with their unsteady, flickering flames, provided light for the evening meetings. The first evening program was rounded off with a display of fireworks, and with music from a boat offshore on Chautauqua Lake. This camp meeting for Sunday-school teachers soon developed into a great educational activity known as the Chautauque Movement. Its purpose was education for everybody. Dr. Vincent said: "A college is possible in everyday life if one chooses to use it; a college in house, shop, street, farm, market, for rich and poor . . . a college which trains men and women everywhere to read and think and talk and do." In 1876, at the time of the World's Fair, it was taking the place of the Lyceum Movement.

The Lyceum Movement had been in existence for half a century. It was started in 1826 in Millbury, Massachusetts, by Josiah Holbrook. Its main activity consisted of lecture courses which were conducted in all parts of the nation, including the frontier. Emerson the author, Greeley the editor, and Agassiz the scientist were all favorites with lyceum audiences. Gough, the great temper-

ance orator, received \$40,000 for his appearances on lyceum platforms in the one year 1871-1872. Thomas Nast, the great cartoonist, made a similar sum two years later within a period of seven months. Fees received for lectures made it possible for



The Belmann Archive

Interior of Brougham's Lyceum, New York, 1863. In its early days the Lyceum was purely educational, but later it also gave entertainments.

authors, scientists, and artists to continue at their work. The Lyceum Movement led to the establishment of libraries and museums in various cities. It also encouraged free public schools, favored introducing new courses and better equipment in schools, and had much to do with improving the education of girls and women.

The Chautauqua Movement resembled the Lyceum Movement in some ways. It was mainly concerned with education and had many fine lecture courses. There were certain differences, however, between the two movements. The Chautauqua Movement was partly religious. Summer

schools were conducted at Chautauqua, and home-study courses in literature and science were started in 1878. Within twelve years after the first assembly on Chautauqua Lake (in 1874), there were at least fifty independent summer camp meetings, calling themselves Chautauquas, scattered from coast to coast. Chautauqua also provided the nation with clean, wholesome entertainment as well as lectures. The new programs might include Swiss bell ringers, glee clubs, or noted violinists. Beginning in 1904, Chautauqua lecturers and entertainers toured the country in the summer months, giving their shows in circus tents.

The Theater in 1876

Theaters did not prosper in the year of the World's Fair. The hard times following the panic of 1873 had almost ruined the theatrical business. Many Americans living in 1876 became more interested in great religious revivals taking place at that time. Other Americans were becoming tired of seeing plays, preferring to attend vaudeville performances where they could watch acrobats, jugglers, and men doing tricks. Then, too, many of the plays were inferior because American authors continued to neglect the drama.

There were great actors, however, who made the most of the inferior

plays. Joseph Jefferson III was outstanding among these stars of the theater. In 1859 he became interested in the play "Rip Van Winkle." As Rip he toured the nation from one end to the other until his final appearance in 1904. The play ran in London, England, for 170 nights. Other actors such as Edwin Booth became famous because of their success with older plays, especially those written by William Shakespeare.

The play that most Americans saw was "Uncle Tom's Cabin," shown throughout the North from coast to coast. Like the book of the same name, it emphasized the evil side of slavery. The villain in the play was Simon Legree, a brutal slaveholder who greatly mistreated the kind old slave, Uncle Tom. The most thrilling scene was the escape of Eliza, a slave, across the floating ice of the Ohio River with slave catchers and bloodhounds close behind. Even a quarter of a century after the World's Fair, Americans both old and young thrilled with excitement as so-called bloodhounds bounced across the stage with Eliza barely beyond reach of their jaws. As late as 1890 sixteen separate companies of actors were taking "Uncle Tom's Cabin" from town to town, presenting the play in tents. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was being acted on the American stage every year until the 1930's.

THE STORY OF ART

On July 4, 1876, while thousands of Americans were ushering in the second century of our independence in Philadelphia, a Museum of Fine Arts opened its doors to the public for the

first time in Boston. It was made possible by the gifts of a number of wealthy citizens. It contained many great works of art. Other museums were being established in Washing-

ton, D. C., and in New York at about the same time. The Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington was the gift of a rich banker who gave not only money but fine collections of paintings and statues. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City opened its doors in 1880 and finally became one of the most famous art museums of the entire world. These fine new museums did much to arouse the interest of the American people in art. Many Americans became interested in painting and sculpture after viewing the art exhibits at the World's Fair of 1876.

Painting

Most of the older paintings were portraits of our leading clergymen, merchants, and planters. A large number of these portraits have been preserved, not because they were art but because they were portraits of ancestors. John Singleton Copley (1737–1815) was our first important painter. Some of his portraits, including one of Samuel Adams, are in the Boston Art Museum. Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828) painted about a thousand portraits. He painted most of the great Americans who founded our nation, including Washington. The picture of Washington usually seen in schoolhouses and other public places is a copy of one of Stuart's paintings of Washington. Stuart began drawings when only thirteen years old and began to paint with oils soon afterwards.

John Trumbull (1756–1843) was the son of a governor of Connecticut. He was imprisoned as a rebel while studying art in London during the Revolution. He painted several portraits but is best known for his paint-

ings of historical scenes. These include his "Declaration of Independence," the "Surrender of Lord Cornwallis," and the "Battle of Bunker Hill." He is said to have witnessed the actual battle of Bunker Hill.

Art declined instead of improving after the War of 1812. The real interests of the American people were "politics, exploration, and business — not art." Artists were few in number, although it was an exaggeration to say that between 1820 and 1860 not a painter, or sculptor, or musician of note was at work. Artists continued to confine most of their work to portraits. Some of them went to live in Europe, where their work was appreciated more deeply. Some, such as Robert Fulton and Samuel Morse, turned to inventions instead of remaining artists. After Morse invented the telegraph he tried to be an artist again, but without success. "Painting," he said, "has been a cruel jilt to me. I did not abandon her; she abandoned me."

The invention of the daguerreotype (*dă-gěr'ô-tîp*) was discouraging to artists who tried to make a living by painting portraits. This first kind of photography, made by a French inventor named Daguerre (*dă-gâr'*) in 1839, could produce a picture in only a few minutes. It appeared in the United States very quickly. Many Americans preferred to have their pictures taken by camera rather than to have their portraits painted by artists as they had formerly done.

After the War between the States, Americans had wealth as never before. Many of the owners of fortunes, however, had poor judgment in art. They bought "the largest and the emptiest" of pictures, especially those



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

"Northeaster," one of the paintings by Winslow Homer. He is one of our best-known painters of the sea.

"daubed with crazy paint." These paintings were showy and bound to attract attention, but they possessed little beauty. Some of our best painters continued to live in Europe where their work was appreciated more deeply. James A. McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) was one of our greatest artists but spent most of his life in Europe. He painted the famous portrait of his "Mother" in 1872 but it was not considered great or famous for many years afterwards. In 1876, and for years afterwards, he was better known for his bad temper and his wit than for his art.

Winslow Homer (1836–1910) remained in the United States. He was with a Northern army in some of the

campaigns of the War between the States. From the front he sent many drawings to *Harper's Weekly*, winning considerable praise for his work. After the war, he began to paint scenes from everyday life. Once he was asked if in a picture he ever used a color other than found in the scene painted. "Never! Never!" Homer replied. "I paint it exactly as it appears." During the second half of his life he lived at Prouts Neck, Maine, where he painted chiefly the forest and the sea. One of his best-known paintings is "Cannon Rock." It shows the rugged coast of Maine. A wave is all poised to hurl itself against the rocky shore. Yet a section of rock, shaped like a cannon, juts outward

toward the sea as if boldly defying the wave to do its worst.

A special form of art consisted of colored prints made popular by Currier and Ives. These pictures were produced by lithography (writing on stone). Designs were made on flat blocks of smooth slate which were used as plates for printing. Thousands of these lithographs were made — of horse races, clipper ships, trains, great fires, farm scenes, and a great variety of subjects. Prints of these lithographs were piled high on the tables of the Currier and Ives store in New York. A number of pushcart salesmen would appear every morning and buy any prints they desired at six cents a print wholesale, selling them at a higher price to the public. The pictures were very popular and were sold in great quantities after 1840. If your calendar brings you a glimpse of nineteenth-century America, you may find under the picture the name "Currier and Ives." These pictures are even more popular in the twentieth century than they were in the nineteenth. They are history told by pictures.

Sculpture

Sculpture was slower to develop than painting. There was no sculpture in the colonies except for wooden objects and wax portraits. When Virginia wanted to erect a statue of Washington, it was necessary to import a foreign sculptor. Even in 1820, Trumbull the painter remarked that "nothing in sculpture would be wanted in this country for a hundred years." John Frazee (1790–1852) was the first native American to carve a marble portrait. In the 1830's he made portraits of Daniel Webster,

John Marshall, and other American leaders. His main occupation, however, was that of stonecutter, carving tombstones and mantels. Most American sculptors lived in Italy, where their work was appreciated. Even after the War between the States,



Ewing Galloway

Statue of the Minute Man, erected at Concord, Massachusetts, in 1875 — the work of an American sculptor of high rank, Daniel Chester French.

most of our sculpture was a poor imitation of Italian works of art.

Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907) was our first really important sculptor. He was born in Ireland, and was brought to this country while a baby. At the age of thirteen he went to work for a cameo cutter. He studied art in Paris and returned to the United States in the 1870's. At the time of the

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World's Fair in Philadelphia he was helping to decorate Trinity Church in Boston. He produced several famous figures during the 1880's and 1890's, beginning with his "Farragut" in 1881. This was a statue of the Northern admiral who had won fame at New Orleans in the War between the States. "The Peace of God" which he made in 1891 has sometimes been called the greatest sculpture produced in our nation. Under the leadership of Saint-Gaudens, American sculptors were at last making fine progress.

Architecture

During colonial times, American buildings resembled those found in Europe. English settlers erected houses, described by us as "colonial" in style, such as they had known in England; Swedish settlers along the Delaware built log cabins similar to those of Sweden; Spanish settlers in California constructed buildings such as they had known in Spain; French settlers in Louisiana built homes typical of France. New styles of architecture in Europe were followed somewhat later by similar changes in the colonies.

From about 1800 to 1860, American architects were greatly influenced by Greek styles. The fronts of lovely Greek temples were copied exactly and used for many kinds of buildings, especially banks. Both private homes and government buildings frequently had Greek columns. After the War between the States, the influence of Greek styles became less and less. Our architects then mainly followed the fashions of European cities such as London and Paris. Most of the important buildings which were erected

during the 1870's were English or French in style.

At the time of the World's Fair in 1876, Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) was the nation's leading architect. He had received his training in Paris, and many of his buildings were French in style, but he did more than copy French architects. He added ideas of his own and was able to erect finer buildings than most of the foreign architects of his day. He developed a new type of wooden house, and built Trinity Church in Boston. American architecture, however, like American sculpture, was only beginning in the 1870's and 1880's. Its great achievement was to await the twentieth century.

Music

Our nation was also slow to appreciate good music. Most of our leading musicians came from foreign countries. A Bohemian writer of music, named Heinrich, was taken to meet President John Tyler in the early 1840's. Heinrich seated himself at a piano and began to play a fine composition he had written. Tyler did not enjoy it; he interrupted Heinrich and asked him to play square-dance music. Heinrich was insulted and left abruptly with the remark that Tyler knew "no more about music than an oyster." Most Americans knew no more about music than Tyler.

Lowell Mason did much to arouse a love and understanding of music in the United States. He helped to found the Boston Academy of Music in 1832. He was largely responsible for the first teaching of music in schools, and held conventions for the training of music teachers. He wrote

several hymns and perhaps is best known as the writer of "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

Minstrels became common in the 1830's. They were white singers with blackened faces who traveled around the country in groups singing what were supposed to be Negro songs. They did much to make music popular throughout the nation. One of the most famous songs the minstrels sang was "Old Folks at Home" written by Stephen C. Foster. Another favorite was "Dixie" written by Dan Emmett, a minstrel. By 1876 minstrels were more popular than ever before.

Stephen Foster (1826-1864) was one of the best-known of all American composers. He wrote about one hundred and twenty-five songs, although he died at the age of thirty-eight. His most popular songs were Negro melodies, although he was born and lived in the North. Within two years after he had written "O Susannah," this

song was being sung in minstrel shows all over the nation. He composed "My Old Kentucky Home," said to be the most widely translated song in the world with the exception of "Home, Sweet Home." He wrote many other favorite songs, including "Old Black Joe." He was poorly paid for his compositions, receiving only one hundred dollars for "O Susannah," and five hundred dollars for "The Old Folks at Home." He died in poverty despite the great contributions which he had made to American music.

At the time of the World's Fair of 1876, Americans were becoming more interested in all types of music. More music was being taught in the public schools. Harvard University had made music a regular part of its instruction in 1875. And the New England Conservatory of Music, established in Boston in 1869, was already considered the equal of many European schools.

SUMMARY

Americans living in 1876 had a right to marvel at the changes that had taken place during the first century of independence. Our nation had grown large, strong, and wealthy. We had succeeded in making democracy work, and America had survived the quarrels between sections. Much had been done to care for the unfortunate and to increase freedom from fear and want. Some Americans had become noted scientists, and the great number of American inventions had astonished the world. Other Americans had become famous authors. There were signs that various forms

of American art were also becoming important.

Even greater changes, however, were to take place after 1876. Our nation was to become much stronger and wealthier. There was to be more democracy than before, and more freedom from want and fear. Scientists and inventors were speedily to accomplish things which would have seemed entirely impossible to Americans living in 1876. There were to be very great advances in literature and the arts. The United States was to become a better and finer place in which to live.

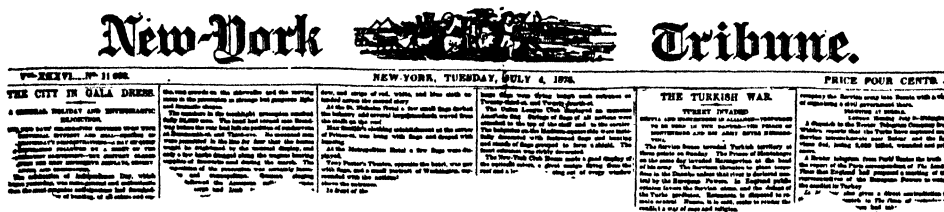
Study Activities

1. *A Movie Assembly.* Warner Brothers have produced an excellent film on the life of Mark Twain which was popular in American movie theaters. Arrange with a movie theater for a showing of the film, or try to secure it for use in the school assembly. Before seeing the film read all you can about the life of Mark Twain, whose real name was Samuel L. Clemens, and read at least one or two of his stories, such as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *The Prince and the Pauper*, *The \$30,000 Bequest and Other Stories*, *Sketches New and Old*, all published by Harper & Brothers. For an interesting biography see A. B. Paine, *Boys' Life of Mark Twain* (Harper & Brothers, 1916).

2. *Literary Roll Call.* Have a roll call of the class at which each member,

when his name is called, reads a short passage from the works of one of the authors mentioned in Chapter 21. Ask one member to read Mark Twain's "Jumping Frog," in *Sketches New and Old*, or elsewhere, another to read the account of whitewashing the fence in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, another to read Whitman's "O Captain! My Captain," and another to read Poe's poem, "The Bells."

3. *A Newspaper of 1876.* On this page is an illustration of a newspaper which was published on July 4, 1876. In earlier pages of Unit V are references to editorials or advertisements appearing in 1876. With these items of information, and what additional information about journalism in 1876 you can secure from the library, write an issue of an American paper for that year. Review the



A HUNDRED YEARS.
At noon to-day the Nation of the United States of America will complete its first century of independent existence. Founded in the hope rather than in the general faith of its permanence, attended by doubts which within the last fifteen years grew into prophecies of its downfall, and assailed by evils which had no precedent, and hence no remedy, in the past history of Civilization, it has at last established its own laws of being. If its weakness has been discovered, its strength has also been grandly manifested: the dangers it has overcome make clear the character of those which still exist or may be developed in the future. The system founded on the qualities of its people now rests upon a broad basis of experience. Principles then carried are already clothed with the sanctity of age and fortified by tradition, habit, and association. To-day we may look forward with confidence, even as we look backward with gratitude.
If, on such an anniversary, a review of what has been accomplished is naturally suggested, we cannot escape the graver emotion which bids us remember duties still unperformed and aims not yet realized in our national life. A hundred years are but a small section of the history of an empire which embodies the character and activity of a powerful race. A hundred years barely suffice to determine the intrinsic quality of a political system, to knit to-

If such a spirit as this shall animate the American people to-day and henceforth, tempering the flush of their rejoicing with a grateful solemnity, and setting the idea of Duty on the very throne of the national pride, we may still trust in the guidance of that Divine Providence our fathers invoked, and still, in the certainty of faith, bequeath to our children's children the hope of uniting in an even grander and nobler celebration of the Fourth of July, 1876!

A POPULAR FESTIVAL

The celebration which made yesterday bright and interesting, which continues with unabated fervor while we write in the small hours of the morning, and will last all through to-day and far into another night, will long be remembered as one of the most impressive popular demonstrations our country has ever witnessed. The official ceremonies perhaps were not remarkable. The poorest Government of the Old World would have made, officially, a better show on such an occasion, spent more money, displayed more gorgeous colors, and organized a more imposing military and civic parade. We have no reason to regret that the Government of the United States has no aptitude for ceremony. The pageantry of state does well enough to amuse the populace and mark the national feast

DECORATIONS OF THE DAY.
PLACES AND OTHER ADORNMENTS PROSPERITY DISPLAYED IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE CITY—THE FOUR EVEN MORE LIBERAL IN ORNAMENT THAN THE RICH—APPEARANCE OF BROADWAY, FIFTH-AVE., THE BOWERY, AND OTHER PARTS OF NEW-YORK—FURNISH BUILDING.

The city wore an air of gravity and festivity throughout the day, and reminded us of the service of the carnival scenes of Southern Europe, although there was none of the mimic buffoonery or fantastic enjoyment which characterized carnival scenes abroad. There was instead an exuberance of spirits and an intense patriotic fervor, which afforded a satisfaction unmarred by a single element of dissipation. The people seemed to have occurred in the sentiment that this occasion called forth the highest artistic efforts, and that burlesque, or even humor, would be beneath the dignity of the celebration. *Thousands, either poor, or poor and new, were directed to making their houses and business places beautiful. Success crowned their efforts, and from the Battery to Harlem River, New-York was brilliant as it has never been before. Not merely were the broad avenues decorated and illuminated, but the occupants of the poorest tenement quarters made a liberal outlay for decorations in proportion to their means. Indeed, if any comparison might be drawn, it would be in favor of the tenement districts. In the business and wealthier dwelling districts, the decorations were of simple and substantial nature, but in the tenement quarters the flags were of the most vivid colors and the lighting of the most conspicuous kind. As a consequence, the streets*

material of Chapter 21 and the other chapters in Unit V to select the most important and timely events to write about. The issue should include news items, editorials, book reviews, notices of meetings, advertisements, and "Letters from the Public."

4. A Chautauqua Program. Select members of the class who have ability as speakers or musicians and stage for the assembly a Chautauqua program such as might have been popular in the late 1870's. As handbills to distribute at the performance write a brief statement of the origin and purpose of the Chautauqua movement.

5. The Development of Museums. It is sometimes said that the rise of museums such as those named on pages 348-349 is a part of the development of democracy. Do museums make beauty in art more easily available for large numbers of people? How is this democratic? If there is an art museum in or near your community find out when and how it was started.

6. An Exhibit of Nineteenth Century American Art. Make a collection of prints of pictures which were painted in the period between 1850 and 1900. Sometimes such pictures are reproduced in magazine advertisements, or prints may be purchased from such companies as the University Prints (Newton, Massachusetts) or the Perry Prints (Malden, Massachusetts). The art teacher in your school or the officials of the nearest art museum may help you select and secure items for the exhibit. For each item in the exhibit prepare an explanatory note telling about the picture and the artist who painted it. *The American Spirit in Art* and *The American Spirit in Architecture*, Vols. 12 and 13 in *The Pageant of America*, will tell you much about the story of art in the United States.

7. A Memorial Tribute to Stephen Foster. Stephen Foster, composer of songs which

have been popular ever since he wrote them, died in poverty. Now he is acclaimed by Americans; at the University of Pittsburgh there is a special memorial to him with a collection of his music. A movie has been made about his life. Two interesting biographies are *Stephen Foster: Boy Minstrel*, by H. B. Higgins (Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1944), and *He Heard America Sing: The Story of Stephen Foster*, by C. L. Purdy (Julian Messner, Inc., 1940). With your music teacher's help arrange a music program in memory of Foster. Have some of his songs sung. One pupil should prepare and read a short biography of him; another should describe his music.

8. Lives of American Authors of the Nineteenth Century. Hildegard Hawthorne, granddaughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, has written some delightful biographies of Americans who were writing famous literature at the same time that her grandfather was producing *The House of Seven Gables* and other stories. The biography of her grandfather she calls *Romantic Rebel, the Story of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1932). *Happy Autocrat*, a Life of Oliver Wendell Holmes (Longmans, Green & Co., 1938); *Happy Rebel: Henry David Thoreau* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1940); *The Poet of Craigie House, the Story of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (D. Appleton-Century Co.); and *Youth's Captain, the Story of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1935) are some of her interesting books you will enjoy reading.

For the lives of other authors of this period read:

Laura Benét, *Young Edgar Allan Poe*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1941.
 Babette Deutsch, *Walt Whitman, Builder for America*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1941.
 Alvin F. Harlow, *Joel Chandler Harris: Plantation Storyteller*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1941.
 Jeanette C. Nolan, *O. Henry: The Story of William Sydney Porter*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1943.

Review Activities for Unit V

1. *A Matching Test.* Below are ten test items. In each item there are two columns — a list of five names (mentioned in Unit V) in the left-hand column, and a list of seven descriptive phrases in the right-hand column. Be able to select from the right-hand column the phrase which is most closely connected with each person in the left-hand column. In your notebook write each of the fifty names together with the properly selected phrase.

A

Alexander	Organizer of the American Red Cross
Graham Bell	Inventor of the telegraph
Booker T. Wash- ington	Outstanding Negro educator
Clara Barton	First to use ether as an anaesthetic
Samuel F. B. Morse	Inventor of rotary press
Richard Hoe	Inventor of the telephone
	Builder of the Atlantic cable

B

William Kelley	Inventor of the rotary press
George Westing- house	Inventor of the typewriter
Cyrus McCormick	Inventor of the air brake
Cyrus W. Field	Inventor of the reaper
Christopher Sholes	Inventor of the sewing machine
	Inventor of process for making steel
	Builder of the Atlantic cable

C

Asa Gray	A famous geologist, professor at Yale
W. T. G. Morton	A leading student of botany
Louis Agassiz	Inventor of the microscope
Benjamin Silliman	Geologist and zoologist, professor at Harvard
Abner Doubleday	First successful user of ether as an anaesthetic
	The first scientific expert on weather
	Inventor of the game of baseball

D

Clarence King	Leader in the reform of medical education
John James Audubon	"Pathfinder of the seas"
Matthew Maury	Inventor of the electromagnet
Joseph Henry	Outstanding student of plants and flowers
Charles E. Eliot	Student and painter of birds
	Author of "O Captain! My Captain!"
	Geologist who studied the Far West

E

Samuel Gridley Howe	Reformer of prisons
Dorothea Dix	A noted speaker on temperance
John B. Gough	Founder of Perkins Institution for the Blind
Frances Willard	A leader in the establishment of public schools
William Ladd	An early advocate of woman suffrage
	Leader of the WCTU
	A leader in the fight against war

F

Lucy Stone	An advocate of rights for women
Henry Bergh	A leader in the fight against war
George Peabody	An early philanthropist
Horace Mann	Leader in the fight for free schools
Winslow Homer	Organizer of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
	Author of mining-camp stories
	A painter of seascapes

G

Edgar Allan Poe	Author of <i>The Last of the Mohicans</i>
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	Author of "O Captain! My Captain!"
	Author of "Snowbound"
John Greenleaf Whittier	Author of <i>The House of Seven Gables</i>
	Author of <i>Tales of a Wayside Inn</i>
Washington Irving	Author of "The Gold Bug"
James Fenimore Cooper	Author of <i>Knickerbocker's History of New York</i>

H

Thomas Nast	Leader among German immigrants to the U. S.
Carl Schurz	Outstanding American cartoonist
Horace Greeley	Author of "Thanatopsis"
Samuel Clemens	Outstanding American philosopher and author
Ralph W. Emerson	Author of <i>Huckleberry Finn</i>
	Editor of the <i>New York Tribune</i>
	Leader of the campaigns for temperance

I

John H. Vincent	Actor in the part of Rip Van Winkle
John S. Copley	Author of <i>Leaves of Grass</i>
Walt Whitman	Author of "Snowbound"
Joseph Jefferson	Originator of the Chautauqua movement
H. H. Richardson	Early American musical composer
	Early American portrait painter
	Architect active in our centennial year

J

Lowell Mason	Composer of "Dixie"
Stephen Foster	Novelist of the South
Augustus St. Gaudens	Composer of "My Old Kentucky Home"
	Sculptor
William G. Simms	Composer of "Nearer, My God, to Thee"
	Portrait painter
Gilbert Stuart	Inventor of the typewriter

2. Can you answer the questions asked on page 292?



UNIT VI

OUR NATION BECOMES A WEALTHY GIANT

OVERVIEW

Unit VI tells how the United States became a great industrial nation in the decades following the War between the States. It tells of factories and commerce, of rich natural resources, of labor and capital, of business and invention. Great as were the changes during the first century of our national history, the development of the country as a wealthy, industrial giant during the second century brought even greater changes.

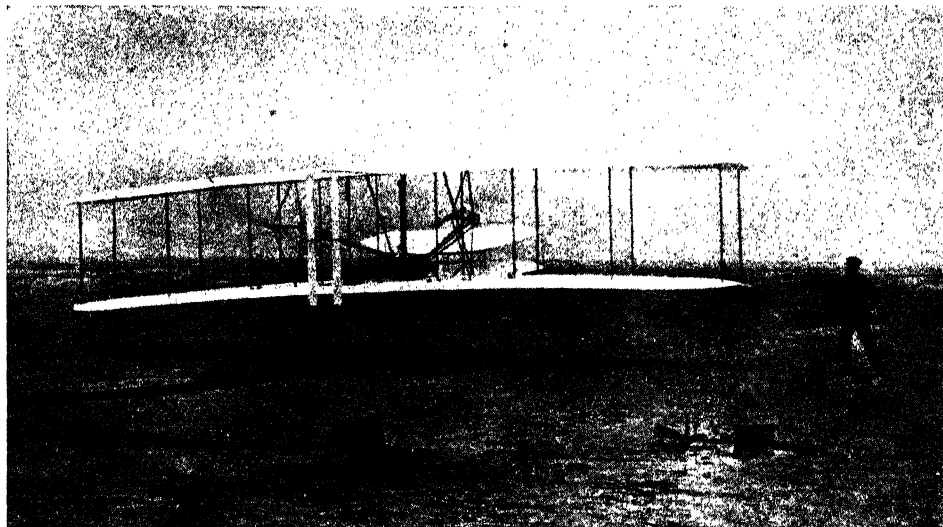
In Chapter 22 is the story of transportation — how railroads spread over the land, how the automobile set a whole nation to moving, how the airplane conquered the sky. Without the great arteries of commerce, giant industries could not have developed; on them iron ore moved from Minnesota to Pittsburgh; wheat moved from Kansas to New York. The amount of goods carried increased rapidly from year to year. Chapter 23 tells of a remarkable group of Americans who organized big businesses. They made steel, built factories, manufactured more and more goods, became enormously wealthy. Chapter 24 tells of the equally great achievements of American laborers, who produced more goods in shorter hours than had ever been done before. It tells how

labor organized into unions, and of the improvements won in wages, hours, and conditions of work.

Chapter 25 tells of yet another remarkable group of Americans — merchants who established great stores, who sold goods by mail, who sent fleets of ships trading over all the seas. By the work of these great merchants, goods from American farms and factories were distributed all over the world — and the products of all the earth were brought back in trade. Efficient methods of producing and selling goods reduced prices, and many articles which had once been luxuries for the few became commonplace to all.

The story of industrial growth from 1865 to about 1915 is told in these chapters — Chapters 22 through 25. The last chapter in the unit, Chapter 26, tells of industrial changes since 1915. It brings the story down to date. It describes a period in our history when the nation faced serious economic problems. It tells of the effect of two world wars on our industrial life. And it tells how the United States today is facing the great problems of industry and commerce in the era after World War II.

Before beginning Unit VI consult



Culver Service

On the lonely sands of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the Wright brothers are experimenting with their airplane, the invention which in time has brought the farthest spot in the world a mere sixty hours away.

the appendix, page xxxviii, and make a list of the Presidents of the United States from 1876 to 1912. While you are studying the Unit, note under each President's name the important events of his administration which are described in Unit VI.

Questions Answered in Unit VI

1. Why was the growth of railroads so important to the development of the United States?
2. What is meant by saying that the railroads are a "public interest"?
3. How was the automobile invented and manufactured in such quantities as to change the travel habits of the nation?
4. Can you tell the story of the development of airplanes, and the changes they have made in American life?
5. Why did more and more Americans live in cities after the War between the States?
6. Who were some of the great industrial leaders after 1865? What "big businesses" did they establish?
7. What is a labor union? Tell the history of unions in the United States.
8. Who were the nation's great merchants after 1865?
9. Why is foreign commerce of increasing importance to Americans?
10. How did the United States meet the depression of the 1930's?
11. How did the two world wars alter our industrial life?
12. Why is it correct to call the United States a "wealthy industrial giant" today?

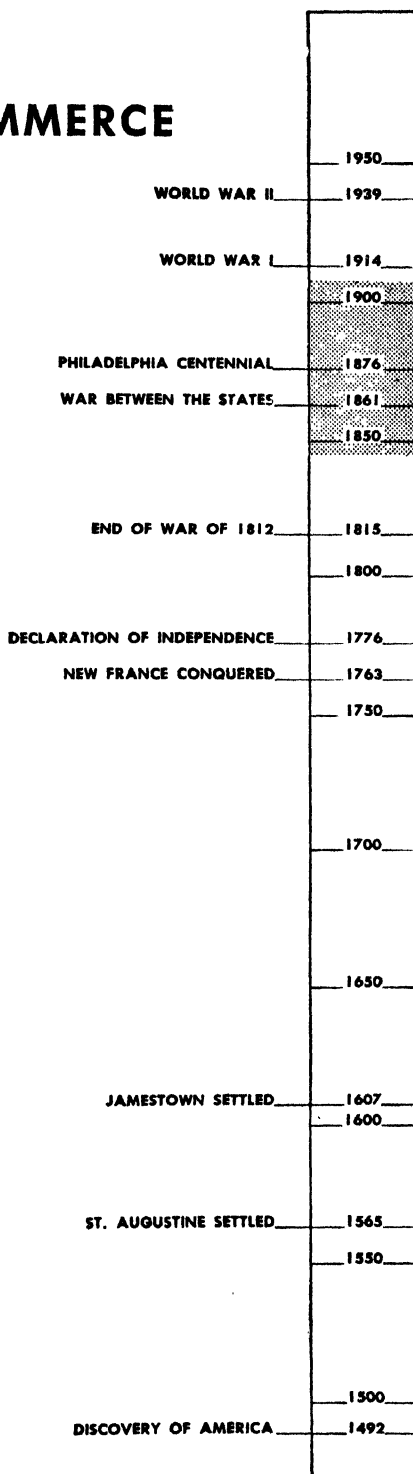
CHAPTER 22

OUR ARTERIES OF COMMERCE (1860-1915)

1908 FORD'S "MODEL T"
 1903 THE WRIGHT BROTHERS FLY
 1887 INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT
 1885 DAIMLER'S GAS ENGINE
 1878 HILL BUYS A RAILROAD
 1869 FIRST RAILROAD ROUTE ACROSS THE
 CONTINENT
 1867 PULLMAN COMPANY ORGANIZED
 1867 BEGINNING OF GRANGER MOVEMENT
 1854 SILLIMAN'S OIL RESEARCH
 1844 GOODYEAR'S EXPERIMENT WITH RUBBER

"Seasons and distances are annihilated
 to produce a nation of neighbors
 living in plenty and ease."

"Pageant of America"



BUILDING RAILROADS

During the 1860's an army of Chinese laborers was advancing eastward from the Pacific Coast laying the rails of the Central Pacific Railroad. At the same time an army of Irish workers was advancing across the western plains, their eyes facing the setting sun as they laid the tracks of the Union Pacific Railroad. The two railroads were to meet somewhere, to join in completing the first transcontinental railroad route in our country. Each side raced to lay as many miles as possible, because the amount of government assistance to railroads depended upon the miles of tracks laid. Even blizzards did not stop the rivals. On May 10, 1869, the Irish and Chinese armies of workmen met in northern Utah; the meeting tracks were fastened with spikes of

silver and gold; then two locomotives came together —

“Facing on a single track,
Half a world behind each back.”

East coast and west coast had met; here was part of the route to China for which Columbus and others had searched so long. In far-off Philadelphia the old Liberty Bell was rung again.

In the Southwest, in the Northwest, all over the nation, railroads were being built at a rapid pace in the years after the War between the States. The greatest increase came in the 1880's, with the result that by 1890 our nation had more railroads than could be found in all Europe combined. By 1915 there were enough rails here to circle the



Culver Service

The completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, at Promontory Point, Utah, May 10, 1869. The locomotive Jupiter of the Central Line, and 119 of the Union Line are meeting after the driving of the last spike.

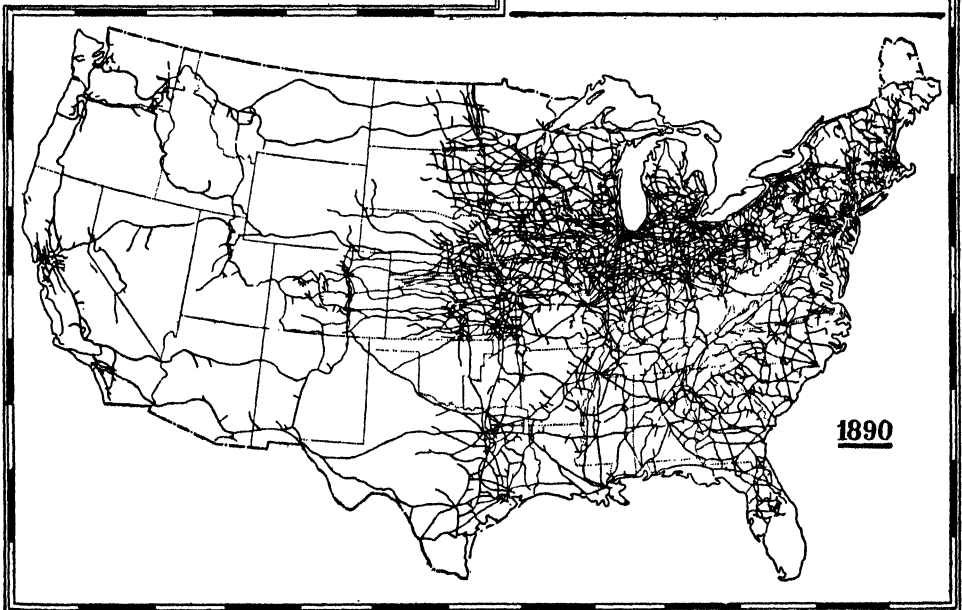
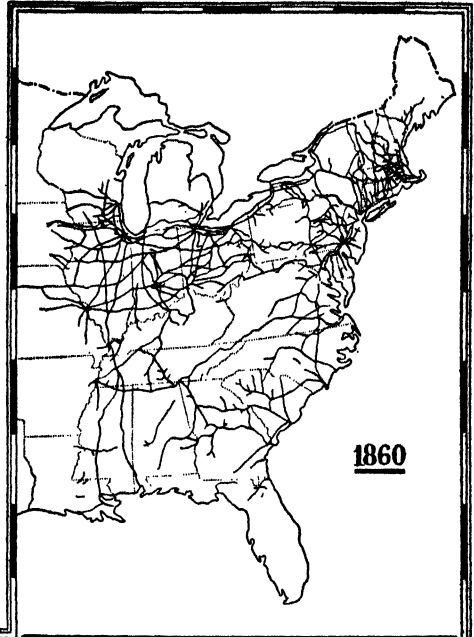
earth ten times. We then had all the railroads we needed, and the "iron horse" began to feel the effects of competition from the "gas buggy," as the automobile was known.

RAILROAD MILEAGE

<i>Year</i>	<i>Mileage</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Mileage</i>
1840:	2,818	1880:	93,267
1850:	9,021	1890:	167,191
1860:	30,626	1900:	198,964
1870:	53,922	1910:	249,992

Travel by Railroad

In 1879 Robert Louis Stevenson, the Scotch novelist, made a trip across the continent which was typical of railroad travel at the time. He had



Railroads in 1860 and in 1890.

to transfer from one train to another several times between New York City and the Mississippi, although railroads had existed for some time in that section of the nation. Even after

he reached the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha, Nebraska, ten days were required to travel to the Pacific Coast. The seats were hard wooden benches with straight backs. There

was no upholstery nor were there any springs in the seats to make passengers comfortable. By paying for the use of a board and three straw cushions a passenger could sit or lie in reclining positions with some comfort. After dark the seats, boards, and cushions were arranged in what-



Brown Brothers

Interior of an early Pullman car. Notice the various details in which it differed from today's Pullman cars.

ever fashion seemed most likely to make sleep possible. Whenever passengers desired to wash hands and faces they could obtain soap and tin basins from newsboys. Whenever they felt hungry they could purchase food, although the only food available consisted of canned beans and bacon, coffee, and fruit. The only place for cooking food was a flat-topped stove at the end of the car. It is no wonder that Stevenson reached his destination "feverish and sick."

Railroad travel was continually being improved, however. Fewer

transfers were required from one train to another as small railroads were joined together to make long ones. By 1873 the New York Central Railroad was operating through trains between New York City and Chicago, entirely over its own lines. The use of steel for rails, trains, and bridges made travel safer. The great steel arch bridge which James B. Eads built across the Mississippi River at St. Louis (1867-1874) made rail transportation across that great waterway possible. By the close of the 1880's most railroads had their rails placed at a standard width, four feet eight and a half inches apart, making it possible for the same cars to be used over different lines. Springs and upholstery were added to passenger car seats. Kerosene lamps replaced candles after the War between the States, and later the kerosene gave way to electricity. Steam heat replaced coal stoves, reducing the danger of fire when wrecks occurred. It also provided even heat instead of overheating some passengers while others were cold.

George Pullman invented many improvements which made travel more comfortable. In the 1860's he built a sleeping car which was a great improvement over the straw cushions in the regular passenger cars. His car was too wide for the bridges and station platforms, and for that reason did not find immediate use. Soon, however, the demand for the new sleeping car, or Pullman, became so great that railroads built bridges and platforms to fit the car. Passengers everywhere were ready and willing to pay the extra expense to enjoy the comfort of the Pullman car. Pullman also built parlor cars and dining cars in the 1860's. He organ-

ized the Pullman Company in 1867, and founded a town called Pullman near Chicago in 1880. This town became the nation's center for the building of railroad cars.

Railroad Builders

James J. Hill of St. Paul, Minnesota, was one of the ablest of railroad builders. Born in Canada, he came to St. Paul when about eighteen years old. For many years he worked as clerk in a steamship office. In 1876, when thirty-eight years old, he decided to buy the St. Paul and Pacific Railway, which was only two hundred miles long and bankrupt. He dreamed of building it into one of the nation's great railroad lines. No one took him very seriously. He was just an ordinary short, stocky man with long hair, a blind eye, and the reputation of being the greatest talker in town. Besides, there was not much freight to carry on the railroads. Much of Minnesota had been scoured by grasshoppers which left farmland looking like the top of an old rusty stove. The owners of the railroad were glad to get rid of it.

In 1878 Hill and three partners managed to buy the railroad. To the surprise of everybody, including Hill, the grasshoppers suddenly disappeared. Larger wheat crops were raised than ever before. Hill's dream began to come true. By 1890 his railroad lines had grown to 2800 miles. One reason for his success was his advertising. He knew that the prosperity of his railroad depended upon having settlers on the land through which his road passed. He sent agents into the older states to urge people to move to the "golden" West. He warned fathers and mothers living

in factory towns that their children would be factory workers if they remained where they were. He urged them to obtain Western farms instead. He sometimes transported settlers free of charge if they planned to live on railroad lands. He even sent agents to Japan and China to discover any trade that might benefit his road. Hill was not only a railroad man; he was a builder of the nation as well. "Without the railroad," declared one of Dakota's citizens in 1884, "it might have required a century to accomplish what has been done in five years under its powerful influence."

Edward H. Harriman was another great railroad builder. He was the son of a New York clergyman. At fourteen he became an office boy in New York City. He succeeded so rapidly that in 1872 at the age of twenty-four he organized a banking house of his own. He became greatly interested in railroads, especially in the Southwest. He managed to get control of the Union Pacific Railroad in the 1890's when it was almost bankrupt. He made it as efficient as any of the railroads in the East. He invested money in many other railroads so that more of their traffic would be given to the Union Pacific. In 1901 he attempted to win control of Hill's lines in the Northwest. Harriman and Hill became bitter rivals and tried to force each other out of business. Finally they reached a compromise, controlling most of the railroads of the West between them. When Harriman died in 1909 he ruled 15,000 miles of railroad. He even had his eyes on Siberia, in Asia, and made plans to build a transportation system around the world.

Collis P. Huntington was a Connecticut farm boy who became a businessman in Oneonta, New York. At the age of twenty-eight he joined the gold rush to California. He became interested in railroads; eventually he and his associates controlled both the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific railroads. At the time of his death in 1900, the Southern Pacific

had 9600 miles of track and 5000 miles of steamship lines. There were also other railroad builders like Hill, Harriman, and Huntington. Those builders that were successful swallowed the railroad lines of their less fortunate rivals. By 1910 almost all of the important railroads of the nation were in the hands of a few successful companies.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC

How the Railroads Used Their Power

The great railroad builders and the companies which they created had tremendous power. Their decision where railroads were to be built might determine whether or not certain small towns would grow into large cities. Their decisions regarding rates might decide whether factories or farmers would prosper, because most communities were served by only one railroad. They could help some companies profit at the expense of others if they did not provide equal rates and fair treatment for all customers of the railroad. How would the great railroad builders use their great power?

In 1872 the Erie Railroad and the New York Central Railroad made a secret agreement with the Standard Oil Company and certain other oil-refining concerns. At that time the rate charged for carrying oil from the oil regions to New York City was \$2.56 per barrel. The Standard Oil Company was to continue to pay that rate, but unlike its rivals was to receive back from the railroads \$1.06 of each \$2.56 collected. In addition to this rebate, the Standard Oil Com-

pany was also to receive \$1.06 of each \$2.56 paid to the railroads by rival oil firms. This "cut-throat" competition was not due entirely to the railroad companies, because it was the powerful oil company that insisted on unequal rates. The fact remains, however, that the railroads did grant unequal rates which helped to make some businessmen wealthy and drove others into bankruptcy.

Sometimes competing railroads made agreements among themselves in order to keep rates high. In 1870 such an agreement was made by the Northwestern, the Rock Island, and the Burlington railroads, operating between Chicago, Illinois, and Omaha, Nebraska. During the next fourteen years each railroad kept one half of its earnings and shared the remainder with the other two.

Conditions were sometimes as bad when rival railroads did not make such agreements. The railroads running between Chicago and New York tried to force each other out of business. Freight rates decreased from \$1.88 per hundred pounds in 1868 to \$.25 in 1869. This decline in rates was very pleasing to the big cities concerned, but the railroads could not remain in business if they operated

at a loss. The companies tried to make up their deficit by charging extremely high rates over shorter distances where there was no competition. Naturally this policy hurt small towns and farmers served by only one railroad. They were completely at the mercy of a railroad. Sometimes farmers were required to pay higher prices to ship their produce a short distance to Chicago than was charged all the way from Chicago to New York. Then, too, the railroad owners were unfair in other ways. They frequently granted low rates to communities where they or their friends had money invested, and charged much higher rates to rival towns. They also charged industries different rates even within the same community in order to force one industry to sell out to its rival.

Because a railroad really serves all the people it is first of all a public servant. For that reason it is known as a public utility. Other public utilities are bus systems, and companies providing electric power and light, telephone service, and water supply. Such a company can have few or no rivals, because one company can serve a large area more efficiently than several companies can. Various railroads may connect at the same distant points, but it would be poor business for the rails of three or four companies to follow exactly the same routes. It also would be poor business for several telephone companies to build lines over the same streets or for several water companies to lay pipes side by side.

We cannot deal with public utilities in exactly the same way as we can deal with other companies. If we do not like the prices charged by an ordi-

nary factory or store, we can buy from some other concern. If we do not like the prices charged by some public utility, however, there is not much we can do about it. If we refuse to pay the price that railroads ask, we must usually go without their service. If we refuse to pay the price of electricity, we must either make our own electricity or use kerosene lamps. When railroads developed the practices above described, many people argued that the government should protect the public against unfair rates and treatment.

Controlling the Railroads

Americans in all parts of the nation became aroused by the unfairness of the railroads in fixing rates. Western farmers were perhaps more bitter than any other group. They paid the higher rates that made the dreams of the railroad builders come true, since most farmers were served by only one railroad and had to pay what was asked. They determined to get laws passed to protect themselves against the railroads. They joined a society called Patrons of Husbandry, organized in 1867 by Oliver H. Kelley. The members of this society soon came to call themselves "Grangers," because their local chapters were called "granges." When these Grangers won control of the government in some of the farming states, the legislatures passed laws fixing the rates that railroads were to charge in those states.

Most of the railroads, however, crossed state boundary lines and thus were engaged in interstate commerce. The railroads said that the Constitution gave control of interstate commerce to the national government;

*Culver Service*

Grangers meeting in the woods near Winchester, Illinois. The Granger movement was intended at first to be educational, but through it the farmers learned that when organized they could wield great political power.

they insisted that the state laws on rates need not be obeyed. Finally the Supreme Court was asked to decide the argument between the farmers and the railroads. In 1886 the Supreme Court declared that Illinois had no right to determine the rates charged by the Wabash, St. Louis, and Pacific Railway because that railroad crossed state lines. This was a great victory for the railroads and meant that states could not regulate them. The Grangers, however, refused to give up their struggle for fair rates. They demanded that the national government act to protect the public against the railroads.

In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act which sought to prevent railroad abuses. This law provided that all charges made by the railroads must be reasonable; it forbade rebates, special rates, and un-

equal treatment of communities. It prevented higher rates for a short haul than for a longer haul over the same lines; it said that railroads could not make agreements to keep prices high; and it ordered that all rates should be made public. A commission of five members was appointed to make sure the law was obeyed. The law did not work out as well as had been expected. Other laws, however, were passed to remedy the defects of the Interstate Commerce Act. In 1906 the power of the government was increased to include regulation of transportation of oil through pipe lines. In 1910 another law was passed to provide government control of interstate telephone, telegraph, and cable lines. No longer could the public utilities act as they saw fit. They had to conduct themselves in such a way as to serve the public interest.

THE AGE OF AUTOMOBILES

In 1844 Charles Goodyear was in his wife's kitchen experimenting with a sticky substance, called "rubber" because it would rub out pencil marks. While mixing sulphur with it he happened to drop some on the hot stove. When he could scrape it off, it was no longer sticky — it was vulcanized. Out of this discovery came the modern automobile tire.

In 1854 Professor Silliman of Yale reported that valuable products could be made of crude oil. Most farmers continued to think of crude oil mainly as a nuisance. It made water unfit for cattle to drink and destroyed their grazing lands in times of flood. There was, however, a group of businessmen who had faith in Silliman's findings. They sent Edwin Drake to Titusville, Pennsylvania, to sink a well for oil. Day after day he worked on his "folly" while neighbors watched with amusement. In August, 1859, he struck oil. Immediately the entire East was swept by a frenzy almost equal to the gold craze ten years before. Farmers who had been annoyed by oil became millionaires overnight. A country doctor who gave up pills for oil made \$1,500,000 from one well. In 1862 John D. Rockefeller entered the oil-refining business, making crude oil into kerosene and other oil products for general use.

In 1885 a German named Gottlieb Daimler (dīm'lē'r) invented a gasoline engine, harnessed it to a bicycle, and drove it through the streets of Mannheim. Within the next few years, Daimler and others attached gas engines to motor cars.

It might seem that Charles Good-

year, Professor Silliman, and Gottlieb Daimler had very little in common, yet these three made the modern automobile possible. To their contributions might be added the newer and better grades of steel for the construction of automobile bodies, and bigger and better railroads to bring together the coal, iron ore, and all the other materials needed to make automobiles.

For many years the new invention was merely a rich man's toy. Few people thought that it would ever be anything else. The automobile was expensive to buy because much of it was made by hand. Besides, it was often breaking down and causing additional expense. There were only nine hundred automobiles in the United States in 1896. As late as 1905 there were more automobiles in Great Britain than in the United States.

Several Americans experimented with automobiles, some of which ran by steam. Perhaps the best-known inventors of steam automobiles were Freeland and Francis Stanley, who made their first steamer in 1897. The first American to make a success of manufacturing automobiles was Ransom E. Olds of Lansing, Michigan. He established a motor works at Detroit and designed a light one-cylinder gasoline runabout that could be sold for \$650. He manufactured more than four hundred machines in 1901, and his Oldsmobile became popular at once.

Henry Ford

The man above all others who put an end to the idea that the automobile

was a rich man's toy was Henry Ford. Born in 1863 on a farm in Dearborn, Michigan, he went to Detroit at the age of seventeen. Here he found a job in a machine workshop at \$2.50 a week. Ten years later he was spending his spare time in a brick shed back of his house trying to build an automobile out of odds and ends of junk. Finally some time after midnight on a rainy night in 1893, at the end of three years of labor, his machine lurched out of the shed, "sputtering" loudly. It made its way to the end of the dark street and returned under its own power. Ten years later, in 1903, the Ford Motor Company was formed and began the making of automobiles selling at \$950 fully equipped. In 1908, over the protests of his friends, he decided to confine his manufacturing to only one model — the famous Model T. By making only one

type of automobile he could make cars in large numbers so rapidly that the Model T could be sold for a price that almost any American could afford to pay. By the end of 1913 there were half a million Model T's on the road, and by midsummer of 1915 their number had grown to a million. Meanwhile so much wealth poured into the company's treasury that Henry Ford startled the world with the announcement that each of his employees would receive at least a five-dollar-a-day wage. Other automobile manufacturers hurried to produce standard model cars in vast numbers at low prices.

At the same time makers of automobiles were aware of a market for trucks. In 1904 only 411 trucks were made, but by 1915 the yearly output was about 75,000. They began moving over the highways both day



Courtesy of Ford News Bureau

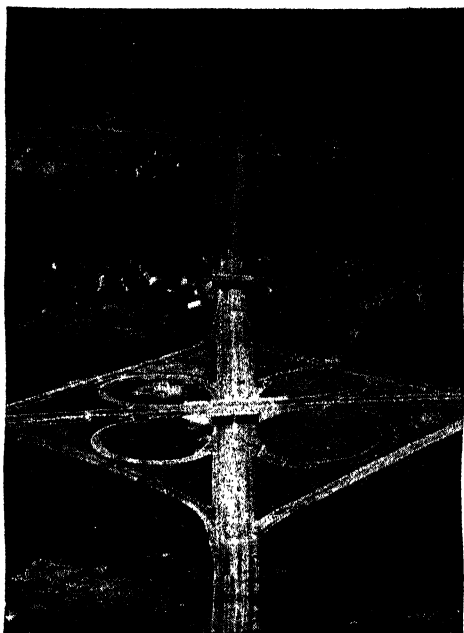
Henry Ford is here photographed in his first car, many years after he first put it together. He had to cut an opening in the wall of the little brick building to get the car out!

and night, carrying the products of the farm and the goods of factory towns. They went not only to cities, but also to communities that had not been reached by the "iron horse."

Better Roads

The demands for better roads became greater and greater as more and more people bought new passenger cars and trucks. Americans no longer were satisfied with unimproved dirt roads that frequently were rivers of mud in the spring and during rainy periods. Only a few hundred miles of road were surfaced when the automobile first appeared, yet there were almost three million miles of highway in the nation. At first the favored method of improvement was the building of gravel roads, but these were both rough and dusty. Occasionally macadam was used for surfacing, and by 1914 concrete was being laid.

By 1915 Americans were able to travel more than ever before. They could visit places which they had always wished to see. They could take trips through other sections of the nation which were sometimes



Shippan, Black Star

The "clover-leaf" crossing of two much-traveled roads. Beyond it, notice also another bridge over the main road, without any provision for moving into it from the less-traveled crossroad, or for moving from it into the crossroad.

strange to them. They could use their cars for business purposes, quickly serving customers that lived miles apart. By 1915 the United States was a nation in motion.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SKIES

Invention of Airplanes

On October 7, 1903, an important experiment was scheduled to take place on the Potomac River at Widewater, Virginia, about thirty miles southeast of Washington. Present was our first important inventor of airplanes, Dr. Samuel P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institution. With him was a machine which President McKinley had encouraged him to

build. Dr. Langley hoped that it would fly. The airplane rested on top of a houseboat, which Langley had built, in the Potomac River. Also on top of the boat were a runway of two rails seventy feet long and machinery which was to hurl the airplane over the runway into space at the proper time. Finally everything was ready for the experiment, the mechanic climbed into the plane, and the signal was given. There was a

great noise, and the Langley airship fell off the houseboat and sank in the river sixty feet below.

Two bicycle mechanics at Dayton, Ohio, did not give up, however. In the year of Langley's failure, Orville and Wilbur Wright were experimenting at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. On December 17, 1903, they were ready to fly. On the first attempt, Orville Wright remained in the air twelve seconds before landing at a point as high as that from which he had started. On the fourth and last attempt Wilbur Wright remained off the ground for practically a full minute. The Wrights continued to experiment with flying and at length succeeded in remaining in the air thirty-eight minutes, during which time they covered twenty-four miles.

The world, however, did not realize what the Wright brothers had accomplished until five years after their first success at Kitty Hawk. In the first place few people had seen their experiments. In the second place rumors of flying were considered as nonsense by the public. A reporter sent a telegram to a New York newspaper in 1908 telling that he had actually seen a flight. The editors placed the story on the front page, but gave it no more importance than a story about a retired sea-captain who "possesses a formula by which one may live a hundred years." Much more prominent was the headline: "Deposed Emperor of Korea to be Exiled to Japan." The editors, how-

ever, did send a reporter to check up on the story. He spied on the Wright brothers from a hidden position. When he finally saw the machine in the air, he was amazed; but when it headed directly toward his hiding place and passed almost directly over him, he was panic-stricken. In his own words he was "paralyzed and dumb with the wonder of it all." Once he had recovered from his panic, however, the conquest of the air was a secret no longer.

The story of aviation is not simply one of the Wrights' success in remaining off the ground, even if we include their previous experiments with gliders which taught them how to ride in the wind without overturning. They were able to profit from the experiences of Langley and others who had failed. They also knew of the experiments of European inventors who had built airships that could remain in the air because of large bags filled with gas. They depended upon materials which were both light and strong for building planes, and upon a fine grade of gasoline for fuel.

Other inventors were soon making great improvements over what the Wrights had accomplished. In 1911, for example, Glenn Curtis invented a plane that would travel both in air and on water. During the First World War, which began in 1914, airplanes came into greater use than before. In 1915, however, the air age was just dawning. As yet the airplane meant little to most Americans.

A NATION IN MOTION

Because of the improved means of transportation, the United States

became a nation in motion. Americans, both rich and poor, were free to

travel. Their country became one vast schoolhouse, and their transportation systems played an important part in their education. The new pathways of travel led past densely populated cities, pleasant villages, and farms, into treeless plains and great forests, and between towering mountains.

The traveler saw, and perhaps talked with, sheep herders, cotton pickers, fruit growers, and many other people. He beheld high dams, long bridges, and deep canyons. He visited famous buildings and ruined

forts which had once been important in the growth of the nation.

The traveler realized more than ever before the great achievements which had been made; he understood more than ever before the problems Americans had yet to solve. As men and women from all parts of America became better acquainted and exchanged ideas the nation was more united than ever before. Americans came to think more often in terms of their country's welfare rather than being interested solely in their own particular community, state, or section.

Study Activities

1. *A Bar Graph.* On page 363 of Chapter 22 are figures showing the number of miles of railway track in the United States at ten-year intervals between 1840 and 1910. Using these figures, construct a bar graph showing railroad mileage for this period. Let one inch represent 20,000 miles of track, and draw the bars to scale for each year given.

2. *Transcontinental Railroad Route.* Before the War between the States many people had dreamed of a railroad ride across the continent, but it was not until 1869 that the necessary railroads were completed. As if you were a student of American life in 1869, write a newspaper editorial on the significance of the meeting of the tracks in northern Utah on May 10 of that year.

3. *A Travel Diary.* Write a journal or diary of a trip across the continent by rail such as Robert Louis Stevenson might have written in 1879.

4. *Special Reports.* Using the encyclopedias and available books suggested by the librarian as references, have individuals in class prepare and present special oral reports on the subjects listed

below. Each person who gives a report should prepare an outline of it and talk over the outline with the teacher in advance. At the time the report is given he should write on the blackboard an exact list of the references from which he secured information.

George Pullman and His Railway Cars.
James B. Eads and His Bridge Across the Mississippi.

James J. Hill, Railroad Builder.
Edward H. Harriman and the Union Pacific.
Collis P. Huntington and the Southern Pacific.

5. *Early Railroad Accidents.* A train wreck today is so unusual that it makes headline news. But in early railroad days the story was different. In 1868 an American newspaper began an editorial by saying:

"The daily frightful massacre of travelers and the incessant accidents, make it a very serious thing for anyone to leave home even upon the shortest journey. . . ."

A few years earlier *Harper's Weekly* published a cartoon showing a startled traveler in his sleeping car berth, overhearing the following conversation:

Brakeman: "Jim, do you think the Mill Creek Bridge is safe for us to cross tonight?"

Conductor: "If Joe cracks on the steam, I guess we'll get the engine and the tender across all right. I'm going forward."

These stories are exaggerated, but travel by rail was really dangerous. Why is the case different today? Make a list of all the reasons suggested in Chapter 22 or earlier in Chapter 20 why travel became safer after the War between the States.

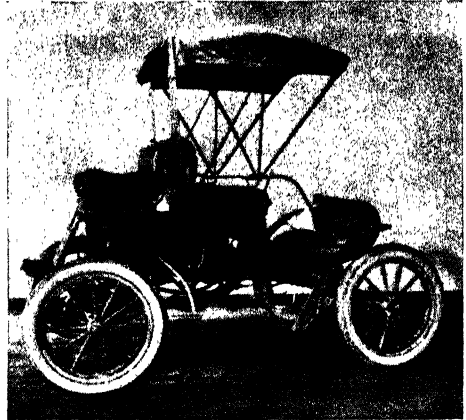
6. A Summary. Write a summary in not more than forty words of the section on "Protecting the Public" on pages 366-368. Make your summary a general statement, omitting all details and illustrative information.

7. The Case for the Grangers. As if you were a member of a farmers' Grange about 1875, make a speech outlining the program for reform of railroad abuses you would like to follow.

8. Early Automobiles. On this page are pictures of automobiles manufactured in the United States before 1915. Describe in definite terms how they differed in appearance, power, and construction from automobiles in use today.

9. How Automobiles Changed American Life. Few things have changed American life so much as the development of automobiles. Be able to answer the following questions about these changes:

How did the rise of automobiles affect blacksmith shops? Carriage factories? Steel mills?



What new occupations developed as automobiles became popular?

How were highways improved?

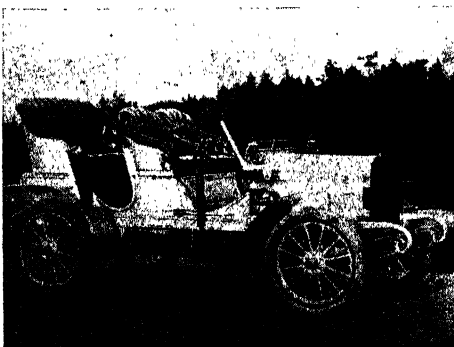
How did recreation opportunities change?

What systems for controlling automobile traffic were developed?

10. A Tribute to the Wright Brothers. Write a statement in not more than fifty words, suitable for an inscription on a memorial monument to the Wright brothers which might be erected at the site of their first successful airplane flight.

11. The Development of Airplanes. One member of the class should read the brief accounts of the development of aviation given in Wilson, Wilson, and Erb, *Living in the Age of Machines* (American Book Company, 1940), pages 127-135, 180-188, and report on it to the class. For additional information on aviation see encyclopedias and other books available.

12. Faster and Faster. In 1812 it took 144 hours of hard traveling by coach to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. In 1834, by early train, it took 88 hours to cover the same distance. In 1854 it took only 24 hours for the train journey, and in 1920 only 10 hours. By 1937 the trip could be made by plane in about 2 hours. Construct a pictorial graph to show this increased speed of transportation.



CHAPTER 23

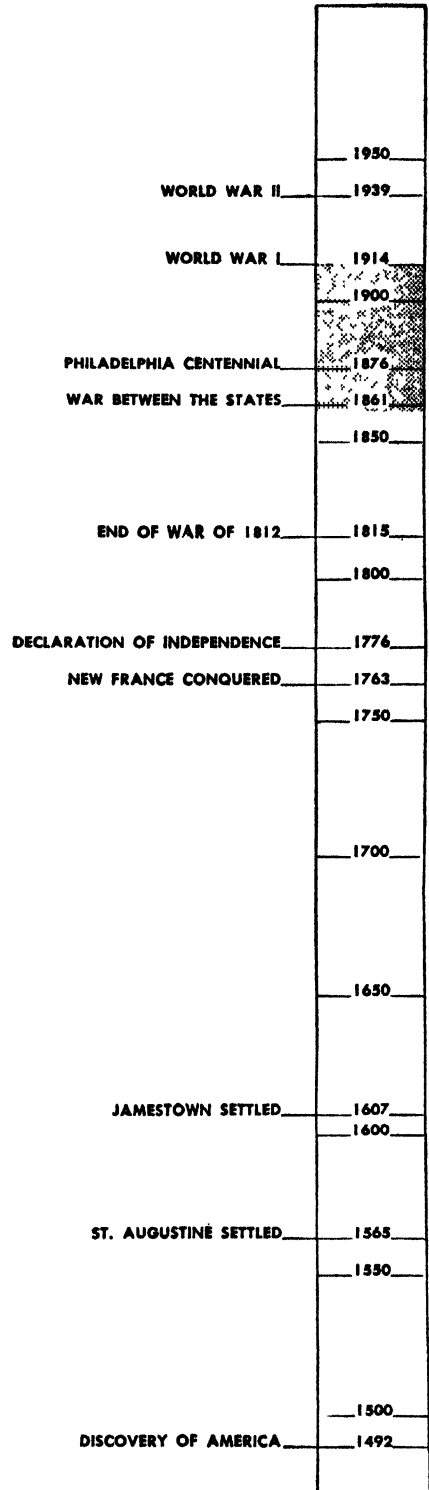
THE GROWTH OF BIG BUSINESS

1914 CLAYTON ACT

1901 UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

1890 SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT

1860's BIRTH OF FIRST TRUSTS



"I was young and had my dreams, and something within always told me that this would not, could not, should not last —I should some day get into a better position."

Andrew Carnegie

FARMING IN AN INDUSTRIAL AGE

In 1790 nine out of every ten Americans — people of the United States — had been farmers. The percentage of farmers as compared to city dwellers, however, steadily became less and less as industry grew. By 1880 less than half the population consisted of farmers; by 1915 only one third. In 1850 farms made up more than half of the nation's wealth; forty years later, only one quarter.

Hard Times in Agriculture

There were hard times on American farms in the early years of the nation's second century. Prices of farm products went down rapidly, a bushel of corn dropping in value from 63 cents in 1881 to 28 cents in 1890. Droughts and insects also dealt crippling blows; and other causes of the farmers' misfortunes were the high freight rates charged by railroads and high interest rates charged by bankers. A Nebraska editor had these rates in mind when he wrote: "There are three great crops raised in Nebraska. One is a crop of corn, one a crop of freight rates, and one a crop of interest. One is produced by farmers who by sweat and toil farm the land. The other two are produced by men who sit in their offices and behind their bank counters and farm the farmers." By 1890 in some communities more than 90 per cent of the land was under mortgage. This meant that most of the farmers had been forced to borrow money in order to live. They signed documents, called mortgages, agreeing to give up their lands and homes to the persons

loaning the money if the debts were not paid when promised.

Accomplishments of Farmers

It should not be assumed that there were fewer farmers and less farm crops produced than before. There were three farmers in 1915 for every one farmer that had lived in the United States in 1860. New American farm land settled between those years covered more territory than all the farm lands of France and Germany combined. Four times as much wheat was produced in 1915 as in 1860. American farmers not only fed the rapidly increasing population of our cities, but sent wheat, corn, and pork to sell in England and Germany as well. We sent twelve times as much wheat to foreign countries as we had a half century before. Yet we were ceasing to be chiefly a nation of farmers! The explanation is that industry grew even faster than farming. Although the growth of agriculture was amazing, the growth of industry was even more amazing, as we shall see later in this chapter.

Farming Becomes a Business

Farming itself was becoming more and more of a business. The earlier American farmer had done most of the work himself, and he had raised most of what he actually needed. New expensive inventions caused a great change. Many farmers invested large sums of money to buy the new machinery and equipment. To make these investments pay, many farmers had to increase the size of their farms.

As farmers were required to spend additional time managing their business affairs, they began to hire men to do some of the field work. So a large part of the male farm population became divided into managers and laborers somewhat like the people living in the cities.

Then there were many farmers who did not have money enough to buy farms and machines of their own. Sometimes they rented land from more prosperous farmers and became known as "tenant-farmers"; sometimes they made some sort of agreement about dividing the produce raised on the land and became known as "share-croppers." This situation was especially true in the South following the breakup of the plantations, as we have seen in Chapter 17. The problem became worse instead of better. In 1880 one third of all cotton planters did not own their land; by 1915 the number had grown to about two thirds. This condition, however, was not confined to the South. In the nation as a whole in 1880 one farmer out of four was tenant; by 1915, three out of eight were tenants.

Farming and Industry Benefit Each Other

Farmers benefited from the great growth of industry, while industry benefited from the accomplishments of agriculture. The rise of our factories resulted in an increased demand for the farmers' produce. The manufacture of the new inventions in large quantities made it possible for farmers to buy modern improvements at low cost. Many farm homes were made brighter and more cheerful; the work of the farmers' wives was made easier; and new farm machinery saved long hours of hard hand labor. The benefits of machinery were more apparent on the farms than in farm homes, however. Even today many farm homes are without electricity and plumbing.

In his turn, the farmer benefited industry. He made a rich market for manufactured goods and contributed freight to railroads. He produced the food and many of the raw materials for our rapidly growing factory towns. He provided cargoes for American ships on the seven seas. The farmers and the residents of factory towns needed, and depended on, each other.

LEADERS OF INDUSTRY

What about the people who were building industries much vaster than farms? The "success stories" of some of these industrial leaders are fascinating.

Philip D. Armour began life on a New York farm. In 1852 at the age of twenty he reached California after a journey of six months on foot. Here he made money digging ditches for gold miners. In 1885 he went to

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he finally worked his way to the top of the nation's fourth largest meat-packing firm. This business prospered during the War between the States because of large contracts with the government. Shortly after the war, Armour started a meat-packing plant in Chicago under the name Armour & Co. From the West poured a great flood of cattle and hogs; into the East and



Courtesy Standard Oil Co. of N. J.

The oil fields of western Pennsylvania were thick with wells in the early days after Edwin Drake sank the first successful oil well near Titusville in 1859. John D. Rockefeller became one of the leading figures in the control of Pennsylvanian oil.

then to all parts of the world went meats with the Armour label. Armour was active in the development of the use of refrigeration and the refrigerator car to provide a wider market for his meat. He joined with other large meat packers to control the nation's meat market. The price received by the Western farmers for their cattle and hogs was whatever the meat packers agreed to give. The price paid for meat by American housekeepers was also determined by Armour and his associates.

John D. Rockefeller at the age of sixteen was tramping the streets of Cleveland looking for a job. He finally found one as clerk and bookkeeper at \$12.50 a month. Out of this extremely small salary he saved a little and invested it. He entered the oil business in 1862 and helped organize the Standard Oil Company

eight years later. Then uniting with several other companies, he forced the railroads to give him special favors. As was explained in Chapter 22, railroads not only agreed to return to his company part of the freight it was paying but also to give it part of what rival companies were paying. It then became easy for Rockefeller to buy out his rivals. By 1880 his company had won almost complete control of the refining of oil. The railroads, desiring to free themselves from the control of the oil companies, began to invest in refineries themselves, but Rockefeller was strong enough to defeat them. He also won control over oil pipe lines. If the railroads would not give him whatever rates he asked, he would market his oil without them and they would lose much of their business. In addition to controlling railroad and pipe lines, Rocke-

feller made his own barrels, drums, tankers, and tank cars; bought his own oil fields; and operated his own refineries. By 1883 the American oil business was largely under the control of one company, and the great oil industry was controlled by one man.

Andrew Carnegie (kär-nā'gĭ) was twelve years of age when his bitterly poor family moved from Scotland to Pittsburgh, and he went to work in a cotton factory at \$1.20 a week. At seventeen he went to work on a railroad as operator and clerk, and when he was twenty-three he was a railway superintendent. By the time he was thirty he was wealthy. At first his investments were small, but as he himself quoted, "tall oaks from little acorns grow."

Gradually Carnegie turned his attention to steel and became as powerful in this industry as was Rockefeller in oil. He made excellent steel at lower cost than anybody else, and sold it at prices which gave him great profit. His prices might be high if there was no competition. He would cut prices to the bone, however, if a rival rose up against him. He constructed his own railroad from Erie to Pittsburgh; he secured possession of the coke industry and Mesabi iron-ore mines; and he built his own ore vessels, docks, and wharves on the Great Lakes. By 1900 he was the greatest steelmaker in America. He gloried in his great achievements and looked upon the steel business as among the wonders of the world. And he was right. "Two pounds of iron-stone mined upon Lake Superior," he said, "and transported 900 miles to Pittsburgh, one pound and one-half of coal, mined and manufactured into coke, and transported to Pittsburgh;

one-half pound of lime, mined and transported to Pittsburgh; a small amount of manganese ore, mined in Virginia and brought to Pittsburgh — and these four pounds of materials manufactured into one pound of steel, for which the consumer pays one cent."

J. Pierpont Morgan had a more favorable start in life than Armour, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. He inherited a great American private bank from his father and was highly educated. When leaders of industry and railroad builders needed money to build their business they were likely to go to him; when our nation's treasury could not get enough gold any other way President Cleveland turned to him and received assistance. Morgan supplied the money which enabled James J. Hill to build his vast railroad empire, and later joined with Harriman as well. He gathered under his control fifty-five thousand miles of railway within the short space of seventeen years.

When Carnegie in 1900 decided to retire from the steel business, Morgan seemed to be the most likely customer. Morgan was not anxious to take on that additional responsibility, but Carnegie by various means pushed him into the steel business. In 1901 J. P. Morgan and Company united various steel works to form the United States Steel Corporation, which was valued at more than a billion dollars. The New York banking firm had the nation's steel industry under its control. J. Pierpont Morgan was the most powerful man in the United States because of the many businesses in which his banking company had invested great sums of money.

Armour, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Morgan are a few of the most impor-

tant leaders of industry during the period from 1860 to 1915 when we became a great industrial nation. How would they use the great power which they possessed? Would they

use their power fairly and consider the nation's welfare? Or would they, like the railroad builders, need to be controlled by the government in the interest of all the people?

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION'S INDUSTRIES

Industry Becomes Big Business

Led by Armour, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and others, American industries became giants. Strong companies destroyed their weaker rivals and made combinations with each other until they were unchallenged. By 1879 the Standard Oil Company produced not only 90 per cent of the petroleum of the United States, but 75 per cent of what was produced in the entire world. The United States Steel Corporation was a billion-dollar concern when organized in 1901. It had been considered a great achievement when our country had manufactured a billion dollars' worth of produce in 1849. A half century later, however, what we made per year was worth thirteen times as much. Then between 1899 and 1914 production was doubled, while since that time it has much more than doubled again. There were only three millionaires in our nation in 1861, but by 1897 this number had risen to 3800 and by 1919 to more than 42,000.

This tremendous growth led to much boasting on the part of Americans. One of them living in 1893 declared that we "could buy up the 140,000,000 Russians, Austrians, and Spaniards; or, after purchasing wealthy France, would have pocket money to acquire Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, and Greece." Naturally

such remarks offended our neighbors across the seas. We can readily understand how other countries came to regard us as a nation of boasters and dollar-chasers. At that time Americans actually did devote their chief attention to making fortunes. A man's success in life was measured by his wealth.

Industrial Development in the South

The tremendous industrial development of the nation was not confined to the North and Northeast. The South became greatly interested in factories when plantations were broken up after the War between the States. That section played an important part in making our nation a great industrial giant. The textile villages of North Carolina began to resemble more and more the mill towns of Massachusetts. By 1910 over half of the cotton crop was manufactured in the South and by 1920 that region had clearly taken New England's lead in making textiles. The steel towns of Alabama resembled those of Pennsylvania. The South and far Northwest together produced most of the nation's lumber.

Banking Becomes More Important in Industry

The millionaire was likely to move to one of the big cities of the North-

east when he became rich. He helped to form "an ever-growing army of those who had gathered from the mines of California, from the forges of Pittsburgh, from the forests of Michigan, from the metallized mountains of Montana, wealth beyond the dreams of Midas." He tried to govern his economic empire from his office in New York or some other city. When he needed money for increasing the size of his business he borrowed from the wealthy banking houses. As a result, bankers had more and more to say about how his business should be run. In the end, the bankers became the real heads of many of the industries. One expert has estimated that one tenth of the American people owned nine tenths of the wealth by 1900.

Changes in Industry

Not only did manufacturing become huge, but the number of manufactured products increased at a rapid rate. Oil had ceased to be mainly an Indian medicine "good for man or beast," sold to improve the lungs and the liver. Two thirds of a century after Drake struck oil at Titusville, oil had more than two hundred commercial uses, including lubricant,

gasoline, benzine, and naphtha. Some use seems to have been found for nearly everything produced. One of our humorists, writing under the name of "Mr. Dooley," attempted to describe the inside of a Chicago packing house: "A cow goes lowin' softly into Armour's an' comes out glue, gelatine, fertilizer, celooloid, joolry, sofy cushions, hair restorer, washin' sody, soap, lithrachoer, an' bed springs so quick that while aft she's still cow, for'ard she may be anything fr'm buttons to pannyma hats."

There were other results of the sensational development of American industry, too numerous to mention here. No section of America was left untouched. The wealth that was created out of vast natural resources affected not only our own country, but the development of the entire world. It has been one of our greatest blessings and has made the world a much better place in which to live. This same wealth, however, is also the source of many of our problems. It may bring strength or it may bring weakness. It always brings power, however. Many Americans acted as if wealth were something to worship — some sort of golden idol before which they should bow low.

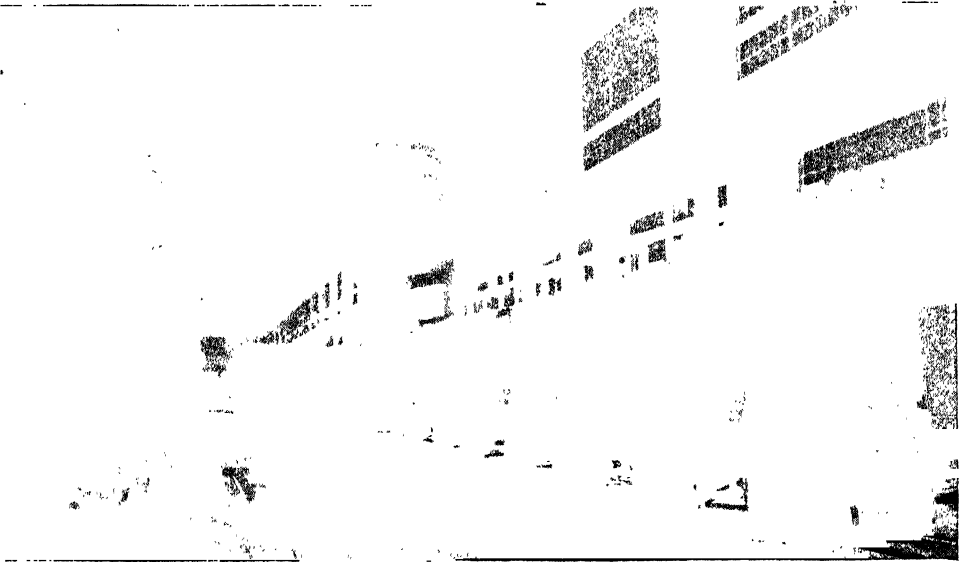
HOW MUCH POWER SHALL INDUSTRY HAVE?

How Industries Are Organized

The leaders of industry seldom acted by themselves alone. They were leaders of firms or companies in which they were associated with other businessmen. These companies generally were corporations; that is, they had met certain conditions established by

state law and in return had received certain privileges from some state.

Suppose \$100,000 was required to start the business in which a corporation was to be engaged. This sum would be divided up into parts, or shares of stock; possibly it would be divided into a thousand shares of \$100 each. Each man who invested



Courtesy of Bethlehem Steel Co.

Pouring ingot molds in the open-hearth department of a large steel mill. Can you tell the difference between the Bessemer and the open-hearth methods of making steel?

money in the corporation would receive a stock certificate, or certificates, for the shares purchased. Thus if he invested \$6100 he might receive one stock certificate for fifty shares, another for ten shares, and another for one share. He would have one vote in running the company's business for every share of stock he owned. He could run the business as he saw fit if he controlled more than half the votes. In that case he, or someone he selected, would be president of the corporation. If the corporation lost money the value of each share of stock would go down. If profits were made each man would share according to the stock he possessed.

Sometimes corporations in the same business united among themselves to form a large company called a "trust." It was known as a trust because the corporations turned over their stock to it and it acted as trustee of those stock certificates. The first trust was

John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. J. Pierpont Morgan's United States Steel Corporation was another. Then there were Armour's meat trust, a sugar trust, and various other trusts. If a trust became large enough to control all or nearly all of the business in a certain industry it was called a "monopoly." The trusts started by Rockefeller, Morgan, and Armour were monopolies as well as trusts.

A trust is a good thing in some ways. The larger a company and the greater its business the less are the prices it normally needs to charge for its products. It pays less per hundred pounds or for carload lots because it buys its raw materials in vast quantities. It can afford to hire better experts and to install the best machinery. Besides there is less waste of materials. For example, a large meat-packing company such as Armour's or Swift's would be more likely than your local

butcher to use part of a cow for glue. The butcher would lack the equipment and facilities for manufacturing such by-products. All of us reap the benefit when lower prices result. Yet a trust has great power. In some ways it is like a giant. It can charge any price it wishes and deal with us on any terms it chooses if it is not under the control of the government.

Regulating Trusts

Many Americans were as much at the mercy of the trusts as of the railroads. If a citizen objected to the treatment given him by the big oil companies, he could not very well start making his own gasoline. If a factory owner was using steel in his business and if the United States Steel Corporation demanded an unfair price, he usually could not afford to build mills to make his own steel. Americans became greatly concerned with the problem of how much power the trusts ought to have.

In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Act to protect its citizens against any trust that might misuse its great power. The law was intended to be held as a club over the head of bad trusts. The Sherman Act, however, was not much of a success as a club. The words used in the law were vague so that no one knew just what it meant. Then, too, the government was slow to use the club on its businessmen. If a trust felt that there was any danger that the Sherman Act would be used against it, it argued that no one's property should be taken away from him without paying him for it. According to the trusts, the government caused a decrease in profits and in the value of the companies' property every time it tried to control

trusts. That was practically the same as taking someone's property without paying him for it, so the trusts said.

Many Americans were very bitter against the trusts during the 1890's, and were disappointed because the Sherman Act did not disturb their power. The common people, especially in the West and South, were facing hard times while the founders of trusts were making fortunes. Farm prices were very low and interest rates were high. "Ten-cent corn and ten per cent interest" were driving Western farmers into bankruptcy; six-cent cotton fell equally hard on the South; and in the silver-mining states there was also suffering. There were various reasons for this serious situation, but those who were in debt placed most of the blame on the great Eastern bankers such as Morgan who managed the trusts. The people in debt felt certain that the bankers controlled the nation's gold supply for their own selfish purposes. Many thought that the national government at Washington was under the control of the bankers and the big trusts.

The debtors decided that the only way to control the big bankers and trusts and improve their own welfare was to increase the amount of money in use. They demanded that the government should buy up large quantities of silver and make it into money. They thought so much new money would put an end to the bankers' control of the gold supply and would free the government from the control of the bankers and trusts. In other words, the debtors wanted cheaper money just as the followers of Daniel Shays had desired it more than a century before. If there was more money

in use, prices would increase. Less corn, wheat, or cotton would be required to pay debts which they already owed.

William Jennings Bryan became the leader of the debtors in the South and West in their struggle against the bankers and trusts. He was a famous



The Bettmann Archive

Theodore Roosevelt, whether he was campaigning for office or waging a reform, was always an energetic, enthusiastic speaker. Here he is speaking to an audience in the Guildhall, London, England.

orator who became a candidate of the Democrats for President in 1896. He bitterly attacked the bankers, saying: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Bryan was unsuccessful in the election, however. A majority of the voters may have desired to control the power of the great bankers and trusts but they were unwilling to experiment with cheap money in order to control trusts.

At the beginning of the twentieth

century (in 1901) the trusts seemed to be stronger than ever before. Their success in defeating Bryan had given them increased confidence as they peered into the future. There seemed to be no reason for them to fear the government. It was true that the Sherman Act remained the law, but the trusts had always found ways to get around it. Some trusts continued to crush their weaker rivals in any manner they desired, and felt that their acts were none of the government's business.

The Power of the Trusts Is Checked

The power of the trusts, however, was destined to be checked. Public feeling against the trusts continued to grow, despite the defeat of Bryan. This feeling reached a climax just about the time President McKinley fell before an assassin's bullet and Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt moved into the White House, in 1901.

Roosevelt was one of the most remarkable men in our history; both his friends and his enemies could agree on that. He was equally at home with bankers and cowboys; with statesmen and prize fighters. He was so full of energy and was so actively interested in such a wide variety of subjects that he made the word "strenuous" mean something. He made himself from a sickly youth to a perfect picture of health. He had become a public hero in the war with Spain and could talk as easily with statesmen and emperors as with railroad conductors. When he was made President he was not yet forty-three years old. He was a well-educated son of one of New York City's prosperous families, but it was he, rather than Bryan, who was to place the

great bankers, railroad builders, and founders of trusts under control.

It would be wrong to state that Roosevelt had any particular dislike for rich men as such. Nor could it be said that he was opposed to trusts. They had nothing to fear from him if they obeyed the law. He summed up his views in one sentence: "We are neither for the rich man as such nor the poor man as such; we are for the upright man, rich or poor." He declared himself in favor of a "square deal" for all classes in the population. He was referred to, however, by his enemies as "Theodore the Meddler" because he was constantly interfering with big business.

Hill, Harriman, and Morgan were astonished when Roosevelt took the Sherman Act out of mothballs and used it to halt their great railroad schemes, but it worked. Mining and lumber kings were aroused when he set aside large areas of public lands for the nation instead of selling them for little or nothing. Big business did not like the way he settled the anthracite (hard coal) strike in 1902. When the mine owners refused to try to settle their dispute with their laborers, Roosevelt threatened to order the army to mine the coal, so that the public would not freeze. Always before, the troops had been used to help big business, but Roosevelt placed the nation as a whole above quarrels between industry and labor.

Roosevelt was a very popular President. He was elected in 1904 with

but little difficulty and in 1908 was able to turn the Ship of State over to his friend, William Howard Taft, who was also a Republican. Roosevelt then left the country on a hunting trip to the African jungles. Violent quarrels soon broke out among the Republicans, however. Roosevelt became Taft's strongest enemy when he returned to the United States. Both of them became candidates for President in 1912. Taft was the regular Republican candidate, while Roosevelt's followers were known as Progressives.

The Democrats selected Woodrow Wilson, whose views on government and business were somewhat similar to Roosevelt's. He won because the Republicans split into two parties and divided the Republican vote. He declared that the leaders of our nation's government had given too much consideration to the views and wishes of big business and had paid too little attention to ordinary Americans. Soon after Wilson succeeded Taft, Congress passed the Clayton Act which really put teeth into the Sherman Act so that bad trusts would fear the government's bite. At about the same time the Sixteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution. This amendment allowed taxes on incomes with the result that men who made the most money were to pay a larger share of the cost of government. The great leaders of business and finance continued to be powerful, but they possessed less control over the nation's government than before.

Study Activities

1. *Leaders of Big Business.* In Chapter 23 brief accounts are given of four

leaders in the rise of big business — Armour, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and

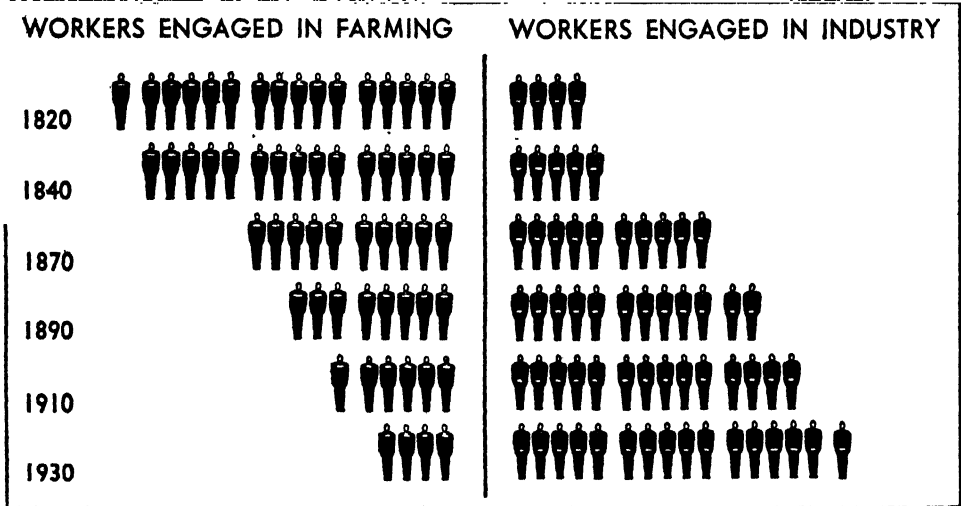
Morgan. Let each member of the class collect additional items of information about the four by consulting the encyclopedias and biographies available in the library. These four are only examples of the "big business barons" of the years after 1865. Make a list of as many other business leaders of that period as you can. Be able to tell what each man did.

2. Interpreting a Chart. Each figure in the chart given below represents 5% of the

4. Definition of Terms. After reading Chapter 23 carefully write definitions, in your own words, of the following terms as they are used in the text.

agriculture	trust	bank
industry	investment	regulation
freight rate	corporation	debtor
interest	share-cropper	monopoly
mortgage	big business	

After you have written your own definitions consult the dictionary to verify them.



workers of the United States. Study the chart carefully and then answer the questions given below.

- What would be a good title for the chart?
- What percentage of the workers in America were farmers in the years shown on the chart?
- What percentage were industrial workers in each year?
- Can you tell from the chart how many workers there were in the country during any of the years listed?

3. Effects of the Rise of Industry. Make a list of the effects of the rise of industrial big business after the War between the States. Which of the effects have been beneficial, and which harmful?

5. A Problem in "Big Figures." On page 380 are given most of the following figures about the total value of goods manufactured each year in the United States. In 1849 the country produced \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods. In 1899 thirteen times as much was produced. Between 1899 and 1914 this figure was doubled. What was the total amount produced, according to these general figures, in the year 1914?

6. Organizing a Corporation. Have the class organize a corporation. Decide what the corporation should manufacture and how much money it would take to start work. Decide on par value for the stock, and issue shares of it to

each class member. What would happen if your corporation made a 10% profit? What would happen if it lost money during the year?

7. A Film Program. Secure, from the nearest library of educational films, the films on *Steel*, *Furnaces of Industry*, *Story of Coal*, and *Men and Machines* for use in a school assembly program.

8. Analyzing a Speech. Mary Lease, a leader in the "revolt of the farmers," made a speech in Omaha in 1890, in which she said: "Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. . . . We were told four years ago to go to work and raise a big crop and that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted. The rain fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop they told us to. And what came of it? Eight-cent corn, ten-cent oats, two-cent beef, and no price at all for butter and eggs — that's what came of it!"

Explain the meaning of the phrases used in the quotation. What do you think of Mary Lease's statement?

9. A Political Party Platform. In 1840 the Populist Party adopted a platform which said "The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few." The platform demanded, among other things "a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, government ownership of monopolies" and "reduction of the tariff." Can you explain all these references? Which of their demands have since been satisfied?

10. "Teddy" Roosevelt. Write a brief biography of Theodore Roosevelt. In what ways did he seek to regulate big business? The following books about Roosevelt are interesting reading.

J. B. Bishop (Editor), *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

Hermann Hagedorn, *The Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, Harper & Brothers, 1922.

James Morgan, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Boy and the Man*, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

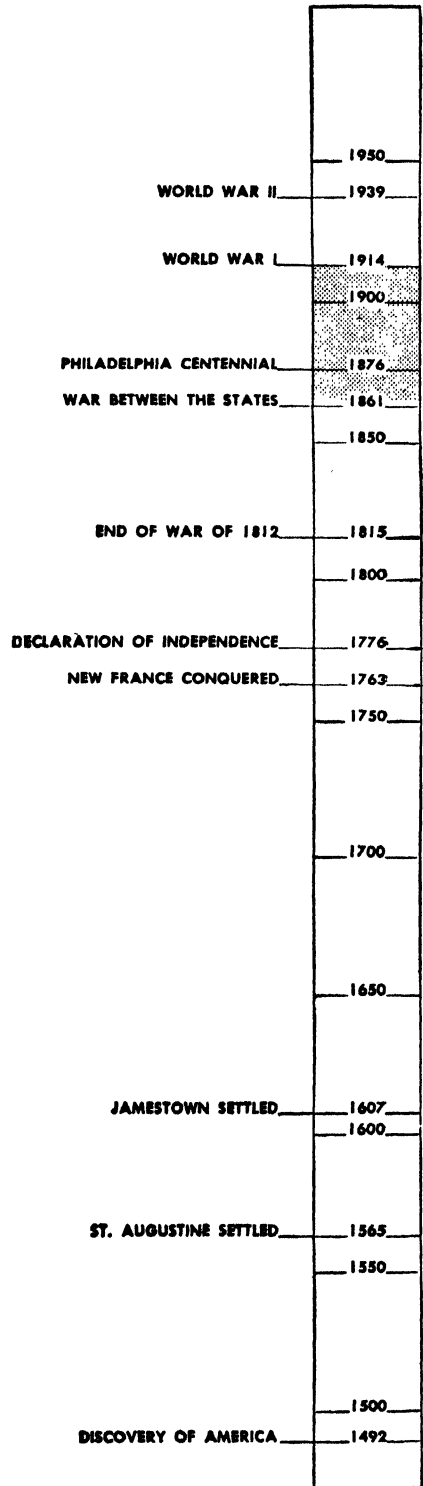
CHAPTER 24

THE RISE OF LABOR

1914 CLAYTON ACT
1909 HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX STRIKE
1905 INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1902 ROOSEVELT SIDES WITH THE WORKERS
1881 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR
1869 ORGANIZATION OF KNIGHTS OF LABOR
1863 ORGANIZATION OF FIRST RAILROAD
BROTHERHOOD

"Workingmen are at the foundation of society. Show me that product of human endeavor in the making of which the workingman has had no share, and I will show you something that society can well dispense with."

Samuel Gompers



LEADERS OF LABOR

Early Labor Organizations

Uriah S. Stephens was educated to be a Baptist minister but became a tailor instead. In 1869 at the age of forty-eight he was a garment cutter in Philadelphia. He organized the "Noble Order of the Knights of Labor" with the assistance of six other garment cutters. At first it was a secret society to protect the laborers from their employers. Even its name was kept from the public. Stephens welcomed all kinds of workers, both skilled and unskilled, hoping to unite all laborers in the one union. Some of his aims were an eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, fairer wages, and the arbitration of labor disputes. For the first ten years, however, progress was slow, and the public

was suspicious of the Knights of Labor because of its secrecy.

Then in 1879 Terence V. Powderly replaced Stephens as head of the Knights of Labor. At the age of thirteen he had gone to work as a switch tender; at seventeen he had become a machinist's apprentice. In 1877 at the age of twenty-eight he had been elected mayor of Scranton, Pennsylvania, as the candidate of a labor party. With Powderly as leader, the order of the Knights of Labor grew rapidly, especially after it did away with secrecy. In 1886 at the height of its power the organization had, it was claimed, over 700,000 members, mostly unskilled laborers.

The Knights of Labor was a very democratic organization. It included women as well as men, Negroes as



The founders of the Knights of Labor, 1886, pose for a group photograph. The vacant chair is that of U. S. Stephens, the chief organizer of the Knights.

well as whites, and both skilled and unskilled workers. Its very readiness to admit new members, however, resulted in its greatest weakness and its downfall. Its vast numbers of unskilled laborers were not ready to assume so much responsibility. Many of them had but recently arrived from Europe and had not had time to learn



Samuel Gompers as he appeared at about the time he helped to organize the American Federation of Labor.

American ways of living. The great mass of uneducated, unskilled workers refused to listen to the advice of Powderly. They insisted on running the Knights of Labor to suit themselves. Some members were responsible for so many violent acts that public opinion was aroused against their organization, and the Knights of Labor declined rapidly in importance.

Its place was taken by the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of a cigar maker named Samuel Gompers.

Gompers was born in 1850 in a tenement in London, England — the

son of Jewish parents. He came to New York City at the age of thirteen. During the following year he joined a cigar-makers' union and later became its president. In 1881 he helped to organize the American Federation of Labor. He became its first president, a position he held with the exception of one year until his death in 1924. During the first few years the new labor movement was slow to grow, but by 1914 it had more than two million members. This success was due in large measure to the leadership of Gompers. His ability won him a place in the history of American labor similar to that of Rockefeller in the development of business. He was the greatest of the pioneer labor leaders.

The American Federation of Labor was not so much one big union as it was a confederation of many independent unions. For example, although the cigar makers were members of the American Federation of Labor, they kept their own union and were left very much alone to run their own affairs. The same was true of the carpenters, and the bricklayers, and other groups of workers.

Unlike the Knights of Labor, the A. F. of L. was confined to skilled laborers. This policy provided no protection to the nine laborers out of ten who were unskilled and needed protection most. It was partly responsible, however, for the success of Gompers's organization where the Knights of Labor had failed. The skilled workers of the American Federation were opposed to violence. They lived up to the contracts which they made with their employers, and won the respect of both the public and business.

Gompers encouraged skill in any union. If there were differences between laborers and employers which could not be settled in a friendly spirit his favorite weapon was the strike. He was opposed to violence such as the destruction of the employer's property. His main aims were the eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, and the improvement of working conditions. He felt that labor could gain more by being independent in politics than by becoming closely associated with either the Democrats or the Republicans. He believed that the American Federation of Labor should help elect candidates, regardless of party, who had shown themselves to be friends of labor, and that the organization should oppose its enemies.

There were, however, other labor leaders and other labor organizations. Among the most powerful of all labor organizations were the four railway "brotherhoods" (unions of engineers, of conductors, of firemen, and of brakemen). Their great power was due largely to the fact that the entire nation's system of transportation depended upon them. Most of the nation's business would be at a standstill if the trains failed to run.

The engineer at the throttle of the locomotive is one of labor's greatest aristocrats. He knows that the safety of the train is in his hands; he realizes that the exchange of goods depends upon him. He has to have character to hold his job. He is likely to be expelled from his union by the other members if he gets drunk or even if he fails to pay his debts. His is not the life of a coward, and he is often likely to be a hero — as likely as a soldier on the battlefield.

To be an engineer he has first to be a fireman, generally from four to twelve years, and firemen themselves are selected men who have passed severe physical examinations. As a fireman he is required to shovel from fifteen to twenty-five tons of coal into the blazing firebox during an eight-to twelve-hour run. In winter icy winds and blasts from the firebox combine to attack him. The strain of looking into the blaze alone may harm his eyes so that he can advance no farther. It has been estimated that out of every one hundred firemen only seventeen become engineers, and of these only six ever are allowed to drive passenger engines.

The first of the great railway brotherhoods was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, organized at Detroit in 1863. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was founded in 1869. Both of them, and also the other two railway brotherhoods — of Conductors and of Brakemen — were fortunate in having fine leadership and soon were earning reputations as fine unions.

Younger Labor Organizations

In 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as the I.W.W., was organized. The I.W.W. wished to unite all workers, both skilled and unskilled, into one union. In that respect the I.W.W. was similar to the Knights of Labor. In other ways, however, it differed greatly from the unions that had existed before that time. It favored such things as sabotage (the destruction of factory machinery) in order to bring employers to their knees. It also hoped that the time would come when the working class would "take possession

*Culver Service*

Women working in the sewing room of A. T. Stewart Company in New York City. The firm was bought out by John Wanamaker a few years later.

of the earth" and possess the factories themselves. People who favored such ideas were known as Communists because they wished all property owned "in common."

Neither the Industrial Workers of the World nor Communism, however, made much headway in our nation. The average American had enjoyed the habit of doing very much what he pleased. The less the government or anyone else regulated his activities the better he liked it. He was as much opposed to giving up his American democracy to labor leaders as to any other kind of leader. Our great American labor leaders, such as Samuel Gompers, were as bitter against the aims of the Industrial Workers of the World as were the employers and the farmers. This organization collapsed at the time of World War I, partly because it sought to hinder the nation's war effort. It could not prosper without public approval. It did cause, however, the

American Federation of Labor to take greater interest in the problem of unskilled workers.

Women had belonged to unions for many years. Their unions, however, were weak until after the beginning of the twentieth century. Great strikes broke out among needleworkers, starting in 1909. Hart, Schaffner and Marx was one of the companies concerned. Its employees won their strike with the assistance of the Women's Trade Union League. The company and the workers agreed to organize a joint board of their representatives to settle any disputes which might arise. This new method of settling disputes was called "arbitration." It resulted in permanent peaceful relations between the company and its workers. The needleworkers' strikes also led to stronger organizations which included women workers. The Ladies' Garment Workers' Union soon rose to third place among the unions which made

up the American Federation of Labor.

Other labor organizations were formed which were destined to become even more important after 1915 than before. Chief among these unions was the United Mine Workers under the leadership of John Mitchell.

This organization became of importance in the soft-coal fields in 1897 and by 1915 had won complete control over labor in both the soft- and hard-coal districts. Still another important union, organized near the close of this period, was the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

HOW UNIONS OPERATE

Why There Are Unions

Before unions were organized the individual worker was at the mercy of the factory owner. The owner determined how much money the worker should receive for his services, and could fire the worker for any reason whenever he felt like it. The worker, acting alone, could not do much to correct this unequal situation. He knew the factory owner probably could find some other worker to take his place if he demanded higher wages. He also would have considerable difficulty obtaining a job at a higher wage in another factory.

After unions were organized, however, the worker was not at the mercy of his employer. Workers acting together were much stronger than when acting separately, and the factory owner felt compelled to listen to what they had to say. They had a much better opportunity to obtain higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better working conditions.

The unions were stronger in some factories than in others. Sometimes the factory owner continued to hire workers who did not belong to unions even in factories where unions existed. This practice was known as the "open shop" because employment was open

to anybody. The unions did not like the open shop; they became weaker every time the owner hired a worker who did not belong to their organization. They insisted on what was known as the "closed shop." That meant that no workers could be hired unless they joined the union. Many workers found that it was necessary for them to join unions in order to have jobs.

Workers were admitted to unions if the members of the union saw no reason to keep them out. All members of the union had the right to vote at union meetings. They could decide who was to be their president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and could help settle union problems. All workers were expected to pay dues. Some of this money would go to the national union to look after the interests of all its workers everywhere. The remainder would be kept in the local treasury to be used to carry on its activities. If the factory owner tried to take unfair advantage of his workers, the money might be used to prevent it.

Management's Weapons

There are various weapons that can be used by the management of the factory when there are labor disputes.

One such weapon is the "lockout" which exists when the management shuts down the machinery, locks the doors, and stops manufacturing. When the lockout is used it is the hope of the management that the workers will be forced to accept the company's terms in order to avoid starvation. Another weapon of management is the "blacklist." This is a list of workers who have been known to cause trouble; a worker whose name is on that list would have serious difficulty finding employment. The management has sometimes refused to recognize the union or to pay any attention to its officers. If the management feels required to recognize some type of union it has sometimes organized a "company union." This type of union is generally controlled by the management, and the workers have little power.

Labor's Weapons

There are various weapons that labor can use if disagreements between workers and employees cannot be settled in peaceful fashion. Some workers, called "pickets," may walk back and forth in front of a company's building with signs reading "Unfair to Labor," asking laborers not to work there and customers not to go there. Other workers may start a "boycott," asking the public to buy no goods made by the company that owns the factory. The strongest weapon, however, that labor possesses is the strike. In a strike the workers stop working and seek to prevent others from taking their place.

A strike can be a terrible thing for all concerned. It may hurt the worker most of all, especially if he has no money saved up for food or if his

union is poor. His table may be bare and there may be no milk even for his children. The factory owner will not be in danger of starving; but other firms will secure some of his business while his machines are idle. People who have money invested in his company will feel their pocketbooks being pinched, and the owner himself may be forced into bankruptcy.

In 1877 a strike was called on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad when the workers refused to accept a fourth reduction of wages in seven years. As the strike spread, there were bloody riots in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, and clashes between mobs and troops. In 1886 police tried to break up a meeting of strikers at Haymarket Square, Chicago. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb that killed and injured policemen. In 1892, when the Carnegie Steel Company reduced wages and refused to recognize the union, another important strike resulted. A pitched battle took place between the workers and three hundred armed detectives hired by the company. Many were wounded and some killed.

In the year 1894 there were many strikes, with three quarters of a million laborers involved. The fiercest conflict occurred at Chicago because of wage cuts by the Pullman Company. Mobs and gangs of hobos and criminals took advantage of the struggle between owners and laborers, to steal and burn and kill. President Cleveland finally sent troops to restore order and guard the mail. This he accomplished, but in doing so he helped the owners to defeat the laborers. During the strike a Federal court issued an order, called an "injunction," forbidding the workers to interfere with the operation of the

railroads. This also helped the owners to defeat the laborers. The unions felt that the government was taking sides against them.

In 1902 came the great strike among the miners of hard coal while Theodore Roosevelt was President. On this occasion the labor leaders were willing to compromise, but the owners were not. In this case the government appeared on the side of labor. Roosevelt threatened to use the United States Army to mine coal unless the owners would agree to compromise.

Sometimes in the wars fought between the workers and employers the public suffered more than either the workers or the employers. A coal strike was especially serious. Coal

miners might have empty pocket-books, but ordinary citizens in the Northern climate would be completely at the mercy of a cruel winter. Industries employing large numbers of people might have to shut down for lack of fuel.

The government, however, did not make any great effort to prevent such labor conflicts. Workers and employers would fight it out until one or the other was completely beaten or until public opinion forced them to give up. The government chose not to interfere in labor disputes during the period that ended in 1915 except for the few times that it became necessary for American troops to restore order.

WHAT ORGANIZED LABOR GAINED

Gains for Men and Women

In the half century ending in 1915 the condition of labor was gradually improved. The day had passed when men, women, and children were required to work in the factories from dawn to darkness. Gradually the hours of labor were reduced until at the time of World War I eight hours became the normal working day.

One of the greatest labor problems had to do with injury or death to workingmen attending machines. At first it was generally understood that any danger from machinery was not the concern of the factory owner. It was felt that the danger was part of the job and that the laborer assumed all the risk when he accepted the work. Public opinion gradually changed, however. If a worker was injured in spite of all his care and

precaution, it did not seem fair that he should bear the burden himself; if he was killed, there seemed no reason why his family should endure poverty. Finally in 1902 Maryland made employers legally responsible for injuries received by laborers while at work. By 1917 all but ten states had set up some sort of insurance plan to take the burden of factory accident off the shoulders of labor. Far too many workmen, however, were being injured in factories in spite of the precautions taken.

Women were often employed to tend factory machines because they could work for less than men. In 1880 only one woman out of every six worked outside her own home, but in 1910 this was true of one in every four. At just about that time, however, a great change took place. Women in unions everywhere were demanding

*Brown Brothers*

Boys at work in a coal mine. The dust in the breaker was so dense at times as to obscure the view. Today child labor is very much restricted.

wages equal to those of men engaged in the same occupations. Then states passed laws which protected women in industry and determined under what conditions they might work. The result was that the factory owner was not so anxious to employ women as before. Besides, as wages increased, more and more men were receiving pay large enough to support their families without the assistance of their wives.

Gains for Children

The war on child labor was a long uphill battle. Jacob Riis told of a little New York girl making cash sales of \$167 in a single day, but receiving a salary of only \$2 a week. Even then she was fined sixty cents out of her \$2 as a result of a slight mistake which she had made. In one store the superintendent and time-keeper divided up \$3,000 of such fines at the end of the year. The cashgirls

were sometimes required to pay for the aprons they wore on their jobs. They often worked as much as sixteen hours a day.

Children as young as five worked all day long making paper flowers and folding envelopes in city tenements. In New York alone from ten thousand to twenty thousand children worked in factories. It was not unusual for some of the younger children to catch their fingers in the machines or have sharp needles stab through their hands.

Some states passed laws to regulate child labor, but the number of children between ten and fifteen who were working increased from 739,000 in 1870 to 1,990,000 in 1910. By 1910 nearly 19 per cent of all children between those ages were working for a living. There was great difficulty in putting an end to child labor by state laws. Just as soon as one state protected its children, the factory owners

of neighboring states were given an advantage over the businessmen of the state having the law.

By 1912, however, some kind of child labor laws existed in thirty-eight states. In 1916 Congress passed a law to keep goods made by child labor from passing across state boundary lines, although it was of little importance because the Supreme Court decided the law was contrary to the Constitution. Child labor was being used less and less in any case, partly because of compulsory education laws in all Northern and Western states. By 1920 only eight and a half per cent of the children between ten and fifteen years of age were employed, as compared with nearly nineteen per cent in 1910.

The Department of Labor

The growing importance of labor in the life of the nation was recognized by our national government, in which there had been a Bureau of Labor ever since 1884. A new Department of Labor was organized in 1913, with a Secretary of Labor to assist the President in solving labor problems. It includes a Children's Bureau which administers aid to crippled children and contributes to the welfare of children in other ways. A second bureau looks after the interests of women in industry, another bureau collects and reports labor statistics, and yet another bureau sees that national laws relating to wages and hours of labor are obeyed.

Labor Becomes a Giant

In 1890 Congress had passed the Sherman Act to regulate big business concerns known as trusts. It had not

been the intention of Congress to have this law apply to labor unions. However, it is the responsibility of our Federal courts to determine what laws mean, and some judges decided that labor unions were really trusts. In the *Danbury Hatters'* case, a labor organization was found guilty of violating the Sherman Act because it had interfered with commerce among the states. If labor unions were to be punished for interfering with interstate commerce, they would partially lose their greatest weapons, such as the boycott and the strike. Finally, in 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Act which, besides other important provisions, declared that the laws against trusts did not apply to labor unions. This law was a great victory for organized labor, and at the close of this period (1860-1915) labor was a giant in size and power.

In fact, the ordinary American citizen found himself surrounded by giants in 1915. There were the great railroads upon which the nation depended. There were the great industries against which it was difficult and often impossible for a small businessman to compete. And there were the great labor unions which were becoming as powerful as any of the other giants. The ordinary citizen might not be able to find a job unless he joined a union. He and his family might freeze if strikes closed down the coal mines. He would have a difficult time trying to exist if railroad workers and factory laborers remained idle, unless he lived on a farm. Would he succeed in keeping these giants under control, or would one of them finally become his master? He could not be certain in 1915 nor even in much later years.

Study Activities

1. Early Labor Unions. After reading the first section of Chapter 24 make a chart on "The Rise of Labor," in four columns with these headings: (1) Name of Labor Union, (2) Leaders, (3) Aims of the Union, (4) Its Unusual Features.

2. An Inscription. Samuel Gompers is one of the great figures in the history of labor unions. Read what the textbook and the encyclopedias have to say about him, and then write a statement of not more than fifty words as a tribute suitable for inscription on a monument to him.

3. Labor Definitions. Write your definitions for the following words or expressions which are necessary to an understanding of "The Rise of Labor." By a careful reading of the text you should be able to form your definitions. After you have made your definitions, check on them in the dictionary.

unskilled worker	open shop	boycott
skilled worker	closed shop	picket
union	lockout	injunction
strike	blacklist	child labor
arbitration	company union	

4. A Dramatization. In 1902 John Mitchell, leader of the United Mine Workers, called a strike for better working conditions and higher pay. He said that if an impartial committee made up of prominent church leaders should find that "the average pay of a miner is sufficient for him to live, maintain his family, and educate his children in a manner conformable to American citizenship" he would call off the strike. The leader of the mine owners, George F. Baer, replied that "anthracite mining is a business, and not a religious, sentimental, or academic proposition." Feeling grew very bitter, and President Theodore Roosevelt had to intervene. He sent Elihu Root, a prominent lawyer and statesman, to interview the leaders, and they agreed to submit

the issue of the strike to an arbitration commission appointed by Roosevelt. Select members of the class to dramatize a session of the arbitration commission. John Mitchell and George F. Baer should argue their cases, and Elihu Root should present the case of the public.

5. Books to Read. *With the Men Who Do Things*, a book by Alexander R. Bond (Scientific American Publishing Co., 1930), is the story of workers and their work — building skyscrapers, digging tunnels, doing the work of the nation. *The Story of Mining*, by Martha Gruening (Harper & Brothers, 1931), is an introduction in story form to the dangers faced by those who dig deeply into the earth. *Lumbercamp*, by Glen Rounds (Holiday House, Inc., 1937), is an exciting story of work in the forests. *Within Our Gates*, edited by Mary B. McLellan and Albert V. DeBonis (Harper & Brothers, 1940), is a collection of stories, essays, and sketches by and about various immigrant groups at work in America. Interesting reports to the class could be given about each of these books.

6. Labor's Gains. Make a list of gains that labor in the United States had made by 1915. Try to include some gains not mentioned in Chapter 24.

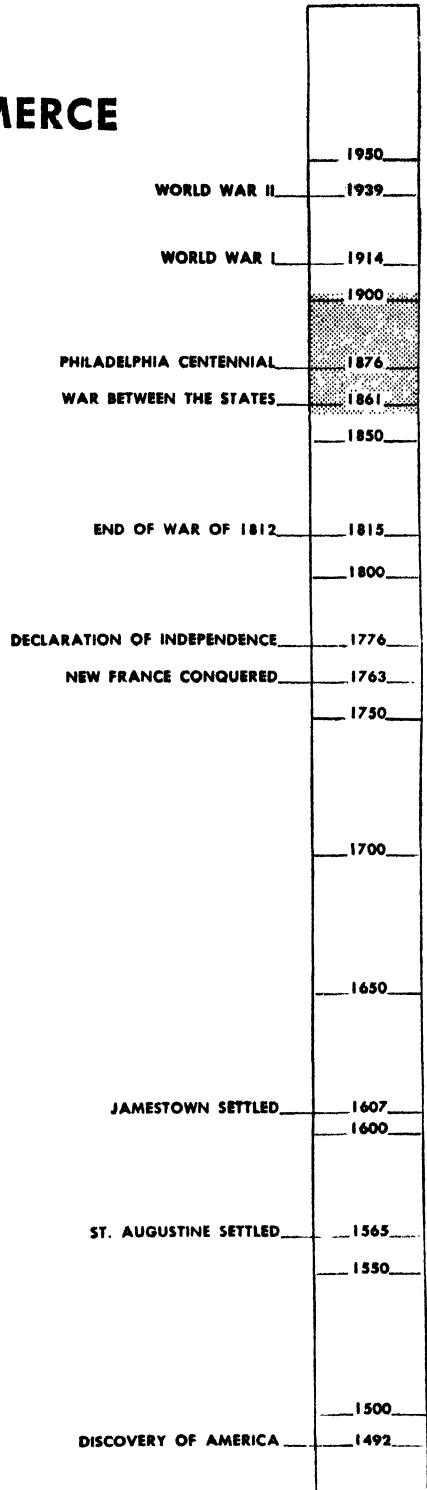
7. A Cartoon. Draw a cartoon of a worker making up his mind whether to join a union or not. Bring out the advantages and disadvantages the worker is considering. Place the best cartoons, with good titles, on the bulletin board.

8. The Department of Labor. Consult your civics books and available encyclopedias to find information about the Department of Labor to add to that given in Chapter 24. Appoint a small committee to give a special report on the work of the Department of Labor.

CHAPTER 25

THE GROWTH OF COMMERCE

1903 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ESTABLISHED
1872-84 FIVE NEW KINDS OF RETAIL STORES
1870-72 BEGINNING OF BANANA TRADE
1859 FIRST SUCCESSFUL CHAIN STORE



"Commerce links all mankind
in one common brotherhood of mutual
dependence and interests."

James A. Garfield

LEADERS IN COMMERCE

Leaders in Commerce within Our Country

John Wanamaker was born in 1838 on the outskirts of Philadelphia, the son of a brickmaker. At the age of fourteen he was working as an errand boy for a Philadelphia publisher. He did other kinds of work later, and was undecided for some time whether to become a clergyman or to enter business. He finally made up his mind to become a merchant. In 1875 he startled Philadelphia by buying the old "Grand Depot" of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He changed this abandoned railroad station into a department store. By department

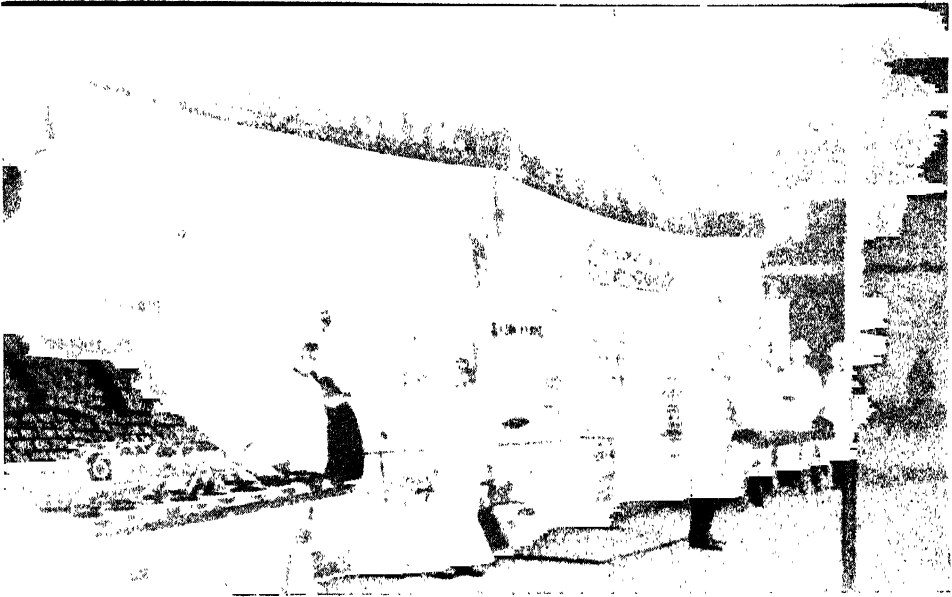
store is meant a store in which a great variety of articles are brought together under one roof. One room or department might be stocked with furniture, another with groceries, another with jewelry, another with children's clothing, and so on. A shopper might be able to buy everything she needed in that one building, instead of traveling from store to store.

Wanamaker introduced many new ideas in his department store. He charged "one price to all" instead of whatever he thought the customer would pay. He marked the price plainly on the goods, and guaranteed money back if the customer was not satisfied. He bought directly from



Courtesy of John Wanamaker

In 1876 John Wanamaker converted a rambling old freight depot into a huge dry goods and men's clothing store, the "Grand Depot," which attracted considerable attention from visitors to the Centennial Exposition.



Courtesy of F. W. Woolworth Co.

Frank W. Woolworth (p. 402) opened his "five and ten cent" store in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1879. Thirty-four years later he opened the Woolworth Building in New York, which for many years was the "tallest skyscraper in the world."

producers whenever possible, and sent his agents into foreign lands to buy goods to sell in his store. His prices to customers were lower than prices in other stores because he bought his goods in such large quantities at lower prices from the firms that made them. His decision to sell a certain article often meant prosperity to the firm that made it. For example, his decision to sell Ford automobiles in 1903 had much to do with making the automobile popular in the East, and it made possible the rapid success of the Ford Motor Company. His first department store prospered so rapidly that he established one in New York in 1896, and a new one in Philadelphia in 1911. Wanamaker was seventy-three years of age when his new Philadelphia store was dedicated by the President of the United States.

Marshall Field was the son of a Massachusetts farmer. In 1850 at the age of sixteen he went to work in a small country store, but the owner soon decided that the young man would never succeed in business. Field moved to Chicago in 1856 and within nine years became the leading partner in Chicago's largest retail store. In 1881 he founded Marshall Field and Co. Like Wanamaker he was a pioneer in American business. His store claims to have been the first to sell goods at lower prices in store basements. His agents also went to foreign countries; his own organization made handkerchiefs in Japan, for example. His company bought mills in a number of states to manufacture its own goods. It sold directly to customers, and also to other stores.

In 1872 Montgomery Ward issued a price list of goods which he would

sell by mail. His prices were low because he bought directly from producers and sold directly to consumers. The idea of ordering by mail rapidly became popular, especially in rural areas where stores were small and few. In 1884 a young station agent began selling watches by mail, leading to the founding of Sears Roebuck & Co. Both firms moved to Chicago, where their sales grew far greater than the sales of such city department stores as Wanamaker's and Field's.

Frank W. Woolworth was a clerk in a store in Watertown, New York. He decided that money could be made by selling many small articles for as little as five cents. His first store at Utica, New York, was a failure, but his second attempt at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1879, was a great success. Soon the great chain of "five and ten cent stores" began to appear throughout the country.

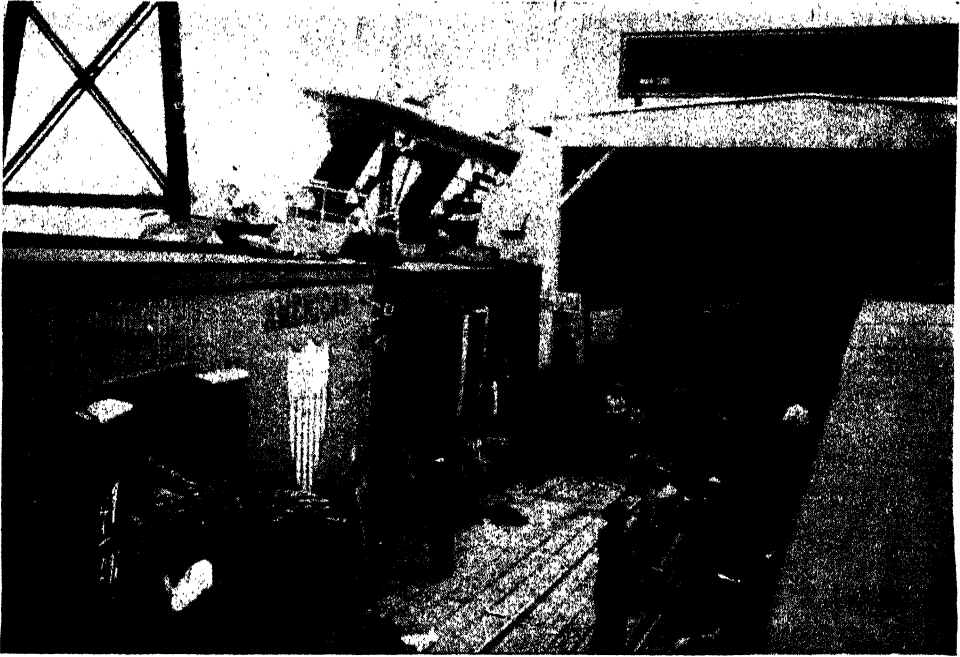
The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company was founded in 1859 under another name. It was the first successful chain store, with several branch stores under one management. It bought its groceries directly from producers in larger quantities at lower prices in much the same way as the department stores bought their dry goods, their furniture, their jewelry, and other things. Tea was the product with which the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company experimented. Stores were selling tea at a dollar a pound, yet were not making great profits. Most of the dollar went to pay the seven or eight dealers or agents who handled the tea in turn from the time it left China or Japan until it appeared on store shelves. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company decided to buy tea directly

from China and Japan. Soon it was offering customers tea at thirty cents a pound similar to what other stores were selling for a dollar. The number of its branches increased from twenty-five in 1865 to two hundred in 1901.

There were other great department stores such as Wanamaker's and Field's. There were other mail-order houses such as Montgomery Ward's and Sears Roebuck's, other five-and-ten-cent stores such as Woolworth's, and many other great chains of stores such as the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. The companies mentioned are just a few well-known examples. The change from small country store to large firms was as great as the changes in industry and in railroading. The large stores could sell their goods at much lower prices. The small stores were at a great disadvantage just as were small steel companies and small oil concerns; many were forced out of business. The cost of living was reduced. The reduction in the price of tea and other groceries was as helpful to Americans as was the decrease in the price of steel used in the new inventions they bought. Americans could afford to buy more groceries than before and buy others that they could not buy at all before. Articles from all parts of the world were available for most Americans at prices which they could afford to pay. Trade within the nation grew from about three and a half billion dollars in 1860 to about thirty billion in 1914.

Leaders in Foreign Commerce

Minor C. Keith (kēth) was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1848. As a youth he went to Texas and became interested in the cattle business, but did not remain long. In 1871 at the



Courtesy of United Fruit Co.

Bananas being transferred from boat to freight car in Galveston, Texas. In most of the ports of our country banana boats can be seen unloading the fruit which has become an important part of our diet.

age of twenty-three he was in Costa Rica, Central America, building a railroad. Until then he had never seen a banana. In 1872, however, he planted the first marketable bananas ever grown in Central America. During this same year he shipped two hundred bunches of bananas to New Orleans at a large profit. From that time on he devoted to the banana industry all the time he could spare from his railroad.

Meanwhile in 1870 a Yankee sea captain, Lorenzo D. Baker, finding freight rather scarce, carried a few bunches of bananas from Jamaica to Boston. The fruit arrived in an eatable condition and sold at a good profit. The voyage proved that it was practical to market bananas from Central America in the thickly popu-

lated industrial cities of the Northeast. For some time the bananas remained mainly a curiosity. There was only one store in Philadelphia where the fruit could be bought at the time of the World's Fair of 1876. Each banana was wrapped separately in tin foil. It was scarcely one third the size of the bananas now on sale, but it sold for ten cents.

Andrew W. Preston, a Boston fruit merchant, was among those most interested in the new fruit and in the activities of Captain Baker. In 1885 he persuaded nine other men to join him in developing the banana trade between Central America and Boston. They invested \$120,000 in their company and within five years their investment became worth \$531,000, so greatly did they prosper.

Until 1899 both Minor C. Keith and Andrew W. Preston continued to carry on their business separately. In that year they joined together to form the United Fruit Company. They became as powerful in commerce as Harriman in railroading, Rockefeller in business, Morgan in finance, and Gompers in labor. By 1913 the United Fruit Company was shipping enough bananas to the United States in one year to fill a freight train four hundred miles long. It owned land in Central America about equal in area to the state of Delaware, and 743 miles of railroad. It possessed a "great white fleet" of forty-one steamships to carry bananas to the United States, and chartered forty-nine ships

from other companies. It could sell bananas at lower prices than its smaller rivals and was able to drive them out of business.

In foreign commerce, besides such leaders as Keith and Preston, there were other great leaders who became important before 1915. Many large American business firms had their own ships. As early as 1871 the Pennsylvania Railroad organized a line of ships to operate between Philadelphia and Liverpool, England. The steel companies purchased ore boats, and also ships to market their own products; oil companies bought their own tankers. The greatest development of our merchant marine, however, came after 1915, not before.

GREAT CHANGES IN FOREIGN COMMERCE

Growth of Commerce

Our factories, mines, and farms produced an ever-increasing flood of goods. Better railroad and steamship lines existed to carry these goods to world markets. It was only natural that our commerce with other nations should increase greatly. As the graph on page 405 shows, our imports from other countries in 1914 were more than five times as great as they had been in 1860. Our exports to other countries were more than six times as great.

The graph also shows changes in the comparative amounts of exports and imports. Before 1860 there had been very few years in which our nation had sold more than it had purchased. After 1873, however, exports were greater than imports every year except in 1887 and 1888.

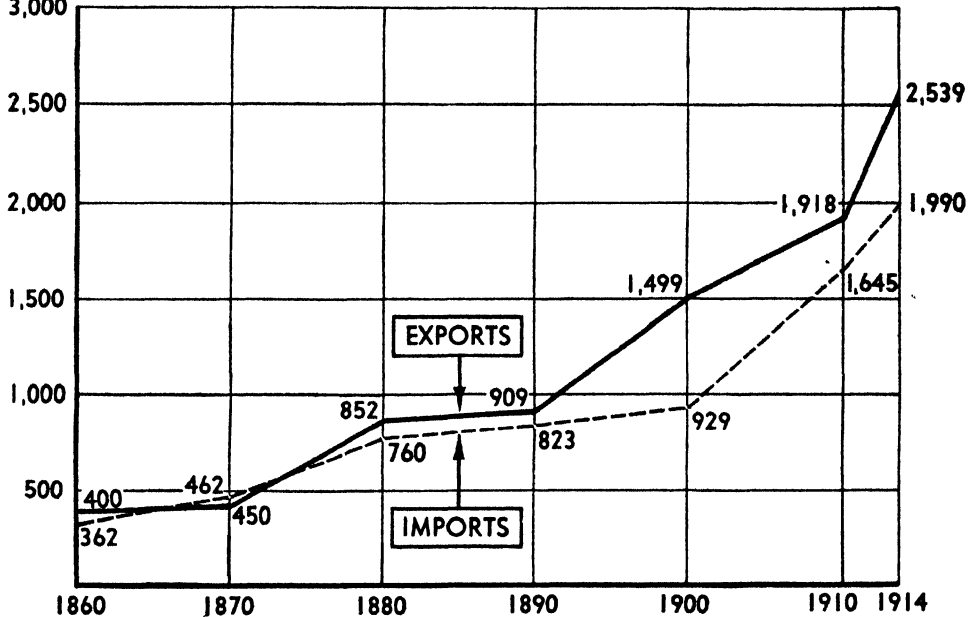
A change took place in the kinds of goods our nation bought from other countries. The percentage of manufactured goods imported became less and less; at the close of the War between the States two fifths of our imports were manufactured goods, but by 1900 the fraction was between one fifth and one fourth. Our imports of such raw materials as rubber, wool, hides, and silk increased most rapidly. Imports of raw materials amounted to one eighth of our total imports in 1870, and one third in 1900. In 1900 the leading imports were, in order of importance, sugar, hides, chemicals and allied products, coffee, raw silk, cotton manufactures, rubber, vegetable fibers, and silk manufactures.

Equally great changes took place in the goods which we sold to foreign lands. During the 1860's our chief

exports were farm crops such as wheat, corn, and cotton. Then as the meat-packing industry grew, meat products became our third largest export by 1900, ranking next to grain and cotton. Due to the rise of our steel industry, iron and steel products such as locomotives, rails, pipe, and

goods, in 1914 they were raw materials which our own factories would use. Second, although our chief exports around 1860 were farm crops, in 1914 they were manufactured goods. Third, instead of an agricultural people with little interest in the outside world we had become an in-

Millions
of dollars
3,000



Exports and Imports of the United States, 1860-1914.

machinery became our fourth most important export by 1900. Oil, which had not been exported at all before 1859, took fifth place by 1900 and third place by 1914. By 1914 crude materials for use in manufacturing made up more than a third of what we sold, and finished manufactured goods were nearly as important.

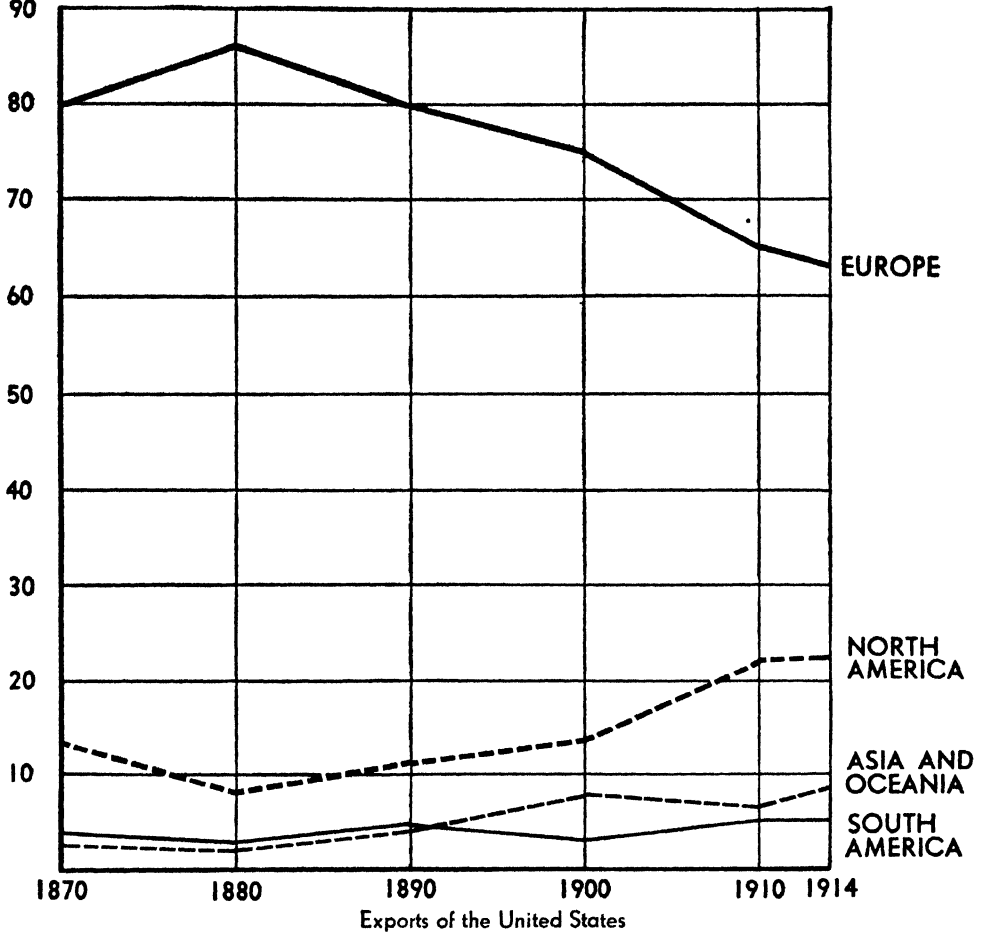
In summing up the great changes taking place among our imports and exports there are three conclusions to make. First, although our main imports about 1860 were manufactured

dustrial and trading nation with interests all over the globe.

Continents We Traded With

Our commercial interests were greater in some parts of the world than in others. During the period from 1860 to 1910 our business with Europe was greater than with the remainder of the world combined. Trade with all continents increased in amount, but our commerce with North America, Asia, and South America increased at a greater rate

Percentages
of total value
90



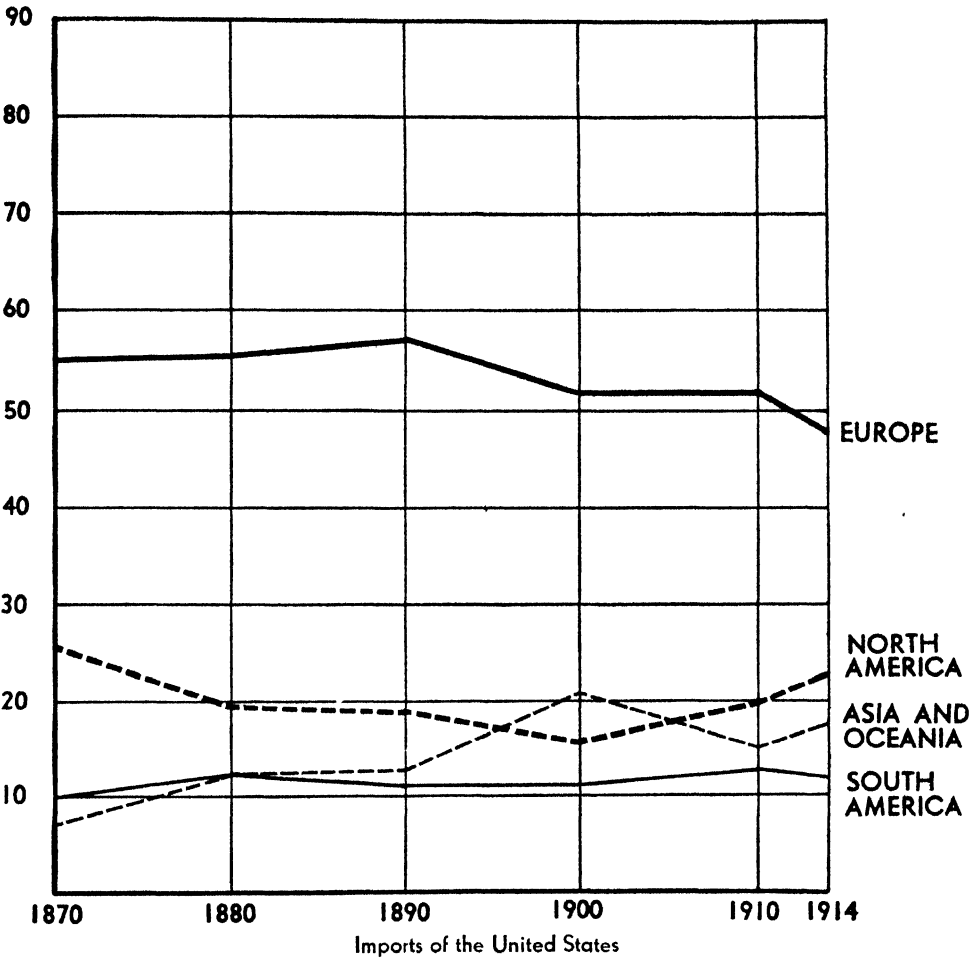
than with Europe. American factories could not have grown so fast without markets in other parts of the world and without raw materials such as tin, rubber, and silk which we obtained from other lands.

The Department of Commerce

The growing importance of commerce in the life of the nation led to the establishment of the Department of Commerce in 1903. The head of this department, in the President's cabinet, is the Secretary of Com-

merce. The Department of Commerce has been given various duties previously performed by other agencies of the government, such as taking the census and granting patents to inventors. One of its newer duties has been to regulate the use of non-military airplanes.

Two divisions of the Department of Commerce, as shown in the following sentences, render services of unusual value to the average citizen. The Bureau of Standards, besides various more important duties, tests the

Percentages
of total value

textiles used in the clothes we wear, and the bricks used in building houses. The Weather Bureau reports information which decreases the hazards of travel on land, on sea, and in the air. It enables farmers to prevent the loss of livestock, and to protect crops from approaching frost. It helps owners of greenhouses to decide when to fire boilers, owners of automobiles when to pour some anti-freeze solution into radiators, and contractors when to halt concrete work.

Wealth from Industry and Commerce

During the nineteenth century, there was not enough money in the United States to build all the factories and railroads and develop all the mines. Men living in Europe invested huge sums of money here, often receiving huge profits in return. Even as late as 1914 there was more foreign money invested in our nation than our own citizens had invested in other countries. Even then we were



Brown Brothers

Wall Street as it appeared in the 1870's. The street gets its name from the fact that the early Dutch settlers built a wall there to keep out the Indians. Today it is the chief financial center of the nation, for here is located the New York Stock Exchange.

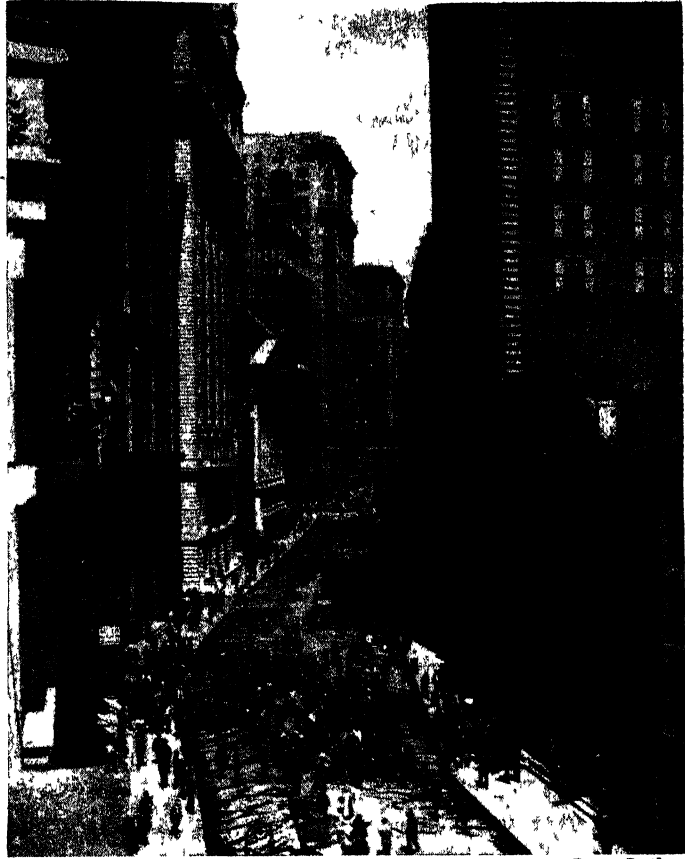
a debtor nation as we had been through all our history. A nation is a debtor if its citizens owe more money to foreigners than foreigners owe to them. London remained the most important money center in the world.

Americans, however, were rapidly growing more prosperous. Their prosperity might be measured by the total wealth of the nation. By total wealth is meant the value of farms, factories, homes, livestock, minerals, automobiles, and all other possessions. The total wealth of our nation increased from \$7,000,000,000 in 1850 to \$30,000,000,000 in 1870, to \$88,000,000,000 in 1900, and to \$321,000,000,000 in 1922. By 1910

Americans earned in one year \$31,400,000,000, an amount between four and five times our entire national wealth of 1850.

As they became increasingly wealthy, Americans invested more money in other nations. At the close of 1913 our citizens had \$2,500,000,000 invested in other lands. These investments were in public utilities, plantations, mines, banks, and almost every other business that existed. Americans might own Hawaiian sugar plantations, Cuban railroads, Mexican oilfields, or other kinds of property anywhere. Two fifths of our investments in other nations were in Mexico, three tenths in Canada, one

Broad Street, near Wall Street, in New York. Many stocks and bonds not listed on the New York Stock Exchange are dealt in on the "curb market," which until 1921 had no building but transacted its business on the sidewalk of Broad Street.



Brown Brothers

seventh in Europe, and the remainder scattered. The United States was soon to become a creditor nation, with more money owed to our citizens by foreigners than our citizens owed to them. New York was soon to pass London as the money center of the world.

The Ships That Carried the Goods

Most of our goods were carried in foreign ships during the period from 1860 to 1915. The decline in American shipping began about the time of the War between the States. British merchants began using iron ships driven by steam, but our merchants did not follow their example. Our

beautiful clipper ships were faster but they were less dependable and carried much less freight. The clipper ships could have sailed in circles around their rivals when the wind was right, but the British ships were the more certain to arrive on schedule and bring greater profits. During the War between the States many American ships were destroyed while others were transferred under other flags. After the war, our citizens were so occupied making fortunes from mines, forests, and industries that they did not devote much attention to ships.

It cost more to build ships in the United States than in England, and more to operate them after they were

built, because of the higher wages paid American workers. Americans could not buy the cheaper foreign ships until 1916 because the laws of our nation prevented that. Even if Americans owned ships they were without protection on the oceans because our government did not possess a real navy. The percentage of our foreign trade carried in American ships decreased rapidly between 1860 and 1900. Our trade was carried by the ships of many foreign nations such as the British, the Dutch, and the Norwegians. The money which they earned could be used to buy more American goods.

Dependence on Foreign Markets

During the 1870's we found how much the American farmer depended upon foreign markets. In 1867 he had been able to sell his wheat for a high price. Within a few years, however, European wars ceased and citizens of France, Austria, and Germany that had served in armies once more began to grow crops. At about the same time there were huge harvests in Russia and Argentina. As a result the American farmer could get for his wheat in 1877 only about one third what he had received ten years before. Corn was so plentiful that it was burned as fuel. Thus events in Europe and South America led to hard times in the farm homes of Kansas and other midwestern states. Our farmers could not pay what they owed the banks, and could not buy what the factories made.

Buying from Other Lands

Sometimes Americans have felt that they should not buy goods made in foreign countries unless it was ab-

solutely necessary. It seemed patriotic to buy products made in American factories by American workers. Our nation would be stronger when wars came if we could keep our own factories strong and prosperous. There is another side to this picture, however. Foreign nations cannot afford to buy from us if we do not buy from them. No nation or individual can continually pay money out and not take some in. If another nation is to buy American goods it needs to sell us what it produces. If it is to buy American wheat it may need to ship us woolen cloth. If we should stop buying goods from foreign countries where would we find markets for what we need to sell?

Moreover, we began to depend as much upon foreign countries for their goods as for their markets. The United States Steel Corporation used forty products which it imported from fifty-seven different countries. Greater and greater became our need for tin, antimony, chromite, vanadium, nickel, manganese, tungsten, silk, rubber, camphor, jute, and other commodities that are either not produced here at all or are produced only in insufficient quantities. Then, too, coffee from Brazil, tea from China, bananas from Nicaragua, sugar from Cuba, and canned sea food from Japan contributed much to our way of living, although we could live fairly well without them.

Our Prosperity

More and more did the prosperity of our nation as a whole depend upon the prosperity of the remainder of the world. American farmers, factory owners, and workers are affected in one way or another when hard times

fall upon any section of the civilized world. American investors may lose their money if a foreign factory owner becomes bankrupt. American farmers and factories are called upon to produce to the limit when wars break out, only to find their markets very much smaller when peace returns. We have sudden changes from depression to prosperity and back to depression partly because of such wars; this

is not a healthful condition. A nation, like a ship with sails, can make its best progress in a steady breeze; it does not profit from sudden storms separated by periods of complete calm. We can prosper most when the other nations are prosperous, and not disturbed by wars. When hard times sweep across other lands, we are like a storekeeper whose customers are without money.

SUMMARY

The changes that occurred in commerce in the period 1860–1915 were as important as the changes that took place in transportation and industry. Due to the leadership of great businessmen such as Wanamaker and Keith, Americans became accustomed

to articles from all parts of the world at much lower prices than before. Their standard of living was greatly improved. Due to the rapid increase in the amounts of imports and exports, they became increasingly dependent on other nations.

Study Activities

1. *Store Advertisements.* Divide the class into six groups. One group should write an advertisement, as it might have appeared between 1900 and 1915, for Wanamaker's store. A second group should write an ad for Marshall Field's, another for Woolworth's, another for Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward, and another for the "A and P." In the advertisement tell what is most distinctive about the organization and its way of merchandising goods. The sixth group should construct a model store window as it might have been seen at Wanamaker's or Field's during the first decade of the twentieth century.

2. *An Interview with a Local Merchant.* Send a committee of class members to interview one or two merchants in your community in order to find out what changes in methods of securing and sell-

ing goods have occurred since 1900. The class should formulate very carefully the questions it wants its committee to ask during the interview, and the committee should report to the class on what it learns.

3. *How Well Can You Read Charts?* Study carefully the charts dealing with exports and imports of the United States given in Chapter 25 on pages 405, 406, and 407. Be able to answer the following questions.

a. In about what year did our exports become greater than our imports in total value?

b. In which year shown between 1860 and 1914 was the excess of value of our exports over imports greatest? Another way of asking the same question is: When did we have the greatest balance of trade in our favor?

c. What was the total value of goods carried in or out of the United States in 1870? In 1914?

d. In which year shown were our exports to Europe greatest, and in which were our imports from Europe greatest?

e. What section of the world bought most from the United States during the years 1870-1914?

f. Do the charts referred to indicate what our chief exports and imports were?

g. In 1900 were our exports to or our imports from other parts of North America greater?

h. Did our total trade (both exports and imports) with Asia increase or decrease between 1870 and 1914?

4. Constructing a Bar Graph. On page 408 figures are given indicating the total national wealth of the United States in 1850, in 1870, in 1900, and in 1922. Construct a bar graph comparing the wealth of the country at these four dates. Explain what is meant by "total wealth of a country." Can you figure the *percentage of increase* in total wealth from 1850 to 1922?

5. Some Definitions and Comparisons. Explain the difference between a creditor nation and a debtor nation. Between exports and imports.

6. An International Trade Conference. It is sometimes said that Canada and the United States are each other's best customers. Select three pupils to study our export trade with Canada and three others to study Canada's export trade with us. Information may be secured from the encyclopedias and the *World Almanac*. After the selected groups have found information about trade across our northern border, let them hold a model international trade conference before the rest of the class. They should discuss the kinds of goods now most

readily sold by one country to the other, the obstacles to trade, and ways of improving trade.

7. Our Busiest Seaports. The ten most important seaports in the United States are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. Appoint committees to gather information from geographies, encyclopedias, and other books on each of these cities to present to the class. Show especially the chief imports and exports of these busy ports, and describe the routes most of the boats follow in going to and from these harbors. If you can get information on the amount of shipping handled in each port, try to rank the cities in their importance as shipping centers.

8. The Things We Use. Make a list of all the things you have used so far today. Put a check beside each item that depends on some place in the world outside the United States for all or part of its production. Give your list a good title.

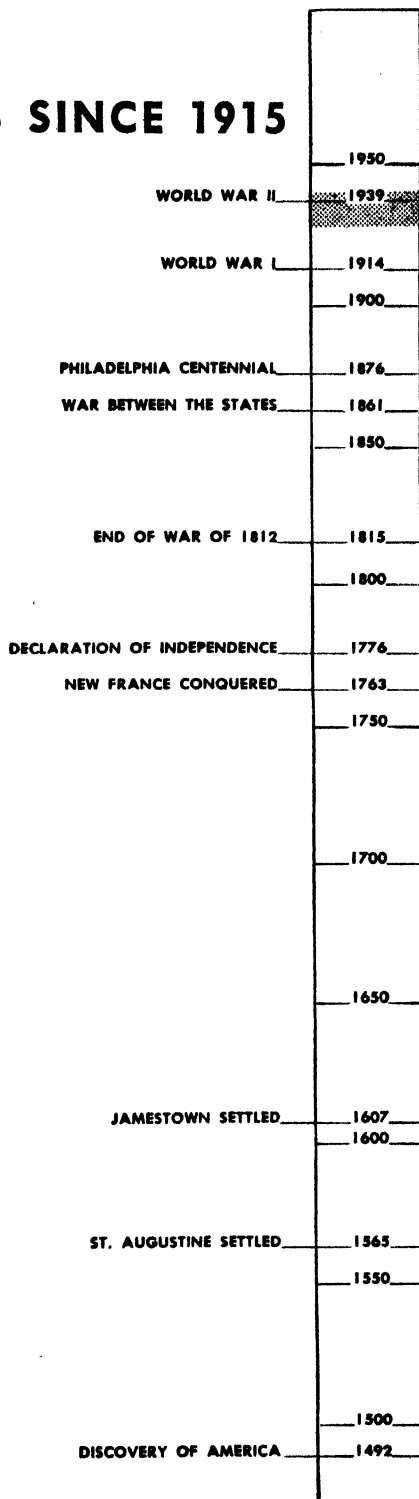
9. Information from the Newspapers. On the bulletin board place newspaper clippings showing information about the commerce that is carried on in the United States and between the United States and other parts of the world. Appoint a class committee to go over the clippings carefully and tell the class what are the most important topics of commerce being discussed in the newspapers on various days.

10. Our Standard of Living. Do you think you have a better standard of living than had boys and girls of fifty years ago? Talk this question over with your parents, grandparents, and teachers, and then hold a class discussion on "Our Standard of Living Today."

CHAPTER 26

INDUSTRIAL CHANGES SINCE 1915

1941 UNITED MINE WORKERS LEAVE CIO
 1935 CIO ORGANIZED
 1935 SOCIAL SECURITY ACT
 1935 WAGNER ACT
 1933 SECURITIES ACT
 1933 NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT
 1932 RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION
 1929 THE GREAT PANIC



"In America we are all more or
 less owners, all workers of high or
 low degrees, and certainly we are all
 consumers. . . . Our interests as members
 of the consuming public are, after all,
 our chief end and objective as citizens
 of our democracy."

William Allen White

BUSINESS HAS ITS UPS AND DOWNS

In the period since 1915 there have been two world wars. World War I, which we entered in April, 1917, lasted from 1914 to 1918. World War II lasted from 1939 to 1945, and we entered that conflict in December, 1941. These wars will be discussed in detail in later chapters. As they greatly influenced the industrial development of our nation, some references will be made to them in this chapter. Our first purpose now, however, is to complete the story of American industry before we devote our main attention to foreign affairs.

Tragic Years

During World War I (1914–1918) there was a great demand for the goods of American factories and the products of American farms. American business was prosperous. After the war there was a letdown. Foreign nations had less need of the things our factories and farms produced. There was also a period of corruption in politics and business like that which had followed the War between the States (see Chapter 17). Warren G. Harding became President of the United States in March, 1921, succeeding Wilson. He was the victim of unworthy businessmen and crooked politicians just as Grant had been. Men whom Harding trusted tried to swindle the nation out of valuable oil lands which the government had intended to keep for our defense and safety. There were also sickening scandals in the Veterans Bureau, the Prohibition Bureau, and the Department of Justice.

False Prosperity

Calvin Coolidge was President from 1923 to 1929. As Vice-President, he completed Harding's term as President after Harding died; and then in November, 1924, he was elected to continue as President for the term 1925–1929. During that period a great wave of prosperity seemed to sweep the country. All classes of Americans had money to spend. More people invested their savings in stocks (see Chapter 23) than ever before. It seemed very easy to make money that way. A man might pay \$100 for a share of stock one day and be able to sell it for \$120 a short time later. Laboring men who bought these stocks were as anxious as businessmen to see industry make profits, because that would fill their own pocketbooks. So many Americans were making money so easily and so fast that hardly anyone had any interest in providing any further control over business or its methods. People forgot that a \$100 share of stock could fall as well as rise in value.

Few of the people who were buying stocks had any idea what the stocks were really worth. Actually our citizens were paying much more for stocks than they were really worth, and few people seemed to realize it. Some of our greatest leaders were fooled as well as the ordinary citizen. Herbert Hoover declared in 1928 that we were entering the greatest period of prosperity the world had ever seen. He spoke of the day when poverty would cease to exist at all. Few disagreed



Wall Street, as it appeared after the stock-market crash of 1929. Compare this picture of 1929 with the appearance of Wall Street in the 1870's as shown on page 408.

with him. The seeming prosperity was not real, however.

Panic

Suddenly, in the fall of 1929, shares of stock declined in value, and the stock market crashed. Factories closed down, workers were without jobs, and many families had no food and but little clothing. Bankruptcy reached rich and poor alike as savings of a lifetime disappeared overnight. Such a situation is generally described as a "panic." These hard times were caused by world-wide economic conditions and were experienced throughout much of the civilized world. Americans began to realize as never before that the prosperity of the United States was influenced by conditions and events in other nations.

At first our leaders did not realize how serious the situation was in 1929-1932. Many thought that things would soon take a turn for the better

and that "prosperity was just around the corner." It was finally realized, however, that the nation as a whole could not be well and strong until business was given some assistance. If a large factory was forced to close its doors, its closing not only drove men from work, but shares of stock might become worthless to all who possessed them. If a bank was allowed to fail many Americans would lose their life's savings. Thus the welfare of business became the concern of all.

Attempts to Bring Back Prosperity

Herbert Hoover became President only a few months before the panic began. Under his leadership Congress established, early in 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This organization was to loan government money to industries and banks that needed and deserved help, to make them stronger again. The giving of such assistance to industry was called

"pump-priming." It was like pouring a small amount of water down a hand pump to "prime" it so that the pump will be able to bring up water of its own. A bankrupt factory, like a dry pump, cannot produce until it is given some assistance. Hoover also tried to help the farmers by having the government buy up surplus crops which the farmers were unable to sell anywhere else.

Franklin D. Roosevelt followed Hoover as President in 1933. During World War I he had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson and had whole-heartedly supported the reforms of that President. Later when attacked by paralysis he had fought a long uphill battle to win back his health. He was serving as Governor of New York state when first elected President in 1932. He said much about obtaining a "New Deal" for the common man. He was President for three terms and part of a fourth, remaining in office until his death in 1945.

A tremendous change took place in our government after Roosevelt followed Hoover. It was as great a change as had occurred when Jefferson followed John Adams and when Jackson followed John Quincy Adams. It was just as much a political revolution. The New Deal talked of a new kind of freedom — freedom from want. It declared that all men had the "right to work." If a worker was without a job it became the duty of the government to provide one for him. An attempt was made to bring back prosperity by creating work, and making jobs, for workers who did not have employment. The government began to spend huge sums of money to build post offices, schoolhouses,

highways, and sidewalks, which were needed, so that there would be jobs. Money was also provided to keep painters, writers, and musicians from starving by allowing them to remain at their work. Roosevelt tried to assist the farmers by paying them to grow less so that the smaller crops could be sold for higher prices. He continued the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to loan money to industries and banks which deserved assistance.

In 1933 Congress passed the National Recovery Act at the request of the President. As a result of this act, rules were drawn up to regulate nearly all of the American industry. Suddenly various reforms seemed won for which labor had been struggling for many, many years. The law practically put an end to the abuse of child labor; it provided that workers could not be employed for less than a certain wage; it established forty hours as the normal week of labor; and guaranteed to workers their right to have unions. The Supreme Court finally said that the Act was contrary to the Constitution, but Congress passed other acts which the courts approved and which saved much of what labor had gained. Perhaps the most famous of these laws was the Wagner Act of 1935.

The Wagner Act established the National Labor Relations Board to settle labor disputes. It provided that elections should be held among laborers to determine the kind of labor organization the majority in any mill or factory wished to have. It also prevented employers from controlling unions or from interfering with unions in any way.

One of the chief aims of the New

*Acme Photo*

The National Labor Relations Board opens a hearing in Seattle, Washington, for the purpose of settling a dispute between a newspaper firm and a union of employees

Deal was to improve the living conditions of the mass of the people. In an age which might well be described as "electrical" it was impossible for millions of Americans to benefit from the numerous inventions which required electricity for their operation. This was especially true of the rural population. In only six states of our nation in 1930 did more than half of our farmhomes have electric lights; in eighteen states less than one farmhouse in ten possessed electricity. Under the New Deal several dams were built which provided additional power for electricity, besides preventing floods or providing water for irrigation. In the Tennessee Valley, some of this electricity was sold to power companies which would build lines into rural areas that had never had electric lights. In this and various other ways the Tennessee Valley Authority contributed much to the development of that region (Chapter 35).

Some of the New Deal's greatest changes were included in the Social

Security Act of 1935. This act provided for an insurance system so that men out of work would have money to keep them from starvation; it allowed pensions to old people who were in need; and it gave great assistance to the blind, to crippled children, and to public health.

President Roosevelt's program was opposed mainly for three reasons. In the first place it was argued that labor was receiving special privileges and that such laws as the Wagner Act were unfair to business. Second, all the reforms and changes made government expensive. More and more people began to wonder where all the money was coming from which was needed to pay the huge bills. For a nation as well as for individuals, it is easy to get into debt but much harder to get out. Third, Congressmen could not be experts in all these matters, so many of their laws left great powers in the hands of commissions appointed by the President. This habit of leaving things to the President and his commissions made President

Roosevelt a very powerful individual. Many Americans felt that it was dangerous to place so much authority in the hands of one man.

Gradually the nation began to recover from the worst period of hard times it had ever known. Then came World War II; American farms and

factories were called upon to produce to the limit. Factories were greatly enlarged that had been deserted but a few years before. No worker was obliged to be without a job; many workers had two jobs. Prosperity existed throughout the nation; how long it would last, nobody knew.

LABOR GROWS MORE POWERFUL

The CIO

New labor leaders arose to take the places of men like Gompers and Powderly whom we met in Chapter 24. In 1920 at forty years of age John Llewellyn Lewis, a native of Iowa, became president of the United Mine Workers. This was one of the larger unions which made up the American Federation of Labor. Lewis became convinced that it was wrong to limit union membership to skilled workers. He allowed common laborers in his own union, and he began to insist that all the unions of the American Federation of Labor should do the same. After all, nine out of ten American workers were unskilled and they needed protection even more than did the skilled workers.

The skilled workers in the American Federation of Labor were opposed to the admission of unskilled workers. They feared that once the common laborers won voting control of the unions, the wages of skilled laborers would be less. Besides, the admission of so many unskilled laborers had wrecked the Knights of Labor back in the 1880's. It was feared that the American Federation of Labor would be wrecked if Lewis's demands were granted.

Finally in 1935 Lewis and a group of labor leaders who agreed with him decided to carry out their own ideas of labor organization. They seceded from the A. F. of L. and created the Committee for Industrial Organization, called CIO. Lewis and his old associates in the American Federation of Labor became very bitter enemies. Each side sought to take every possible advantage of the other. The CIO had tremendous success. By the autumn of 1937 it had 3,700,000 members, which was more than the membership of the older organization.

It had been Gompers's belief that labor should not select candidates for political office (see Chapter 24). He preferred rather to help labor's friends and punish labor's enemies at election time. Lewis was determined, however, that labor should control the parties so far as possible. He was ready to support whatever political party would promise him the most, not only with votes but with money for election expenses. In 1936 his United Mine Workers contributed \$420,000 to elect candidates favorable to labor.

Labor's New Responsibilities

Under the New Deal the laboring man became powerful and important

in the affairs of the nation. His voice was sometimes as powerful in the 1930's as the voice of industry had been in the 1890's. The laws passed under the New Deal won many things which labor had always wanted. Never before had labor gained so much in such a short period of time. Its influence in the nation's capital became very great. With increased power came increased responsibilities. Labor now had the chance to prove that Thomas Jefferson was wrong in believing that the worker did not possess the ability to govern well.

The great labor unions, however,

became more divided among themselves than they had been before. John L. Lewis in 1941 led his United Mine Workers out of the CIO to become an independent union; and in 1946 he led his union into the American Federation of Labor. Sometimes there was greater rivalry between the separate labor groups than between Democrats and Republicans. Some labor leaders continued to support actively President Roosevelt's New Deal; a few others felt that the New Deal was not friendly enough to labor, and opposed the re-election of Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944.

CHANGES IN TRANSPORTATION AFTER 1915

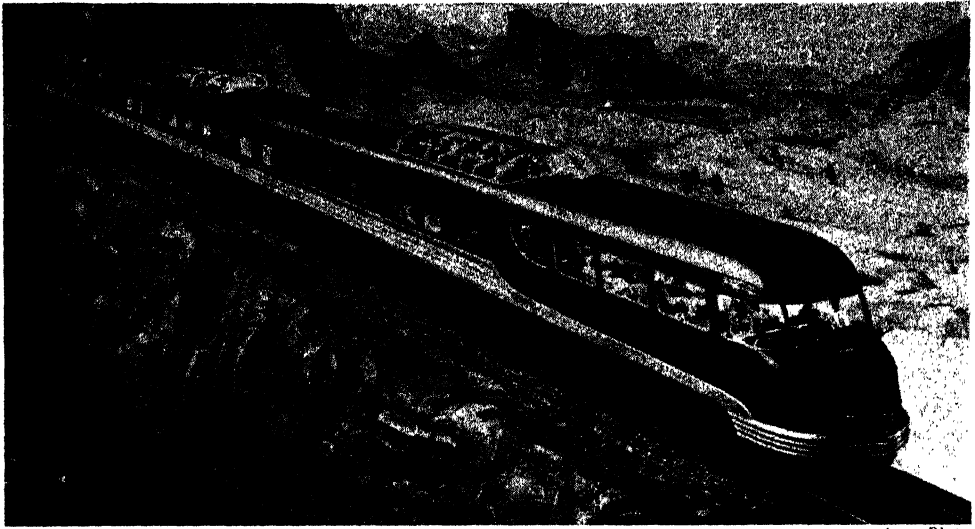
Automobile Traffic

In the period before 1915 the automobile (Chapter 22) had been mainly an experiment and a rich man's toy. In 1915 the day of the automobile was barely beginning. Automobiles in use in the United States increased from three and a half million in 1916 to ten and a half million in 1921 and then to thirty-two million in 1941. Of all the automobiles in the world more than two out of three were owned by Americans. In our nation there were ten million more automobiles than telephones.

Vast improvements in our highway systems were necessary to keep pace with this rapid increase in the number of automobiles. Local communities were unable to satisfy the demands of motorists for paved streets and roads even though many towns and cities went deeply in debt. Even the states were unequal to the task of road-building, and in 1916 the national

government came forward to assist in the building of roads. By 1925 the nation as a whole was spending about half a billion dollars a year on highways. Surfaced roads increased from 257,000 miles in 1914 to 1,600,000 miles in 1941. Of this total, 600,000 miles of highway were hard-surfaced. Our highway engineers constructed some roads in such a way that thousands of cars could move in various directions at the same time, above and below each other, but without interrupting the flow of traffic. Not only were the more recent highways built to handle traffic efficiently, but to serve beauty as well. Travel over some of our highways became as pleasant as a drive in the better parks.

Travel was no longer reserved for the well-to-do; people of all classes crowded the highways. Tourists visited all parts of the nation in a way these had never been visited before. Night and day long lines of trucks hurried over the highways carrying

*Acme Photos*

Streamlined train, showing lounge, sleeper, and diner. How do the newer metals and plastics help make possible this train? Compare with the train picture on page 204.

the products of farms and the goods of factories not only to crowded cities but even to remote villages. No longer was the farmer usually required to deliver his milk and vegetables to a railroad station; they might be picked up at his own dooryard. Americans everywhere were coming to depend upon the gasoline motor.

The greatest problem caused by the automobile was that of highway accidents. Only 1871 Americans had been killed by motor vehicles in 1910, but by 1941 this had increased to 40,000 in one year — an all-time record. In addition, there were 110,000 Americans who were permanently injured in 1941, and the total number of injuries that were not fatal was about 1,400,000. Thus more than one out of every hundred Americans was injured on the highways in one year. If Daniel Boone were alive today, he might feel that there had been less danger among the Indians of Kentucky than now existed on the open

road. Death was no longer waiting behind some bush or rock; instead it was speeding along on the highway at sixty or seventy miles an hour.

Railroads

By 1915 the nation's great railroad systems had been constructed, and there had been many improvements and inventions which had made travel safer and more comfortable (Chapter 22). Since 1915 many more improvements have been made. Many curves in the roadbed have been straightened and many steep grades have been eliminated. Electric power has taken the place of steam in some places, especially near the larger cities. New air-conditioned, streamlined passenger trains have made travel on railroads more attractive than ever before. Both passenger and freight schedules have been speeded up. By 1924 a traveler could go by train from Los Angeles to New York City in less than seventy hours. By

1941 railroads were able to move freight at a speed of about seventeen miles per hour, and at a cost of little more than one cent a ton per mile.

The railroads have been a sick industry, however. They suffered mainly because of competition from motor, water, and air traffic. During twenty-six months of World War I they were administered by the government. During the hard times of the 1930's nearly a third of the nation's railroad industry became bankrupt. By 1940 the government had loaned railroads almost half a billion dollars so that they could continue to remain in business. The government also began to regulate the railroads' rivals; busses and trucks were regulated in 1936 and water traffic in 1939. Then during World War II freight and passengers crowded the railroads to capacity. We were grateful that railroads remained in good condition and that so many had been built, especially when automobiles were forced off the highways by the scarcity of rubber and gasoline, and when submarines lurking off our coasts interrupted water traffic between our ports. The condition of the railroads began to improve.

Aviation

In 1915 the aviation industry was still in its infancy. The experiments of Langley and the Wright brothers, mentioned in Chapter 22, were yet fresh in people's memories. A tremendous development has taken place in aviation since 1915, however. The beginning of this development was largely due to the use of airplanes for military purposes in World War I. In 1924 a man ninety-three years old flew the length of the Oregon trail in 24 hours. In 1852 he had required

six months to cover the same route with an oxteam. Americans, however, did not confine their conquest of the air to this country. Richard E. Byrd flew over the North Pole in 1926 and over the South Pole in 1929. Charles A. Lindbergh flew from New York to Paris in $33\frac{1}{2}$ hours in 1927. During the 1930's and 1940's many improved airplanes were made, and new speed records were established.

During World War I twelve thousand airplanes were built in our nation. By the middle of the 1920's there were commercial airlines operating on regular schedules. They carried less than six thousand passengers in 1926, but the number exceeded a million and a half in 1939. In 1940 more than six million pounds of mail and express were carried through the air. Huge planes came into use to carry passengers to South America, Europe, and Asia. Landing fields were built to accommodate the ships of the sky. By 1940 there were 2500 airports scattered over the nation.

During World War II the aviation industry expanded rapidly. It seemed that the earth was to be ruled from the sky. We discovered that we were in a war which could not be won unless we and our allies had more and better planes than our enemies. By the end of 1944 airplanes were being produced at the rate of 100,000 annually, and 1,910,000 workers were employed in their manufacture. Transatlantic flights were being dispatched every nineteen minutes. Activity was rapidly increasing in jet-propulsion of airplanes. Plans were being made for giant clippers to provide faster and cheaper air transportation after the war ended.

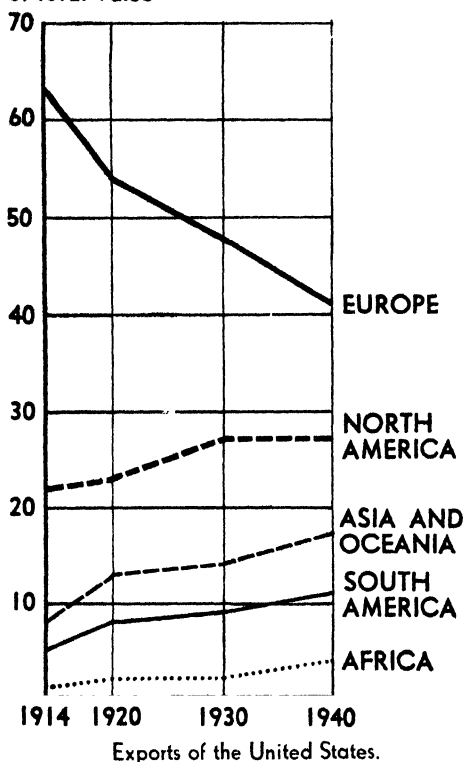
OUR RECENT COMMERCIAL GROWTH

Commercial Changes Since 1915

Commerce has had its ups and downs since 1915, due to wars and to periods of prosperity and panic. In general, however, it has continued to grow. Foodstuffs have ceased to be of

Europe remains our greatest customer but has decreased greatly in importance. At the same time, our North American trade has increased in importance and our exports to Asia and South America in 1940 were more than twice as important as they were

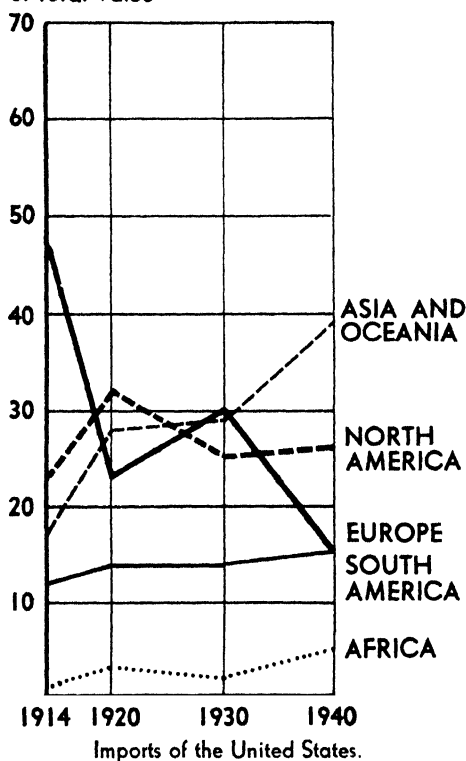
Percentages
of total value



much importance as exports, while the proportion of finished manufactured goods exported increased from one third of the total in 1914 to three fifths in 1941.

Meanwhile, great changes took place in our trade with the various continents, as you can readily see from the two graphs on this page.

Percentages
of total value



in 1914. In 1940 the British were our best customers, followed in order by the Canadians, the French, the Japanese, the Brazilians, and the Argentines.

There were even greater changes so far as our imports were concerned. Crude materials increased in importance as imports; in 1941 rubber made

up nearly a third of all the raw materials which we bought from other countries. The goods which we bought from North America and South America did not vary greatly in importance, but our European imports decreased from nearly one half of the total to less than one seventh. The greatest increase occurred in our purchases from the Far East. In 1914 only 17 per cent of our goods came from Asia and the Pacific Islands, but by 1940 this had increased to 39 per cent. We received more goods from Canada than any other country, followed in order by British Malaya, Java, Japan, Britain, Cuba, Brazil, and India.

The center of world commerce shifted from London to New York City. At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 New York was practically tied with London, Liverpool, and Hamburg for first place among the chief commercial centers of the world; by 1929 it led by a safe margin; and since then has been surely the world's leading seaport. In 1935 it handled more commerce than the two nearest rivals, London and Kobe, combined.

Although the center of world commerce continued to be an Atlantic port, it will be observed that the Pacific Ocean has rapidly become more important to our commerce. Of our ten largest seaports, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle are located on the Pacific coast. Two of these, Los Angeles and San Francisco, rank with Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Kobe as the six greatest ports on the largest of oceans. All signs seem to indicate that our Pacific trade will continue to increase in importance and that the Pacific ports will continue to grow. As one

of our great leaders of commerce said, "This is the era of the Pacific."

American wealth, which had been only \$7,000,000,000 in 1850, increased so rapidly that in the last year before the panic (1929) it reached the huge total of \$362,000,000,000. The United States, which was yet a debtor nation in 1914, became within fifteen years one of the leading creditor nations of the world.

American dollars continued to be spent abroad in ever-increasing quantities. During World War I we loaned vast sums to our allies and by 1922 they owed us \$9,000,000,000. By 1928, however, Americans had invested either directly or indirectly in other nations about \$15,500,000,000 more. By direct investments is meant money invested in branch factories, mines, or any other properties owned by American firms. By indirect investments is meant money invested in the stocks and bonds of foreign companies. American bankers opened branches in the main cities of Europe and South America. Our great corporations such as the Ford Company, the Standard Oil Company, and the General Electric Company, built plants and factories in other continents. In spite of the hard times of the 1930's, by 1940 our direct investments in other nations alone exceeded \$7,000,000,000. Of this sum \$2,000,000,000 was invested in Canada, and \$2,800,000,000 in Latin America.

Our Merchant Marine

In 1914 less than 10 per cent of our commerce (measured by value) was carried in American ships, but because of World War I by 1920 this had risen to 42 per cent. Then a decline set in. For every American

ship built between 1921 and 1927 Great Britain built 41, Germany 12, Italy 5, and France and Japan 4 each. Many of the ships we had built during the war were allowed to rot. In 1926 Henry Ford bought 200 of these vessels as junk.

The government, however, began to give encouragement to its merchant marine. Under a law passed in 1920 many ships built at government expense were sold at low prices to American shipowners. Another law passed in 1928 provided for lending money to shipbuilders at a low rate of interest up to as high as three fourths the value of the ships when constructed. Other assistance from the government consisted of paying the owners of American vessels large sums of money for carrying the mail. Then in 1935 Congress voted additional money to start a building program calling for 500 vessels within ten years. Due to all this help from the government our ships managed to carry about a third of our commerce. Then with the arrival of World War II a great building program was started as in 1914.

Great steamship lines stretched from American ports to all parts of the world. The United States Lines specialized in passenger service across the North Atlantic between New York City and Southampton, Cherbourg, and Bremen. The American Export Lines specialized in cargo service between our North Atlantic ports and ports on the Mediterranean Seas. The Grace Line connected both our Atlantic and our Pacific ports with the west coast of South America.

Since 1914 the most interesting development of our merchant marine has taken place on the Pacific. Here are found beautiful oceanic palaces

waiting in times of peace to transport passengers to the South Sea, to Asia, or around the world. Here we find the home of the Matson Lines, noted for the luxurious liners headed for Hawaii and the South Pacific. It is recorded that when the Matson *Lur-line* left on her maiden cruise of 25,000 miles, she carried in her hold 56,000 pounds of meat, 18,000 pounds of poultry, 154,000 pounds of vegetables, and 140,000 pounds of ice among other things to meet the needs of passengers and crew.

The Dollar Lines were famous for round-the-world cruises. Robert Dollar was born in Scotland in 1844, but at thirteen years of age was working in a Canadian lumber camp. In 1882 he was a lumberman in Michigan but moved to California in 1888. He began to buy ships of his own because he had difficulty finding ships to carry his lumber. In 1901 he became interested in trade with China. Then when the American government decided to sell ships at low prices, Robert Dollar purchased seven of them in 1923.

In 1924, the year when Dollar celebrated his eightieth birthday, he sent his first ship, the *President Harrison*, on a trip around the world, visiting twenty-one ports and fourteen different countries. His liners ran according to a regular schedule, one ship leaving every two weeks. This was the first 'round-the-world passenger service ever undertaken. Death overtook Dollar in 1932 at the age of 88. By that time he had become the greatest operator of passenger and freight vessels in America. The Governor of California declared that Dollar had "done more during his lifetime to spread the American flag

on the seas than any man in this country."

Signs indicate that the greatest days of the American merchant marine may not be behind us, but before us. There will be ships on the seas and ships in the skies carrying freight and passengers to all the world. The million shipments carried in 1940 by the air express service of the Railway Express Agency within the United States and to lands beyond the seas seemed astonishing. Such shipments, however, will probably seem very small when compared with the commerce that will be carried by airships in the new air age.

Increased Dependence on Other Nations

The prosperity of our nation has come to depend more and more on the prosperity of other nations as our

commerce has grown. American factories cannot run at full speed, and American workers cannot have steady employment, unless people living in other parts of the world can afford to buy American goods. Perhaps it is not entirely to our own advantage trying always to be first in our commercial relations with other countries. Nations that are poor in natural resources have little to offer in exchange for our manufactured goods. The only opportunity they have left to buy American products is from money earned by carrying goods in their ships, by serving American tourists, and performing various other services. This problem may become more difficult to solve if there is unlimited competition in aviation. If we insist on carrying all our goods in American steamships and airships, perhaps we shall lose customers.

THE CONSUMER RECEIVES ADDITIONAL PROTECTION

Protection by the Government

During the period of the 1920's it became the custom of all classes of Americans to buy stocks and bonds, as we have seen (p. 414). The average American was not an expert in business and he had no way of knowing whether a certain company was in a healthy financial condition or nearly bankrupt. He did not know what a share of its stock was really worth even if the company was sound. He became the victim of stock salesmen who were experts at selling. By 1929 many Americans owned considerable stock that was worthless and much more that was not worth nearly as much as had been paid for it. The

result was that during the 1930's the effect of the depression was worse than it would otherwise have been. It seemed just as important for the government of the United States to protect its citizens against the slick salesmen of stocks as against diseased meat. In 1933 Congress passed the Securities Act which provided that protection and which organized the Securities and Exchange Commission to look after the public interest.

In time of war the average citizen needs the protection of his government more than during peace. Much unfairness is likely to result when products, especially food, become scarce. Individuals may control all of a certain article and charge any

price they choose. In such a situation some people have plenty while others are forced to do without; people who have money can buy what they please. During World War I some individuals possessed hundreds of pounds of sugar while their neighbors had none. Customers frequently had to pay outrageous prices for foods they really needed.

During World War II, however, the government used great care to protect the ordinary citizen, although some people failed to co-operate and patronized the black market. Such products as sugar, meat, canned fruits and vegetables were rationed so that all Americans would share alike in a democratic manner. No longer could one family feast while another was in famine. Then, too, price ceilings were fixed so that no man would need to pay more than a certain sum for a particular article. Food that was scarce was not reserved for the rich alone.

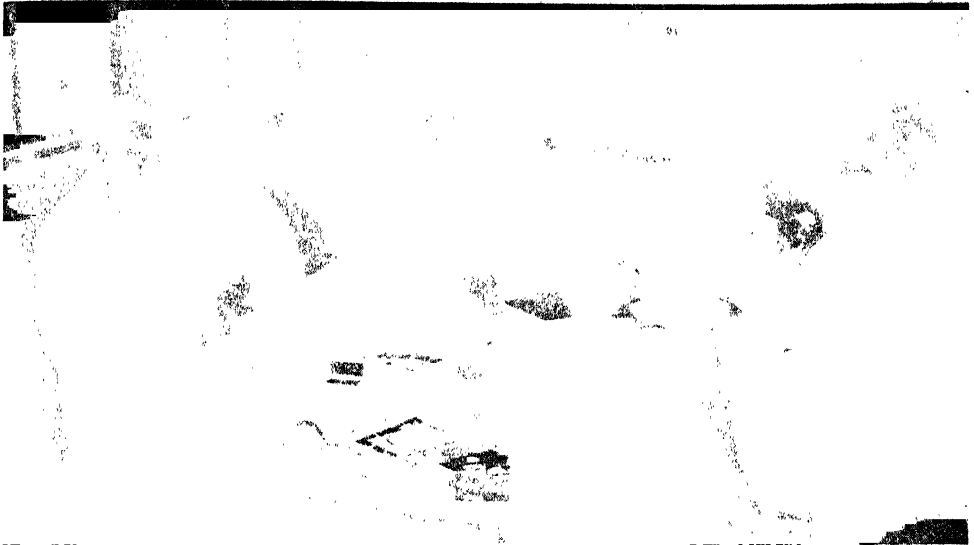
Protection by Private Agencies

The consumer has also obtained assistance from medical associations and Better Business Bureaus. We have learned that a few dishonest doctors can be found to testify that a certain product is good for our health when it is really harmful. A doctor whom we know and trust is a much better authority. We can always find out whether a product is approved by the American Medical Association, if there is any doubt in our minds. We can consult a Better Business Bureau if strangers appear with proposed schemes for spending our money, or if we fear that some business firm is taking unfair advantage of us.

Consumers Organize to Protect Themselves

Consumers also organized to protect themselves against unfair prices by forming co-operatives — especially co-operative stores. When ordinary citizens decide to have a store of their own, they each contribute a certain sum of money to rent a building and to buy goods to put on the shelves. Then they hire a manager who will really run the business for them. They meet from time to time to discuss the store's problems and generally elect a committee to direct the manager. The members of the co-operative pay for their goods just as they would at any other store, but when the profits of the company are divided, each member receives a share in proportion to the amount of his purchases.

Co-operative stores had been established in the United States as early as the 1870's. They had appealed particularly to the farmers of the Middle West in the 1870's and 1880's. Co-operatives, however, were not of much importance in this country until after 1920. Their slow growth was in part due to the unfair competition of some businessmen who were anxious to prevent the growth of co-operatives. The low prices of the mail-order houses and the five-and-ten-cent stores also were discouraging. Much of the blame, however, was due to the co-operatives themselves. Many of the groups of farmers and laborers did not possess men of sufficient business ability or experience. They frequently paid too little money to attract men of ability when they hired a manager, so anxious were they to keep expense down. So the

*Library of Congress*

The board of the co-operative store at Woodville, California, meets to discuss problems and make policies. In what public building of the community might such a meeting be held?

co-operatives as a rule were poorly managed.

More recently the efforts of consumers to unite have been crowned with great success. By 1929 there were 656 consumer co-operatives in the United States. Included in this number were 422 retail stores, 146 gasoline stations, and various other co-operatives such as boarding houses, bakeries, and restaurants. By 1936 there were 3600 such groups in the nation, with two thirds of a million members, selling groceries, meats, oil, gasoline, and automobile parts. Co-operatives are especially strong in our North Central states. The movement has not grown nearly so strong in our nation as in foreign countries, however. Recently in Sweden one fifth of all the retail and wholesale business was done by co-operatives, which also owned factories producing flour, overshoes, and many other articles. In Scotland more than half the families belong to co-operatives.

Just how much this movement will grow in our nation only the future can tell. Much will doubtless depend upon how heavily other groups tread upon the toes of the consumer. If industry charges fair prices, the average citizen does not think seriously of starting co-operative factories. If coal miners do not make him freeze in his home, he does not become eager to own a coal mine of his own. If farmers do not charge outrageous prices, he has no desire to buy from foreign countries. If middlemen do not ask too much for their services, he does not wish to force them out of business. The time has passed, however, when the average citizen will suffer abuse from these groups in silence. If consumers should ever organize as thoroughly as the trusts and labor unions, they would be extremely powerful. The people of the United States are all consumers, whether they are farmers, laborers, or employers.

Study Activities

- 1. False Prosperity.** Select a group of pupils to write and present a two-act playlet. The first act should show a group of stock salesmen and their customers in the summer of 1929. Everybody is eager to buy stock, and believes the most glowing tales of its value. The second act should show the same group twelve months later. Their conversation is bitter, and they try to explain the "crash" and "panic." Whom do you think they will blame for their distress? After the play has been carefully written and rehearsed, act it out at a school assembly.
- 2. "Pump Priming."** Make a list of the ways, mentioned in Chapter 26, in which the government tried to overcome the worst effects of the depression and to bring back good times. Give a concrete example of how each method worked. What were the worst years of the depression? Had economic conditions begun to improve by 1937?
- 3. F. D. R.** Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected President four times. He was hated by many people and loved by even more people. Class members should (a) talk with their parents and other adults, and (b) consult Belle Moses, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt, The Minute Man of '33* (Appleton-Century, 1933), and available references in the library in order to collect as many incidents or anecdotes about Roosevelt as possible. On the basis of all you can learn write a short essay describing the qualities which made Roosevelt an outstanding leader.
- 4. Labor Unions.** In studying Chapter 24 it was suggested that you construct a chart listing labor unions which developed between 1870 and 1915, and stating their leaders, aims, and special characteristics. Add to that chart the information about labor unions since 1915 which is given in Chapter 26.
- 5. A Class Visitor.** Let the class, if it can, arrange to invite a local labor leader to visit the class and explain how his union is organized, what its problems are, and what it does for its members.
- 6. An Outline.** Make a careful outline of the third section of Chapter 26, showing major developments concerning automobiles, railroads, and aviation in the years since 1915.
- 7. Speed Records.** Make a list of speed records established by trains or automobiles or airplanes at various times in our history. A committee should make a chart or pictorial map showing these records for exhibit on the classroom wall.
- 8. Exports and Imports.** Using the charts on exports and imports (1870-1914) on pages 406 and 407 of Chapter 25 and the charts on page 422 of Chapter 26 showing similar data for the period since 1914, construct a large wall chart for classroom use on "Our Foreign Trade since 1870."
- 9. A Collection of Ship Pictures.** Make a collection of pictures of ocean liners in use since 1920. Among them will be the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Bremen*, the *Île de France*, the *Rex*, and such luxurious smaller vessels as the *Gripsholm*. What have been the greatest passenger ships in the American merchant marine? What are the ships of the United States Line, the Dollar Line, and other American companies? Each picture in the collection should be mounted on separate cardboard, and data about the size and speed of the ship written below the picture.
- 10. World Interdependence.** Make lists of the resources from outside the United

States which are necessary for building an automobile, or a telephone, or a radio set.

11. Co-operative. Suppose that the members of your class were to organize a co-operative for the purpose of buying candies, school equipment, and lunches. How would you go about it? What would be essential to the success of the co-operative? About how much time would be needed for planning it?

12. Books to Read. *This Country of Yours*, by Morris Markey (Little, Brown & Co., 1932), contains an interesting and helpful description of "The Iron Empire." *The United States at Work*, by M. C. Martin and C. E. Cooper (D. C. Heath & Co., 1938), has excellent material, especially in a chapter called "A Workshop Develops in the East." *Give Us This Day*, by Claire Leighton (Reynal & Hitchcock, 1943), tells vividly of our modern industrial interdependence.

Review Activities for Unit VI

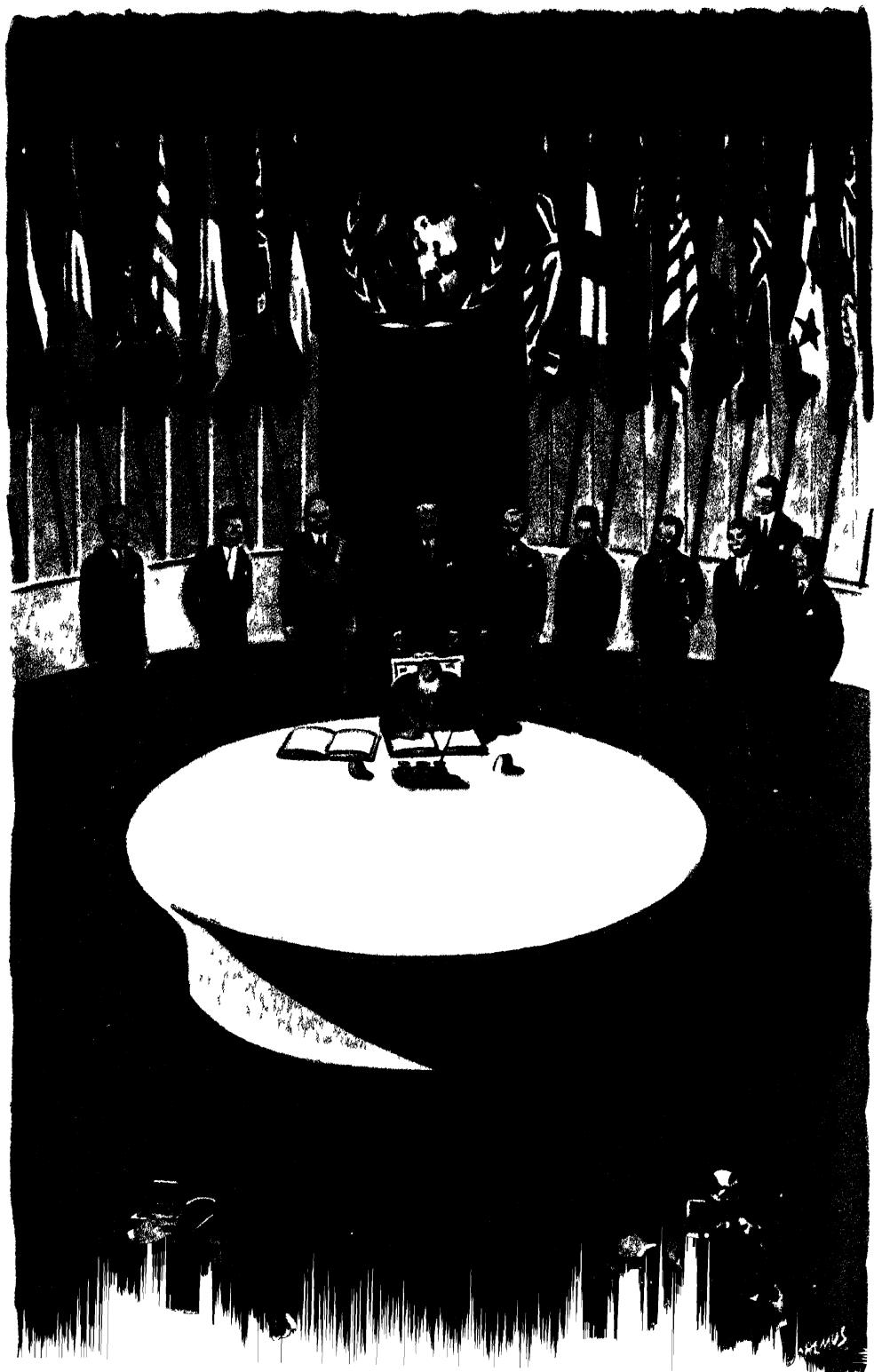
1. Places of Importance in Industry. In this book are many pictures which illustrate the achievements and problems resulting from the rapid growth of industry in our country. Look through the entire book for such pictures and list the picture with a short sentence about each one. Who can find the most suitable pictures?

2. Important Events. Complete the chart of important events of each President's

administration from 1876 to 1912, as directed at the end of the Overview for Unit VI on page 360.

3. The Ten Most Important Events. After careful review and class discussion of the time lines in Unit VI, select the ten most important events between 1876 and 1912, and place them on the classroom time line.

4. Can you answer the questions asked on page 360?



UNIT VII

OUR NATION BECOMES A WORLD POWER

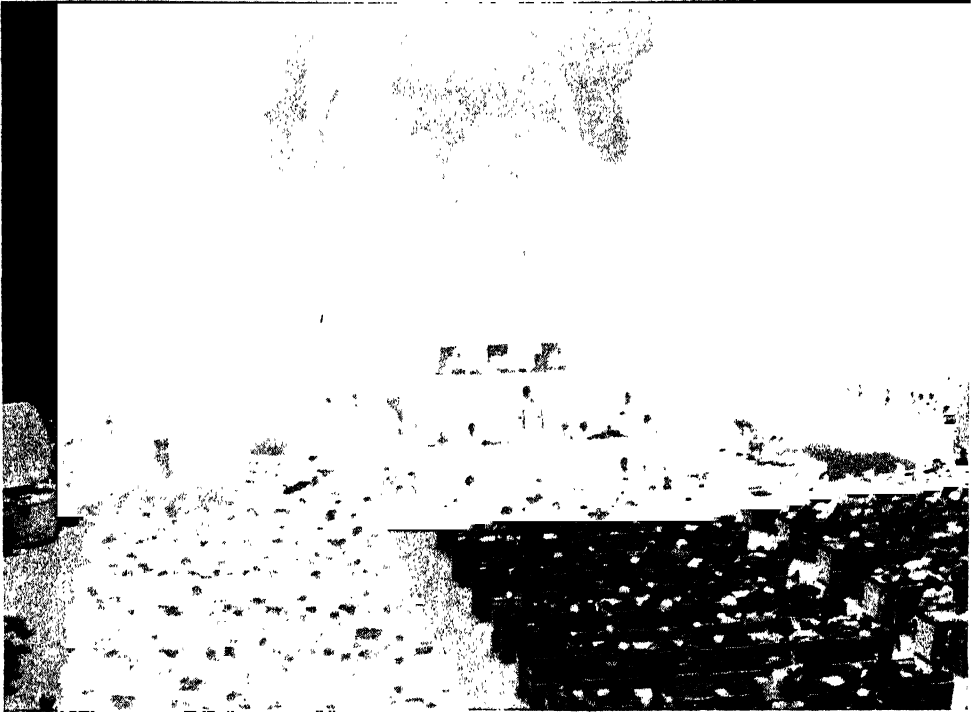
OVERVIEW

When the United States was first established it was small and not very influential in world affairs. Unit III describes how the country struggled to maintain its existence during the first decades of our history. For many decades after 1825 the nation tried to remain isolated from other nations, but all through these years there were really more and more contacts with the rest of the world. Gradually the United States acquired territories overseas and assumed responsibilities in many areas of the world. This is the story told in Unit VII. When the twentieth century dawned the United States had become a world power. Its ambassadors and consuls were stationed all over the world; its citizens traded and traveled widely. With power in world affairs came both privileges and responsibilities. An important part of our recent history is the story of our relations with the rest of the world.

Chapter 27 traces the growth of our relations with other nations. It deals with developments from the early days of the nation to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Chapter 28 deals with World War I. It tells how the United States tried to remain neutral but could not, how the country co-

operated with the Allies in winning the war, and how the peace was lost in the trying years of the 1920's and 1930's. Chapter 29 is the story of World War II, a war fought on a world-wide scale with vast armies and navies and air fleets using remarkable new weapons.

The globe on which we live has become "one world," and it is more and more important that nations live together peacefully. Our relations with other nations, which did not seem so important in earlier years, are now of the greatest importance to our way of life. The last three chapters of this unit tell of our relations with other nations and of some of the future problems which must be solved. Chapter 30 tells about our relations with Latin America, and of the growth of the Good Neighbor policy; it tells also of our increasingly close relations with Canada, our neighbor to the north. Chapter 31 describes our relations across the Pacific, with China, and the Philippines, and Japan. Chapter 32 tells the story of the United Nations and of the efforts to safeguard world peace and prosperity since World War II. The location of the world capital of U. N. within the United States is a symbol



The meeting of the U. N. General Assembly at New York, October 23, 1946.

of the new position and responsibility of the United States in world affairs.

Unit VII provides a background for understanding many of the most important current events. The daily headlines of the newspapers are closely connected with the story in these chapters on our relations with the other nations of the world. These chapters tell the story of one of the most significant factors in American development.

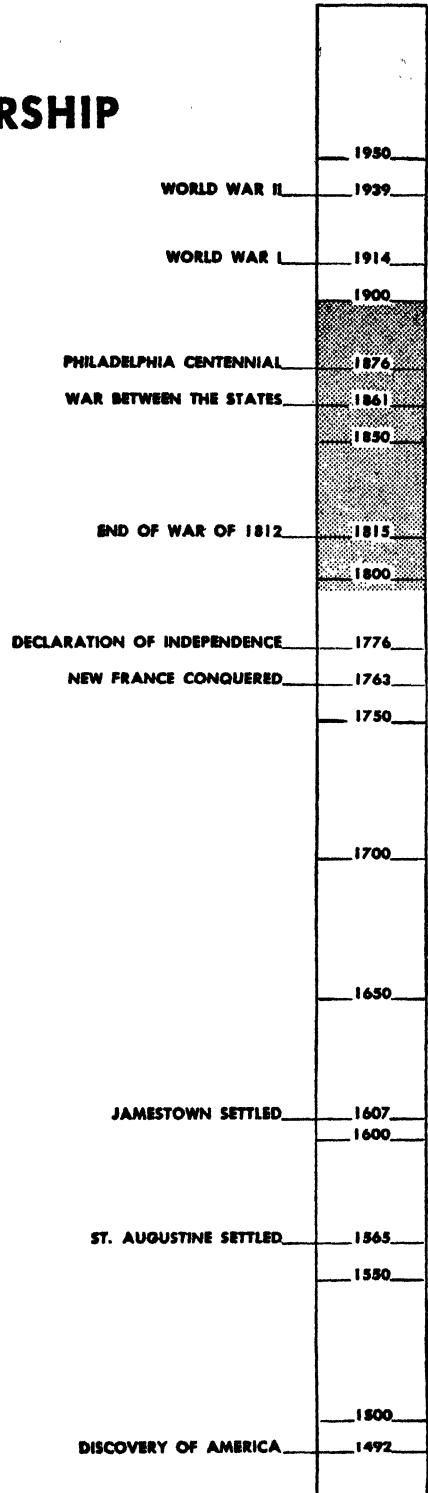
Questions Answered in Unit VII

1. Why did relations with other countries seem unimportant to most Americans between 1823 and 1898?
2. Why are relations with the other nations of the world so extremely important to the United States today?
3. What is meant by the expression "winning the war and losing the peace between 1918 and 1941"?
4. What were the causes and results of World War II?
5. What is the Good Neighbor policy of our country?
6. What are American relations with the Philippines?
7. What is the "Asiatic policy" of our country?
8. How is American foreign policy made?
9. What is the United Nations organization, and why is it important to the United States?
10. What is meant by the expression "one world"?

CHAPTER 27

GROWING INTO LEADERSHIP

1900 IMPORTANT ELECTION OF 1900
 1899 NEW TERRITORY IN SAMOA
 1898 PHILIPPINES AND OTHER CONQUESTS IN
 WAR WITH SPAIN
 1898 HAWAII ACQUIRED
 1867 PURCHASE OF ALASKA
 1859 MIDWAY ISLAND ACQUIRED
 1823 MONROE DOCTRINE
 1820 AMERICAN MISSIONARIES ARRIVE IN HAWAII
 1796 WASHINGTON'S "FAREWELL ADDRESS"



"To the ordinary man the Old World
 seems far off, . . . its mighty burden
 with little meaning for him."

James Bryce

THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

The United States was made an independent nation by the American Revolution. It was a very weak nation, however, as compared with the stronger nations of Europe. There was doubt at first whether our nation could continue to be independent. Even if the United States continued to be governed by its own representatives, there was danger that the young republic might be forced to take orders from some larger nation. An English leader said to John Adams in 1782, "You are afraid of being made the tool of the powers of Europe." "Indeed I am," replied Adams. "What powers?" asked the Englishman. "All of them," was Adams's response.

Washington's Policy

President Washington stated in his *Farewell Address* (1796), "Our detached and distant situation . . . enables us . . . to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Certainly it was to our interest to remain outside of Europe's wars and rivalries.

Washington, however, did not believe that the United States should turn its back on Europe and ignore foreign nations entirely. He had welcomed an alliance with France in 1778. He realized that the aid which we received from France during the Revolution made our independence possible. He understood the need of having friends in Europe. In 1795 he signed the Jay Treaty with Great Britain and the Pinckney Treaty with Spain in order to promote friendship.

Two years after Washington issued his *Farewell Address* he was ready to lead an American army into a war against France, if necessary. Washington was not opposed to having relations with European nations. What he did object to was an alliance which might require us to take part in European quarrels that did not concern us.

Policies of the Presidents Who Followed Washington

Several Presidents who followed Washington had similar ideas about our relations with other nations. They were opposed to entering purely European quarrels but were ready to co-operate with other nations when our own interests demanded it. In 1802 when Jefferson was President, Great Britain and France were bitter enemies. Jefferson had always been a firm friend of France and had not always felt kindly toward Great Britain. At that time, however, he feared that France would send armies to the Louisiana Territory which she had taken from Spain. He knew that any such action would be contrary to the best interests of the United States. If French armies had ever arrived he was ready to make an alliance with Great Britain, our former enemy, against France, his friend. In his own words: "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . seals the union of two nations. . . . From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

In 1823 President Monroe believed that the presence of European armies

anywhere in the Western Hemisphere was dangerous to the safety of the United States. He and Secretary-of-State John Quincy Adams made the Monroe Doctrine to strengthen our independence. The Monroe Doctrine stated that we would try to prevent any European nation from seizing additional lands in the New World.

Important changes have taken place in our foreign policies since

1823. Our relations with European nations are now much closer than Americans of 1823 could foresee. But by 1823 the foundations of our foreign policy had been laid. Ever since the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe we have taken no part in foreign quarrels unless our own welfare was concerned. And we have insisted that no nation can seize additional territory in the Western Hemisphere.

WE TRY TO TURN OUR BACKS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Our False Sense of Security

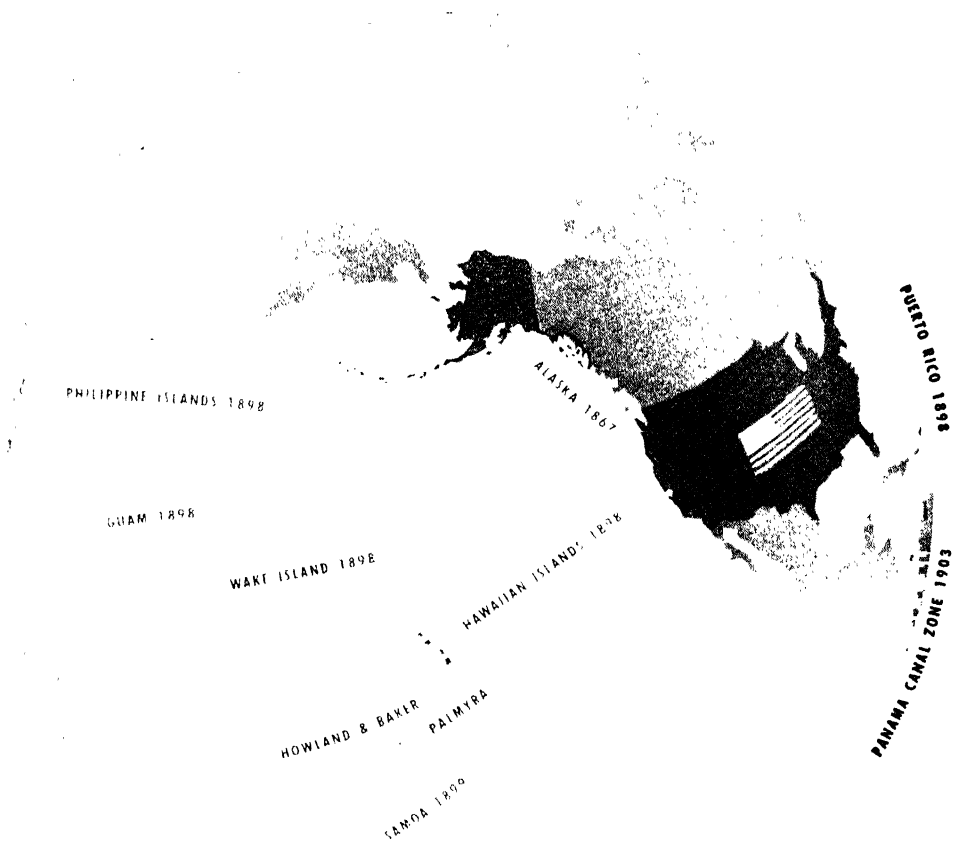
From 1823 to about 1900, Americans were mainly interested in the settlement of the frontier. We were so busy settling and developing our own vast continental territory that we paid but little attention to foreign affairs. In 1823 we had warned other nations not to invade the Western Hemisphere. As our nation grew stronger we became more certain that foreign nations would not attack us. For the last three quarters of the nineteenth century we prided ourselves on being isolated from the rest of the world. During all that time the men elected to the presidency (1828–1900) — with only one or two exceptions — were not experienced in foreign relations or diplomacy before moving to the White House. We paid little attention to other nations or to our foreign affairs.

World conditions encouraged the belief that no nation would attack us. There seemed no reason to fear the nations of Asia. We traded with China and sent many missionaries to the Orient, but the Pacific seemed very, very wide, and what happened

in China seemed very remote to us. Japan would not even trade with us until 1854. Asia was a mysterious, sleeping continent.

The nations of Europe were divided. They quarreled among themselves frequently. Wars kept some of them more or less exhausted. Any nation preparing to attack the Western Hemisphere risked the assault of its European rivals. The United States might have been attacked by European nations if we had been located nearer Europe. In the nineteenth century, however, three thousand miles of ocean was a barrier to any possible invader. The age of the airplane had not yet dawned. Europe and America were not yet next-door neighbors.

Great Britain was undisputed ruler of the seas during the period from 1823 to 1900. British supremacy was our good fortune. This was not due to any love between the British and the Americans, for we had fought against each other in two wars. It just happened that the interests of Great Britain were not opposed to our own. She had no need for additional land in the New World for herself. She



Acquisition of Outlying Possessions by the United States.

was as much opposed to European conquests in this hemisphere as was the United States. What the British wanted most was trade. They would lose some of their commerce if other European nations seized sections of the Americas.

We Are Drawn Closer to Other Nations

Although our foreign affairs seemed unimportant, our relations with other countries were actually increasing in variety and importance in the period

from 1823 to 1900. We had various disputes with foreign nations. Sometimes these arguments were settled by compromise, while on other occasions we threatened foreign nations or simply ignored their wishes. We had two foreign wars during the period — one with Mexico in 1846–47 and the other with Spain over Cuba in 1898. During this same period foreign trade was growing steadily; we were becoming increasingly dependent on foreign resources and markets. We made more and more treaties for trade with

other nations. We joined the International Postal Union. We sent more and more ambassadors and consuls abroad. We were really building a vast network of international relations without realizing it.

We Favor Expansion

When the United States became a great industrial giant in the 1870's, new needs were created. First, the large factories required great supplies of raw materials. Some of these materials, such as rubber and tin, were not produced in the United States. Second, the large factories made many more manufactured goods than Americans could possibly use. We needed additional customers in foreign lands. Then, thirdly, wealthy Americans were searching for places where they could invest their money and make large profits. Foreign possessions seemed likely to fill many of these needs.

The manufacturing nations of Europe also thought they needed places to buy raw materials, sell factory goods, and invest money. They conquered lands in other parts of the world where no factories existed. By

1890 Great Britain, France, and Germany had carved up most of Africa among themselves, leaving smaller shares for Belgium and Italy. They were beginning to extend their conquests into the Pacific. Whenever colonies were established the mother country demanded control of their trade. If the nations of Europe should divide up Asia and the Pacific islands as they had divided Africa, Americans would have few uncontrolled places where they could sell manufactured goods or buy raw materials. Many business leaders came to believe that the United States should acquire foreign possessions.

Many Europeans and Americans desired possessions for unselfish reasons. They felt that the civilization of the white man was superior to any other. They were certain that the people who lived in other lands would be better and happier if brought under white men's government. They declared that it was the "white man's burden" to change the beliefs and the ways of life of peoples of other color. Such ideas were especially strong among early missionaries who carried religion to lands across the seas.

OUR NEW COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

Alaska

The huge area of Alaska was purchased from Russia in the year 1867 through the efforts of William Seward, our Secretary of State. It was called by critics "Seward's icebox," because few Americans realized its importance. It is more than twice the size of Texas, and a third larger than all the Atlantic states from Maine to

Florida. It is rich in natural resources which have not yet been fully developed. It sends us large amounts of gold, fish, and furs. In 1940 it had only about 73,000 inhabitants. Alaska was considered remote until recently. Now, however, due to the airplane, it is on the shortest route connecting Asia and North America. It is located within only a few miles of Russian territory and only a few hundred

miles of Japan. Kiska and Attu in the Aleutian Islands of Alaska are important outposts of our mainland.

The Hawaiian Islands

Hawaii has been, and is, the crossroads of the Pacific. It was the natural stopping point for ships passing over the greatest of oceans. We were interested in Hawaii from the moment the first American ships ventured in the direction of Asia. The soil of Hawaii was well suited to the production of sugar. Sugar was needed in canning the fruit grown in California's fertile valleys, and for other uses in our country. Americans invested millions of dollars in sugar plantations in Hawaii, and soon were asking to have the territory annexed to the United States.

Missionaries joined the sugar plantation owners in urging annexation. They had first arrived from the United States in 1820. They had greatly improved the living conditions of the natives. They had also

used their influence to keep Hawaii free from European control. They felt that it was our religious duty to take up the "white man's burden" in Hawaii.

In 1893 a revolution occurred in Hawaii, and its Queen was overthrown. Americans living in Hawaii asked that the islands be annexed to the United States. President Benjamin Harrison recommended annexation to Congress, but before action could be taken Harrison was succeeded by Grover Cleveland. Cleveland suspected that Americans had been largely responsible for the revolution in Hawaii, and sent an agent to investigate. When evidence indicated that his suspicions were correct, Cleveland refused to recommend annexation to Congress. In 1898 our citizens in Hawaii again asked to be annexed. This time William McKinley was President, and he and Congress did not hesitate. On August 12, 1898, the islands became a part of the United States.



Indian boys and girls in the modern schools of Alaska learn about the world very much as do the pupils in other parts of the United States.

The Proclamation of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States was read in Honolulu, August 12, 1898. The islands form the Territory of Hawaii, with a governor and a secretary appointed by the President of the United States and a legislature elected by the voters of the territory.



Brown Brothers

The Hawaiian Islands have an area larger than that of Connecticut, but have only about one fourth as many inhabitants. Honolulu, the capital, however, is a city of about 200,000 people. In 1940 about one third of the total population was Japanese-American. The native Hawaiians numbered only about 14,000. Sugar is the most important article of trade Hawaii sends to the United States. Pineapples were of hardly any importance until 1903, but in 1930 Hawaii produced over twelve million cases of pineapples, or nearly all of the world's supply. Hawaii is also important to the defense of our nation. Here is located our naval base of Pearl Harbor.

Samoa

The group of islands called Samoa (să-mō'ā) is some 2000 miles south-

west of Hawaii. It is a natural stopping point for ships bound for Australia. Here is the splendid harbor of Pago Pago (päng'ō päng'ō). American sea captains quickly realized the importance of Samoa. Great Britain and Germany, however, were also gazing with longing eyes in the direction of these islands. Bitter rivalry came to a climax in 1889. German and American warships at Samoa prepared to open fire on each other. A great hurricane suddenly appeared, however, and sank both squadrons, thus preventing war. In 1899 the United States and Germany divided Samoa, and Great Britain was given territory elsewhere in the Pacific; also, control of the German Samoa was given to New Zealand in 1920.

The American section of the Samoa Islands consists of only 76 square miles. In 1940 it had only about

13,000 inhabitants. Its trade is not of great importance; yet its location halfway between Hawaii and the Aus-

tralian harbor of Sydney makes it of great importance to American trade and defense.

WAR WITH SPAIN

Drifting into War

Americans had long ago become interested in Cuba. Our citizens had invested large sums of money in Cuban plantations, mines, and railways. Trade between the United States and Cuba had become very large.

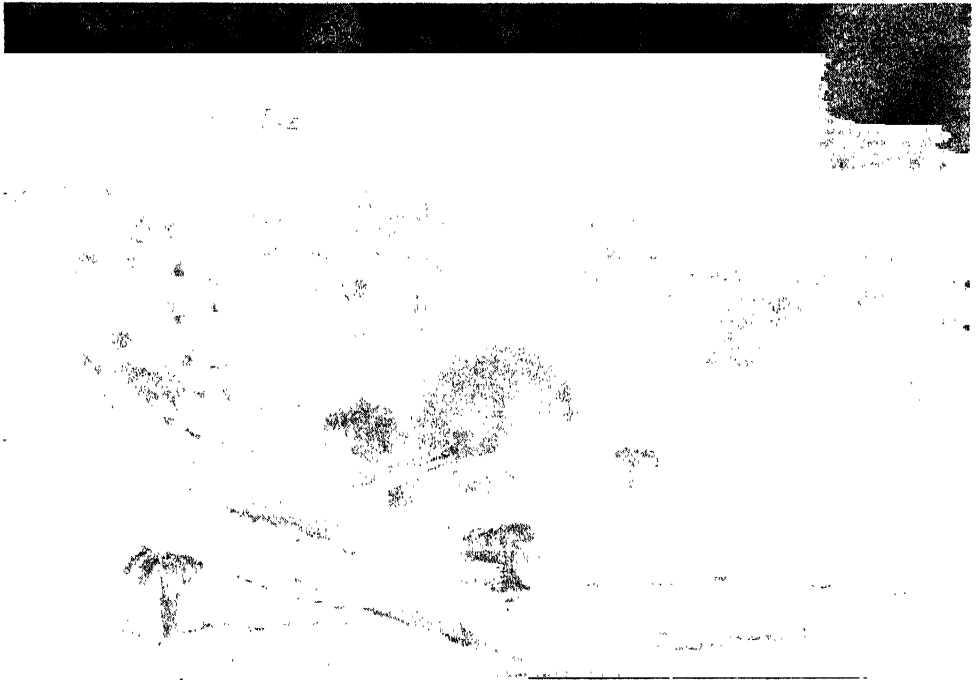
We were also interested in the efforts of the Cubans to win independence from Spain. We sympathized with their desire to run their own government. When revolution against Spain began in the 1890's many people in the United States wanted our government to go to the aid of the Cubans.

While we were watching events in Cuba, an American warship, called the *Maine*, exploded in Habana harbor, Cuba. We can never be certain what caused the explosion. Perhaps the *Maine* blew up from the inside. Perhaps the explosion was caused by a Cuban who wished to see the United States at war with Spain. Most Americans, however, believed that Spain was responsible. Our citizens everywhere called for war. They wished to punish Spain for sinking our warship. They desired to win independence for Cuba. They wished to have a government in Cuba which



Schoenfeld Collection from Three Lions

Cuban Rebellion of 1895. The Cubans made several fierce attempts to free themselves from Spain. Here the Cuban fighters are capturing a cannon in the battle of Lechuza.

*Culver Service*

The Battle of Manila Bay (p. 442). Dewey credited much of his skill in the victory at Manila Bay to his experiences as a young officer serving under Admiral Farragut during the War between the States.

would not interfere with money-making by Americans. Finally on April 11, 1898, President McKinley recommended to Congress that the United States should intervene in Cuba.

Fighting on Land and Sea

The struggle with Spain was almost a bloodless war. Spanish soldiers fought bravely, but the mother country was too far away to be of much assistance. The ships upon which the Spanish relied were out-of-date. It was well for us that the Spanish could not offer much resistance, because our own military affairs were bungled. For example, our soldiers were given heavy winter uniforms to wear in Cuban heat. Some died rapidly of disease without proper protection. Our cavalry had no horses. The best-

known engagement of the war was an American charge up San Juan (hwän) Hill by our famous Rough Riders, led by Theodore Roosevelt. The Rough Riders, however, made the attack on foot while their horses remained in Florida.

After the American victory of San Juan Hill, the near-by city of Santiago was doomed. The Spanish admiral made a heroic attempt to escape from Santiago harbor with his fleet. His ships steamed out to sea, but every one was either captured or destroyed. Santiago itself surrendered a few days later, and the war in Cuba was over. An American army also soon won possession of Puerto Rico.

Our most brilliant victory of the war occurred on the other side of the world. Commodore George Dewey

was at Hong Kong, a British possession in China, when the conflict began. With him were only six ships of our navy. His nearest base was 7000 miles away. He immediately started toward the Philippine Islands, however, when he heard that war had begun. Before dawn on May 1 he ran past the batteries of Manila Bay. By noon he had destroyed the entire Spanish fleet there without any damage to his own ships and without the loss of a single American.

Dewey then blockaded Manila until land forces arrived. In August the city was attacked by land and by sea. Americans were aided by Filipinos (fīl-ŷ-pē'nōz), under Emilio Aguinaldo (ā-mēl'yō ä-gē-nāl'dō), who were fighting for their independence. Manila surrendered on August 13, and Spanish resistance in the Philippines started to crumble.

Terms of Peace

Spain began inquiring about peace terms less than four months after the outbreak of war. What would our answer be? How much of Spain's crumbling empire should we keep? So far as Cuba was concerned an answer was easily found. We had promised when we went into the war that Cuba would be free, and we kept our promise. Most Americans felt that our nation should keep Puerto Rico. They also agreed that we should keep the Pacific island of Guam (gwām), which we had seized. There was no such agreement concerning the Philippines, however. Even the American delegates to the peace conference were divided among themselves.

The Philippines are located near the mainland of southeast Asia. They

were, in 1898, the home of about 8,000,000 people who were unlike our own citizens in race, language, and social institutions. Some Filipinos were highly civilized; others were very primitive.

President McKinley was undecided about the Philippines for a long time. He was unwilling to return the Philippines to Spain, whose rule he felt was cruel. He believed the Filipinos were not yet prepared to rule themselves. He had good reasons to believe that Germany would take possession if we did not annex the Philippines. He finally decided that it was wise to make the Philippines American soil. He was sincere when he said of the islands, "There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them." So the treaty with Spain provided that the Philippines should become American territory. We agreed to pay Spain for improvements which the Spanish had made in these islands.

Our "empire" was greatly increased in importance and size by the war with Spain. The Philippines were 7000 miles from California and only 700 miles off the China coast. We now had possessions in both hemispheres.

Shall Our Nation Become an Empire?

Whether the United States should have an empire became an important political question. It was the leading topic of debate in the election of 1900. The Democrats declared that "No nation can endure half republic and half empire." Their candidate for President was William Jennings Bryan. Bryan protested strongly

against forcing American rule upon people living on the other side of the world. He declared that these foreign peoples could never hope to become American citizens. The Republicans, nominating William McKinley for President and Theodore Roosevelt for Vice-President, declared that if we refused to take foreign possessions some European nation would take the Philippines. The natives would be ruled by someone. That someone might as well be the United States — for the good of the natives as well as

of ourselves. If most of the world's raw materials were taken by European nations, American factories would be without many materials which they needed. The Republicans favored allowing the colonies as much freedom as the natives knew how to use. The voters considered the arguments carefully. They were making a decision which would affect the future of our nation. On election day a majority gave their votes for McKinley and Roosevelt. America decided to follow the path of empire.

"IMPERIAL" AMERICA (1900–1914)

New Responsibilities

We assumed new responsibilities when our nation acquired new possessions. The welfare of the people who lived in Alaska, in the Philippines, and in our other territories became our concern. These men, women, and children were entitled to whatever rights belonged to people who lived under our flag. They were entitled also to the respect due to human beings everywhere. One of our main responsibilities was education. The number of Filipino children attending public schools increased from two hundred thousand in 1902 to more than three times as many in 1917. Another very important responsibility which we accepted was concerned with health. Hospitals were erected, water systems and sewage disposal plants were built, and modern scientific methods were used to combat disease.

Still another important responsibility had to do with government. The manner in which we governed

territories varied greatly. Sometimes we allowed the natives a great deal of freedom; sometimes we ruled the natives without letting them share in their government. In 1900 all inhabitants of Hawaii were declared American citizens. Anyone could vote who could read and write either the Hawaiian or the English language. The voters were allowed to elect a local legislature, but the governor was appointed from Washington. Hawaii was a territory, but not a state. Considerable self-government was also given to Alaska and to the Philippines. The government of Puerto Rico became one of our most difficult problems, a problem still important in the 1940's (picture, p. 444). Some of the smaller islands of the Pacific were mainly naval bases and coaling stations. These possessions were left without self-government.

Problems of Defense

Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States after McKinley's death in 1901. He real-



Victor Kaybela, Three Lions

There are many fine schools for the boys and girls of Puerto Rico to attend. Here is a courtyard view of the George Robinson School in San Juan.

ized that our colonial empire had created new problems of defense. He believed that our nation must maintain a larger army and navy. He was unable to persuade Congress to increase the army greatly, but he did manage to strengthen the navy. He sent a fleet of sixteen new battleships around the world in 1907 to display our added power.

An incident in the war with Spain clearly illustrated our need for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The American battleship *Oregon* was stationed in the Pacific when the conflict started. It was necessary for the *Oregon* to race all the way around the southern tip of South America 14,000 miles to take part in the struggle for Santiago, in Cuba. The defense of our new empire would be extremely difficult unless our navy could pass freely and rapidly from one ocean to the other.

Theodore Roosevelt was determined to build a canal across Panama. We could not afford to have our fleet bottled up in one ocean while we were being attacked in the other. So important did the canal seem to our peace and safety that we treated Colombia in a high-handed manner in order to get the right to build a waterway (Chapter 30). The Panama Canal was finally completed in 1914. Control of the canal has given the United States increased interest and responsibility in the Caribbean region.

Meanwhile we had acquired steppingstones across the Pacific even before the twentieth century had dawned. Midway Island, 1300 miles northwest of Honolulu, had been ours since 1859. Wake Island, 1200 miles beyond Midway, and Guam, 1500 miles beyond Wake, had been taken in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-

American War. The distance from Guam to the Philippines was only 1500 miles. These steppingstones became very important after we decided to keep the Philippines. Our ability to defend the Philippines against invasion depended partly on our holding these island outposts.

A Changed America

"Imperial" America of 1914 differed greatly from the America of 1823 when the Monroe Doctrine was issued. Three great changes had taken place. First, our nation had grown strong and wealthy until in 1914 it was one of the most powerful countries in the world. Second, we had acquired lands in the Pacific far beyond the borders of the United States. Third, we had become more dependent on other nations. We needed their markets and raw materials more than ever before. We were bound more than ever in the web of world relations—in the affairs of nations across the seas.

Closer relations with other nations meant increased importance for the Department of State, which has charge of our foreign affairs. In 1789 there had been only five employees on the first payroll of this department, but the number of employees increased so rapidly that there were six thousand by 1941. These men and women of the State Department are experts in a great variety of occupations, each in his own special field. The headquarters of the Department of State are located in Washington, D. C., but two thirds of its employees are in the foreign service, scattered all over the world.

The foreign service is made up of a variety of officials. Some are am-

bassadors and ministers, who are the most important representatives of our nation abroad. Some are consuls who collect business information, and assist in American business transactions. Some are governors of foreign possessions. Others are concerned with special duties and assignments. Members of the foreign service are the "eyes and ears of the State Department." They send messages in code to Washington from all parts of the world. Sometimes the Secretary of State and other high officials anxiously wait for the telegraph-receiving instruments in the code message room in Washington to start clicking with a message which might affect the future of our nation. Such close relationship with our world neighbors could not have been foreseen in 1789.

Much of the change in our relationship with world neighbors had not been intended. We had turned our backs on Europe. We had not planned to be a world power or to interfere in the affairs of other continents. In 1914, however, we were one of the most powerful nations in the world, and we were about to be drawn into a great world war against our wishes. We had refused to annex foreign lands on various occasions, yet in 1914 we possessed one of the world's great empires. We had become a world leader without realizing it and without any such intention on our part. In many ways we were not ready to assume the responsibilities of leadership which our position as a world power forced on us. Americans were impatient with foreign affairs, yet more and more thoughtful people in the nation were beginning to study carefully our relations with our world neighbors.

Study Activities

1. *Defining Terms.* After reading Chapter 27 write in your own words definitions of the following terms: foreign policy, neutral, alliance, treaty, doctrine, isolation, compromise, ambassador, consul, annexation, blockade, empire.

2. *A Book of Readings.* Many of the high points of the history of American foreign policy before 1900 are recorded in the speeches and writings of American officials at times of crisis. Washington's "Farewell Address," Jefferson's comments on the purchase of Louisiana, Monroe's "Message to Congress," Seward's statements about Alaska, the writings of such Secretaries of State as Blaine and Olney, the speeches of the presidential campaign of 1900 — these are examples of significant statements of our foreign policy. As a research project, a committee of pupils should make a collection of quotations from such sources as these. Many passages are quoted in earlier chapters of this textbook; good examples can be found in the volumes of readings in American history in your library. Arrange the quotations in chronological order and read them, with explanations of their significance, to the class. It would be well to continue making the collection during all your study of Unit VII, for use as a final review.

3. *Textbook References.* Hold a contest in class to see who can locate the greatest number of references to American foreign relations in the first six units of the textbook. Consult the table of contents and the index in your search. The contest should run for fifteen minutes. Each person should put a paper marker in the text at the place where he locates a mention of foreign relations, and should be able to explain the reference to the class.

4. *Opposition to Seward.* Many Americans ridiculed Seward's proposal to

buy Alaska from the Russians in 1867. Newspapers referred to the territory as a "Polar-Bear Garden" and "Seward's Icebox" or "Seward's Folly." Many felt that Russia had outsmarted Seward. One newspaper published the following sarcastic "Advertisement."

"Cash! Cash! Cash! — Cash paid for cast off territory. Best price for old colonies, North or South. Any impoverished monarchs retiring from the colonization business may find a good purchaser by addressing WHS, Post office, Washington, D. C."

Write an ad such as an admirer of Seward's might have written in reply, supporting Seward's proposal.

5. *Report on Alaska.* Consulting available geographies and encyclopedias, a small committee of the class should prepare and present a report on Alaska. The report should include (a) a geographical description of Alaska, (b) how it was purchased by the United States, (c) the chief events in its history since 1867, and (d) how Alaska is governed today.

6. *Hawaiian Exhibit.* When Hawaii was annexed by the United States no one foresaw how important its role would be in the country's future — no one foresaw the Japanese attack of 1941 on Pearl Harbor. A committee of pupils should prepare a teaching-exhibit on Hawaii. The exhibit should include a time-line of Hawaiian history, maps of the islands, charts showing its chief products, and many pictures of life in the islands. Consult geographies, encyclopedias, travel literature, and magazines for material.

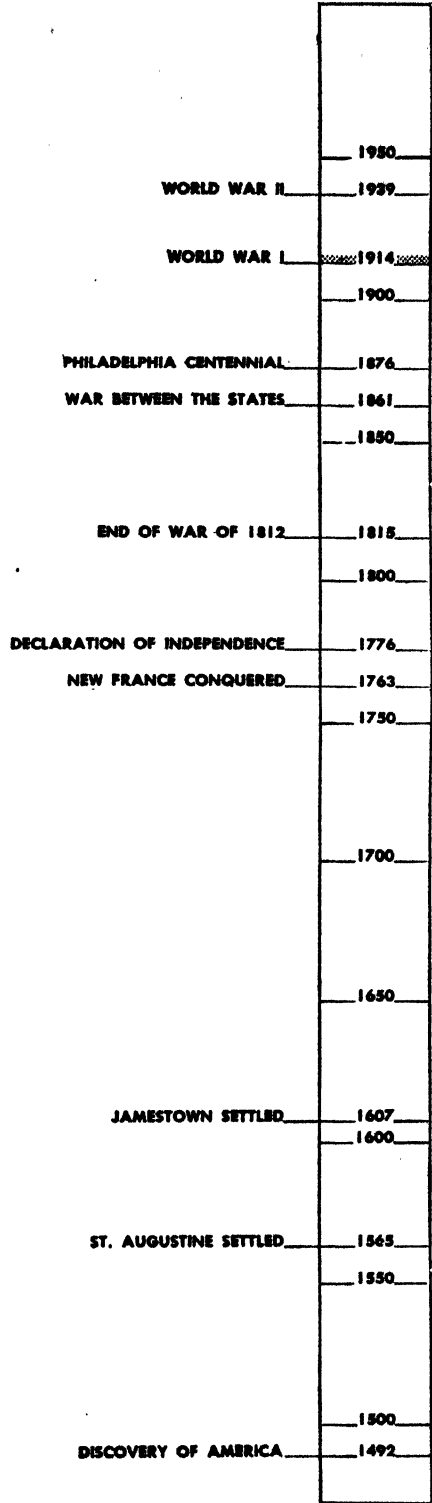
7. *A Map of "Imperial America."* On an outline map your teacher gives you, or on one you draw, color the United States and the lands we acquired beyond the mainland of the United States. Place the date of each acquisition under its name. For help see the map on page 436.

CHAPTER 28

WORLD WAR I

1918 END OF WORLD WAR I
1917 UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR
1914 WORLD WAR I BEGINS

"The right is more precious than peace,
and we shall fight for the things which
we have always carried nearest
our hearts—for democracy."
Woodrow Wilson



THE UNITED STATES IN A CHANGING WORLD

The world was undergoing great changes as the twentieth century dawned. Asia was no longer a sleeping continent as it had been during most of the nineteenth century. Japan was very much awake. She had surprised the world by defeating her huge neighbor, China, in a short war in 1894-95. She amazed the world even more ten years later when she easily won victories over Russia.

Increased Rivalry Among European Nations

Equally important changes were taking place across the Atlantic. British control of the seas was being challenged by Germany. This rivalry was of great importance to the United States. The chief British interest in our hemisphere was trade, not more colonies. So long as the British navy ruled the waves we had nothing to fear from Europe. Germany, however, was anxious to obtain colonies. Most of Africa had already been divided up. Asia and the Pacific Islands were rapidly being divided. In the Pacific the United States and Germany were frequent rivals. If land-hungry Germany won control of the Atlantic, the Americas faced possible difficulty.

Soon after the dawn of the twentieth century Europe became divided into two armed camps. One of these groups consisted of Great Britain, France, and Russia. The other group was composed of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and, until World War I, Italy.

Great Britain, France, and Russia

each had all the territory that it needed. In an age when coal, iron, and chemicals spelled greatness, those three nations possessed these resources (in their own lands or in colonies) in abundance. Like Germany, both Austria-Hungary and Italy thought they needed more raw materials and markets than they already possessed. Many people believed that the only way Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy could supply themselves with new markets and raw materials would be to seize lands already belonging to Great Britain, France, Russia, or the United States.

Our Failure to Protect Ourselves

Most Americans of 1914 did not realize the great changes that had taken place in either the Pacific or the Atlantic. We continued to ignore Asia and turn our backs on Europe. No other nation had ever attacked us. We took it for granted that no nation ever would. We thought of the oceans as barriers which would keep us safe from any enemy. We did not care which nations ruled the oceans. We did not realize that our new colonial empire had brought new responsibilities.

Until about the time of the war with Spain we had few foreign possessions. Our nation had not pledged itself to fight outside the Western Hemisphere. Every time, however, that we acquired foreign territory it became America's duty to provide for its defense. This duty to defend our new possessions amounted to an unwritten pledge. Our decision to

annex Hawaii carried with it the responsibility of defending that group of islands against attack. Our decision to annex the Philippines was especially grave because of their distance from the United States and their nearness to Asia.

Americans took their new responsibilities lightly. We saw no reason to fear Japanese attack, even though the distance from the Philippines to San Francisco was four times the distance from the Philippines to Yokohama. We felt that Japan was weak despite her victories over China and Russia. We were certain our fleet could bombard Japan into submission any time that Japan became warlike.

Actually we had very little reason to feel secure from attack. We were not a thickly populated nation. The entire population of North and South America combined was not one fourth as large as that of Asia. Nor did we have a strong army and navy. Our army was very small. Our navy was better but was not large enough to protect our possessions. We could not hope to defend the Philippines from attack unless we kept most of our ships in near-by waters all the time. Our navy was certainly not strong enough to fight on both oceans at the same time.

Only one other way remained to

protect our empire. We needed alliances with friendly countries since we did not possess the means to protect ourselves. Most Americans, however, were unwilling to make any such alliances with other nations. They believed that the founders of our republic had been opposed to alliances. They forgot that Washington and Jefferson had welcomed alliances with European powers when they were advantageous (page 434). They felt that our nation should attend strictly to its own business and have nothing to do with other countries except when absolutely necessary. The policy of isolation was not questioned by most Americans.

Americans were in great danger in 1914 although we failed to realize that fact. We kept our army and navy weak in a world where nations were rapidly arming themselves. We insisted on walking alone in a world where the other great countries were organizing into groups. We built a rich empire which we made little effort to protect. The Philippines were like so many ripe, juicy apples hanging across the fence in Japan's dooryard, with Uncle Sam sound asleep and far away. It was only a question of time before some land-hungry nation would try to take advantage of our situation.

A NEUTRAL IN A WORLD AT WAR

The Beginning of World War I

As 1914 opened, each of the two great armed camps in Europe (page 448) was furiously preparing for war. Grim war clouds hung dark and heavy over Europe. The gods of war

were feverishly preparing to hurl thunderbolts. Where and when the lightning would strike first was mainly a matter of chance. To calm the bitter hates of Europe in 1914 would have been as difficult as to force the tides of the oceans to stand still.

The lightning struck on the morning of June 28, 1914, when an Austrian Archduke was assassinated by two Serbians in Bosnia, a section of Austria-Hungary. Austria set out to punish Serbia; Russia defended Serbia; Germany aided Austria; France and then Great Britain came into the war. As Viscount Grey in London said, "The lights of Europe are going out one by one." All Europe was in turmoil. World War I was begun — not to end for four long, devastating years, until Armistice Day, November 11, 1918.

Difficulty in Trying to Remain Neutral

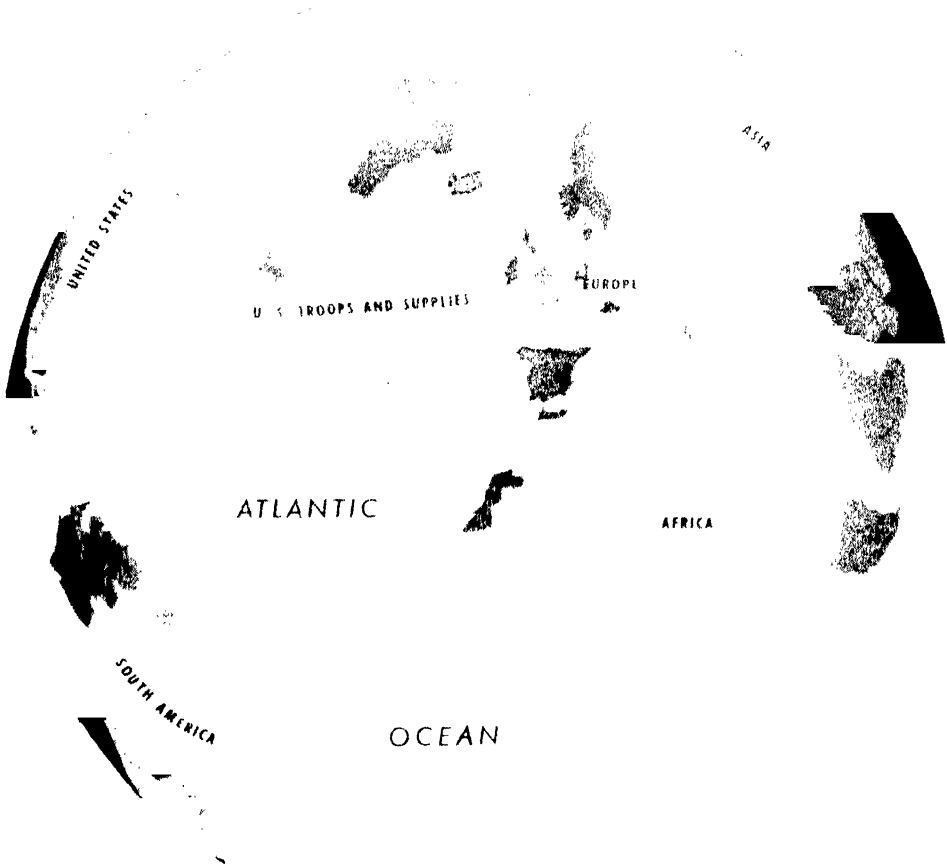
The United States had failed to see the war clouds hanging over Europe. We had been amazed when the lightning struck. But we at once declared that we were neutral, and saw no reason why we could not remain neutral. We soon had disputes with both sides, but we leaned toward Great Britain and France. Those two countries were democracies like ourselves, whereas the people living in Germany and Austria-Hungary were allowed little freedom. We were shocked when the German Kaiser (kī'zēr), or emperor, ordered the invasion of neutral Belgium. We were sometimes alarmed by the Kaiser's loud boasts which made us feel that he wished to rule the world.

We desired to trade with everybody, but soon found that we could not do so. Great Britain and Germany were anxious to starve each other out. Each nation tried to prevent food and munitions reaching the other. Great Britain stopped American ships on the ocean as she had done before the War of 1812. She

established a blockade of Europe, and seized and destroyed American cargoes which were on their way to Germany. Americans became very bitter because the blockade was stopping our trade. We protested, but most of our complaints were in vain. Britain's navy ruled the waves, and her blockade was strong.

The only German hope of starving England was beneath the waves. The main German weapon was the submarine. This underseas craft was a dangerous foe. Its approach was often unnoticed. It was able to strike swiftly and then disappear. According to international law all ships should be warned before being fired upon, and all survivors should be rescued. A submarine could not obey these laws, however. If it stopped to warn a ship and was answered by a shot, the submarine might crumple like a crushed eggshell. It had no room for extra passengers. Thus while both Great Britain and Germany destroyed our commerce, Germany destroyed American lives as well.

Germany could not trade with us, because Britain ruled the waves. The British demand for our goods was tremendous, however. The value of explosives exported to Europe rose from \$6,000,000 in 1914 to \$803,000,000 in 1917. America prospered on war sales, and our prosperity became tied up with British success. The German submarine struck at our pocketbooks as well as at our hearts when ships were sunk. The time came when Britain could no longer pay cash for all the supplies she needed. Then we gave her credit and loans. Germany was forced into more desperate measures. She could not pos-



World War I was between the lands shown in the light gray (Allied Nations) and those in the darker gray. Lands in white were neutral.

sibly defeat Britain unless she could prevent the huge flood of American goods from reaching England and France. She later sent spies into our country to blow up factories that supplied British needs. These acts increased American bitterness toward Germany.

The Lusitania

In May, 1915, a great British ocean liner, the *Lusitania*, was sunk while going from New York to England. It

was carrying munitions secretly and a large number of passengers, including many Americans. Our citizens had been warned before they had left New York. Many of them had seen a German advertisement in newspapers advising them not to travel on British ships. None of them, however, had taken the warning seriously. The graceful *Lusitania* plowed through the sea. Finally the journey was nearly over and the British Isles were close at hand. There was a second



Keystone

This picture of the sinking of the *Lusitania* appeared in a French publication eight days after the tragic event which greatly shocked and angered the people of the United States.

vessel, however, hovering off the British Isles. This ship was a German submarine. Keen German eyes found the *Lusitania*. Carefully and silently two torpedoes were sent on their way. The *Lusitania* had no warning. The great liner was sunk in a few minutes. More than a thousand passengers disappeared into watery graves. More than a hundred were Americans. The United States was greatly shocked. We were one more step nearer war.

We did not go to war in 1915, however. We continued to try to keep out of the conflict, although other ships were sunk by submarines, and more American lives were lost. As late as November, 1916, Woodrow Wilson was re-elected President of the United States largely because so many said "he kept us out of war."

Drifting toward War

Finally Wilson became convinced that there could be no peace until

democracy was won throughout the world. In a message to Congress in April, 1917, he said, "We have no quarrel with the German people," but "only free peoples prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. . . . The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy." He uttered the great battle cry, "The world must be made safe for democracy!"

There were various forces, both selfish and unselfish, which led us in the direction of war. Our aims, however, were exactly what Wilson said they were. We did not desire to obtain additional territory. The American soldiers who marched up the gangplanks to the transports sought nothing but a world at peace. When they marched from the transports to live or die on the battlefields of Europe they looked upon the great con-

flict as a war that would end all wars. Our aim was to keep the Atlantic in friendly hands, ruled by nations that

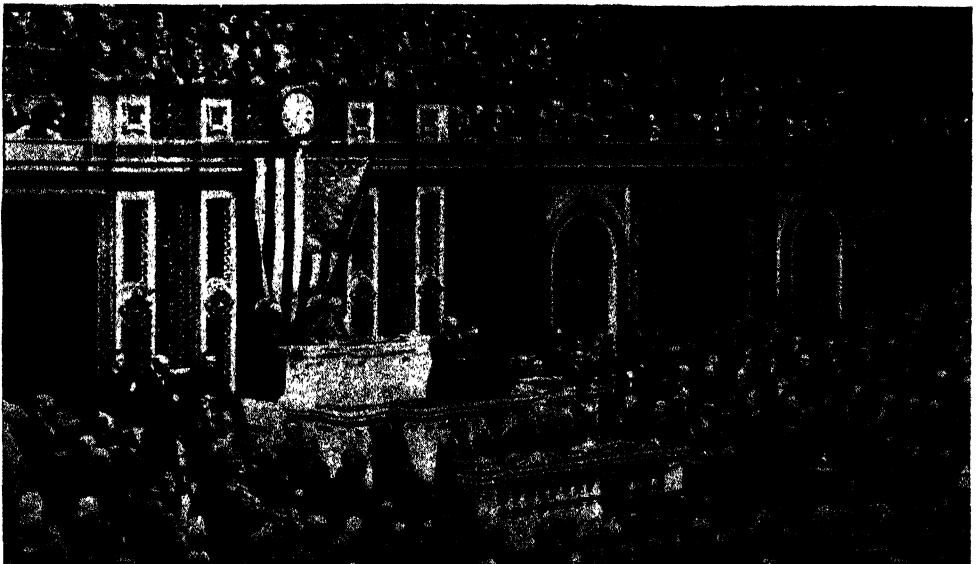
sought no further conquests, and by navies that would not be tempted to attack our possessions.

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

When the war began Germany planned to defeat France quickly before either Russia or Britain could do much to prevent it. By September 1, 1914, German armies were within twenty-five miles of Paris. A German victory seemed to be within easy reach. The German advance was halted, however, in the Battle of the Marne. Then both armies dug trenches; the soldiers fought in two lines of trenches running across Europe from Switzerland to the coast of northern France. The position of these armies was changed but little when the United States entered the war two and a half years later, April 6, 1917.

The Desperate Need of Our Allies

The situation of France and Britain was very serious when we decided to fight. Less than a month before, a revolution had occurred in Russia, and Russia was withdrawing from the war. Germany could transfer large numbers of her soldiers from the Russian front for service in France. Besides, Bulgaria had joined with Germany, and most of the Balkans was in German hands. French and British troops were sick and exhausted from the long months of life in the trenches. German hopes were riding high. The tide of battle was in their favor. Germans were certain that



Acme Photo

President Woodrow Wilson stands before a joint session of Congress and asks for a declaration of war against Germany.

enough Americans could not arrive in time to be a serious obstacle. Agonized pleas for help came from France to us.

We were entirely unprepared to answer such appeals with men. There were only 127,588 men in our regular army — a mere drop in the bucket as compared with the vast armies of Europe. We did not possess the ships required to carry large numbers of soldiers across the Atlantic. We promised, however, to do the best we could. Enlistment stations were crowded. On June 5, 1917, ten million Americans registered for the draft. On July 4, a few American soldiers marched down the streets of Paris carrying the Stars and Stripes. From America's scattered army camps, from crowded troopships, and from roads leading to the trenches, our citizens in uniform joined in the jaunty song "Over There." "Send the word," went their challenge, "that the Yanks

are coming." And they themselves were generally not far behind the message. The big question in 1917 was whether our Allies — Great Britain and France — could hold back the Germans until American soldiers could be equipped, trained, and transported in large numbers. This they were able to do.

A New Kind of War

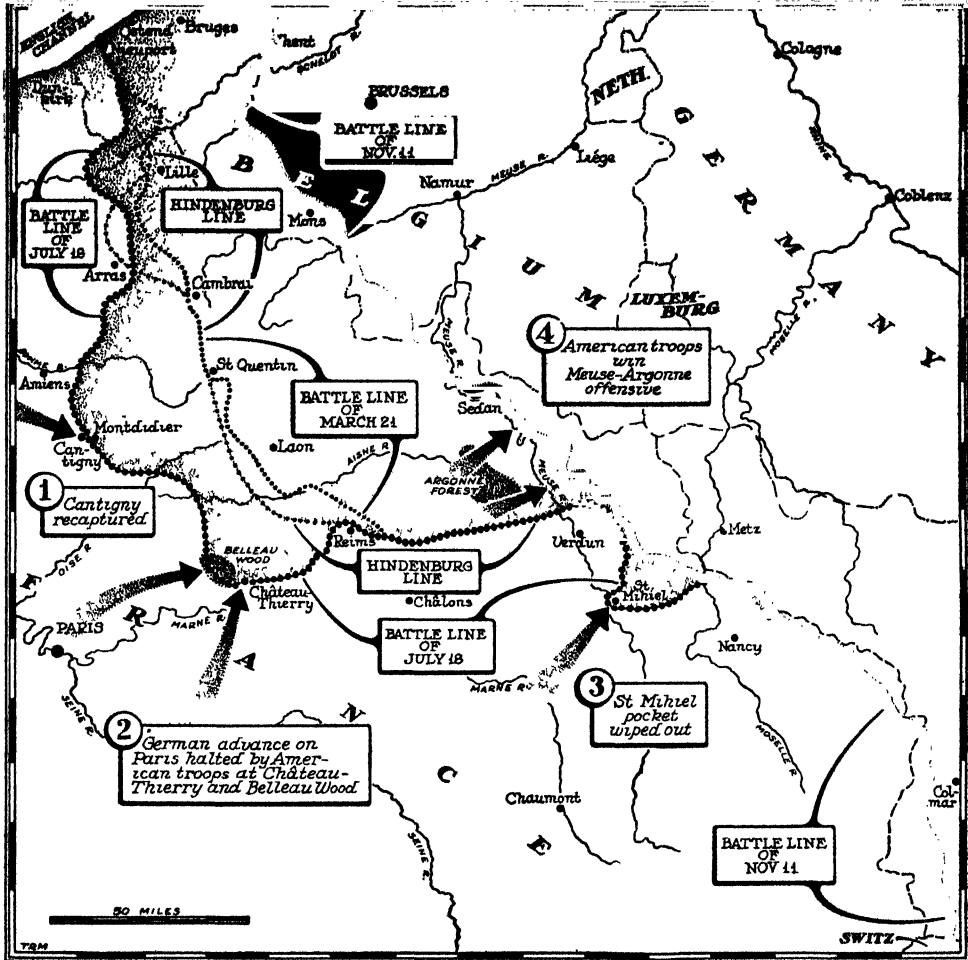
This war was unlike any that we had ever known before. Soldiers had to spend much of their time underground in the muddy trenches. Between our trenches and the trenches of the Germans was a "no man's land" piled high with the dead, and barricaded with barbed wire. Artillery thundered back and forth while airplanes roared overhead. Tanks and poison gas had become weapons of attack.

General John J. Pershing was Commander of the American army. He



Wide World

Trench warfare, 1918. Infantry soldiers are in a front-line trench taking advantage of the camouflage left by the Germans. The German line is about 1,200 yards away.



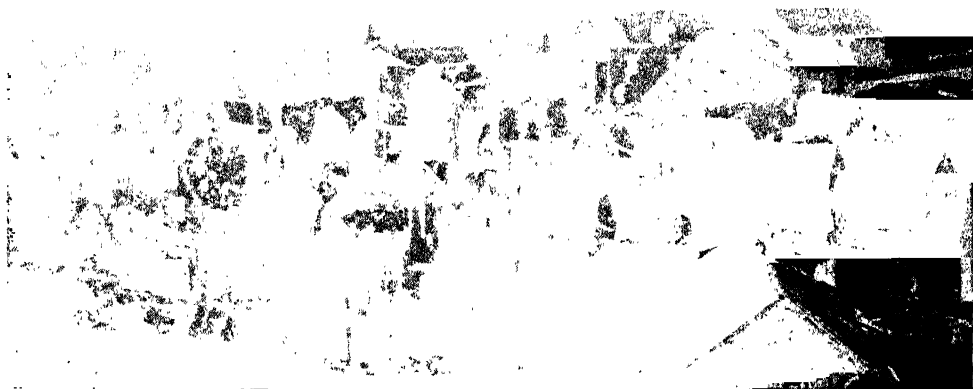
American Campaigns in Europe in the year 1918, as described in the following pages 456-457.

had new ideas about training men to fight. Whereas the French and British had been mainly concerned with methods of defense, his main thought was of attack. Although the Allied officers drilled their men with bayonets and hand grenades for trench warfare, Pershing gave special attention to rifles and machine guns. Pershing also contributed to final victory by placing the common welfare above any personal ambition. He turned control of his entire army over to the

French General, Foch (fösh), when lack of unity threatened to bring defeat. He told Foch, "all that we have is yours. Use it as you wish."

Arrival of Many American Soldiers in France

There were 200,000 American troops overseas by the beginning of 1918. These were far from enough, however. The German General, Von Hindenburg, had 300,000 more soldiers than all the Allied armies com-



Wide World

A French town as it appeared after its capture by American troops in their successful effort to prevent the Germans from crossing the Marne River at Château-Thierry.

bined. The Germans opened a terrific attack on March 21. They broke through the Allied lines for 75 miles. Von Hindenburg was not halted until March 31. Even then there was uncertainty whether he would stay halted.

The soldiers of France and Britain were fighting with great heroism, but they needed reinforcements. Their hope was in America. On April 1, France and Great Britain appealed frantically for aid, requesting 120,000 American soldiers each month. President Wilson announced: "We are ready to send not only 120,000 men, but any number whatever if the means of transporting them can be found." By July 4, 1918, only a year after the first Americans marched down the streets of Paris, a million American soldiers were on foreign soil. During the next four months another million of our soldiers arrived overseas — the greatest movement of soldiers that had ever been made. But would our soldiers be in time?

The Tide of Battle Turns

During April and May the German army delivered powerful blows at the Allies, but during June the German successes came to an end. The strengthened Allied forces were holding their own. The Americans were making their presence felt. On May 28 our soldiers captured the town of Cantigny (kān-tē-nyē'). On May 31 and June 1 they prevented the Germans crossing the Marne River at Château-Thierry (shā-tō-tyě-rē'). These American successes were very heartening to the French and British soldiers who had courageously held back the mighty German armies for almost four years. The Germans were filled with dismay. They were tired from four years of war, and did not welcome the sight of fresh troops on the other side of "no man's land." The tide of battle began to turn. In order to encourage German soldiers to fight against our marines at Belleau (bě-lō') Wood, it

was necessary for German officers to tell them (falsely, of course) that a German army had captured New York and was advancing against Philadelphia. In the middle of July a German attack on the Marne was turned into a retreat. The German Crown Prince began calling these summer days of 1918 "the saddest of my life."

One of the greatest American victories occurred at St. Mihiel (sǎn-mě-yěi') on September 12. The morning was foggy and rainy. Our soldiers attacked in the darkness that preceded the dawn. They cut the barbed wire themselves as they advanced, instead of waiting for artillery to clear the way. The result was 16,000 prisoners and the capture of a very important position.

Another famous American attack took place in the Argonne (ār-gôn') Forest. Our soldiers were faced with large numbers of machine-gun nests and with barbed wire strung from tree to tree. One American battalion, advancing faster than the others, was completely surrounded by the enemy. For over a hundred hours these soldiers were without food and water. Only one third of them survived. Yet the remnants held out against the Germans until rescued.

The Collapse of Germany and Her Allies

The Hindenburg Line was the defensive position upon which the Germans had placed great confidence. It was being punctured and ripped at various points, however. The French and British and Americans and their other Allies were pushing the Germans slowly backward, day by day. Meanwhile Germany's allies

were deserting her. Bulgaria surrendered on September 30, Turkey gave up on October 30, and on November 1 Austria-Hungary asked for an armistice. Then revolution broke out within Germany herself. The German Kaiser lost his throne, and a new German republic was being born. Further fighting was useless. On November 11, 1918, all firing in France ceased. The thunder of guns died away in the distance. Devastated Europe was once more at peace.

The War on the Home Front

This World War I was more than a clash between armies and navies. It was a conflict in which entire nations took part. Our soldiers on the fighting line depended upon the laborers of the steel mills, the shipyards, munition works, and factories; upon citizens who changed trees to lumber, and brought forth oil, coal, iron ore, and copper out of the earth; upon Americans who managed to transport supplies to the right places at the right time; upon the women and children in the homes who went without luxuries, and who knitted sweaters; and upon Americans everywhere who kept the "home fires burning" until our soldiers, sailors, and marines should one day come home.

One of the greatest needs was money. Nearly four times as many soldiers took part in the attack on St. Mihiel as fought on both sides in the battle of Gettysburg in 1863. And in the bombardment which preceded the attack 33 times as many rounds were fired as during the entire three days of fighting at Gettysburg. The cost of waging war on such a huge scale was tremendous. We spent a million dollars an hour twenty-four

hours a day every day of the war to support American forces. We loaned ten billion dollars to our Allies. What we spent was more than the entire cost of our government from 1789 to 1914 — a period of 125 years. To meet this expense taxes were greatly increased, while the remainder was borrowed from our own citizens through Liberty Loan drives. To meet the greatly increased needs of the Red Cross, many men and women signed pledges to give one day's pay each month. To increase the comfort and well-being of our troops on the battlefield other large sums were given to the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Salvation Army.

Another great need was shipping. We lacked the ships required to transport men and equipment to Europe. Our soldiers would not have arrived in France in time to halt the great German drive of 1918 but for the British ships. What our shipbuilders accomplished, however, was nearly a miracle. On July 4, 1918, we launched 82 ships in one day. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, called it a "magnificent performance."

Great quantities of food were needed to feed our own vast army and the soldiers of our Allies. Herbert Hoover was placed in charge of our food supply. He promised our friends across the Atlantic that "in this common cause we eat at a common table." The use of wheat flour in the United States was restricted. No bread or rolls could be placed on restaurant tables until meals were served. Boiled beef could be used at

but two meals each week, roast beef at but one, and beef steaks at but one. Sugar bowls disappeared and no customer could have more than two lumps. Americans accepted the slogan, "Food will win the war."

There were similar shortages of coal and oil. To save fuel, trolleys made fewer stops and elevator service was cut down; on certain nights there were to be no lights. The use of coal was stopped where it was not needed. Automobile drivers east of the Mississippi River were asked not to do pleasure driving on Sundays.

Relations between employers and laborers were stormy in 1916 and 1917. Both sides, however, came to realize that wars could not be won on the battlefield without co-operation from the home front. Much of the bitterness that existed was buried for the duration. There was a sharp decline in labor disputes in 1918. Prosperity seemed to exist almost everywhere. Wages rose higher than ever before in our history. American millionaires increased in number from 16,000 to 20,000. Hearing the call of high factory wages, 800,000 Negroes moved from the South to Northern mill districts between 1916 and 1923.

Speed was of great importance. There was no time for long debates or hesitation. Our government had to have sufficient power to make decisions. It had to be able to tell its citizens what they needed to do. Woodrow Wilson was given more power than any American had possessed before him. American citizens were willing to give up some of their individual freedom for the time being in order that the war for democracy might be won.

Americans were more united in their efforts than in any previous war of our history. The Revolution had been a sort of civil war in some respects. The War of 1812 had found the nation divided. The Mexican War had not received full support from all sections of the nation. In World War I, however, we fought as

a united nation. Included in our population were large groups of foreign-born. Many of them, either citizens or still aliens, had not been here very long. Many had relatives across the Atlantic in territory belonging to the enemy. There was, however, very little disloyalty among these — the newest Americans.

LOSING THE PEACE

The Fourteen Points

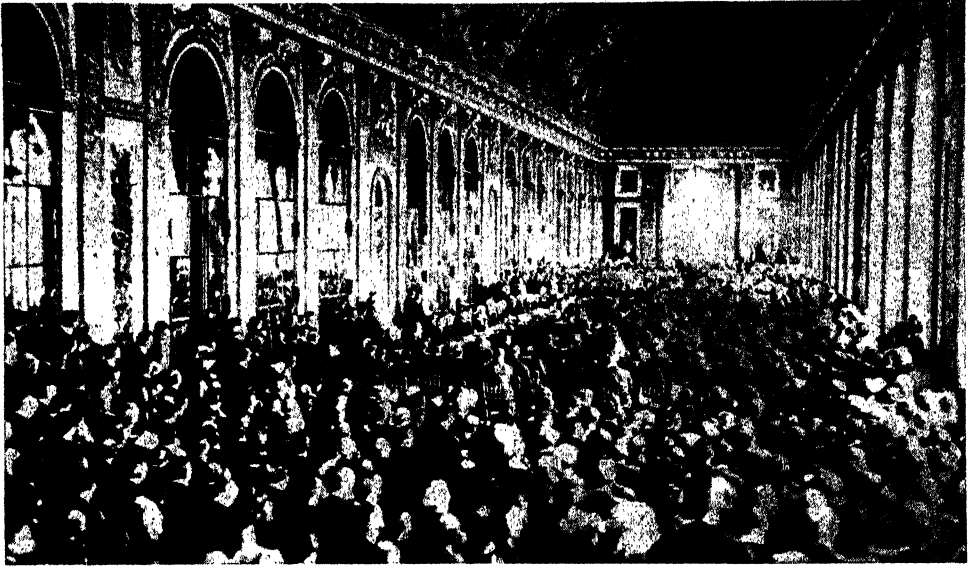
The eyes of the world were upon Wilson as the war ended. He had already stated fourteen aims of peace. He desired a peace without victory. The German people were to be treated as equals, however much the "military masters of Germany" were to be punished. Various nations such as Poland were to be masters of their own destiny instead of being ruled by others. All armies were to be reduced in size, and secret treaties were to be ended. Of greatest importance, to Wilson's mind, was the creation of a League of Nations. He felt that such a league would settle disputes among the nations so that there would be no more war. Wilson's ideas sounded fine to many peoples of Europe, tired and weary after four years of cruel warfare. His Fourteen Points had helped to persuade Germany to give up the struggle.

It seemed that Wilson was in a fine position to referee the disputes of Europe. He had no selfish aims — no ax to grind. He was not prejudiced in favor of any one nation. His only demand was "that the world be made fit and safe to live in." People hoped he would be able to end all wars.

Difficulties Faced by Wilson

There were many individuals, however, who did not share Wilson's dream of remaking the world. There were others who had lost faith in his vision. These individuals became more and more occupied by their selfish desires. Japan had been promised Chinese territory as a bribe for entering the war on the side of Great Britain and France. Italy had been promised parts of Austria for the same reason. Now both Japan and Italy insisted upon payment as agreed. Great Britain was entirely willing that the Polish people should have their own government, but did not believe that this same theory should apply to the Irish and Egyptians who desired independence from the British. Both France and Belgium came to care less and less for "peace without victory." Both nations had suffered terribly and wished Germany to be punished and left so weak that they would not need to fear a German attack again.

What Wilson desired most was the League of Nations. He finally managed to create one which was acceptable to the nations of Europe, and which by 1935 had a membership of 60 nations. In this case, however, his

*Acme Photo*

The Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I and gave birth to the League of Nations, was signed in the Hall of Mirrors, in the Grand Palace of Versailles, near Paris.

own nation failed to follow him. Many Americans had become convinced that they had made a mistake in entering the war. We decided to let Europe fry in her own hatreds. We did not trust the League of Nations. We feared that the League would find excuses to interfere in our own American affairs. We were afraid that we might be called upon to act as policeman for the entire world. We might have accepted the League of Nations with certain changes. Wilson would not compromise, however. He declared, "I would rather fail in a cause that I know some day will triumph, than to win in a cause that I know some day will fail."

An Armed Truce

We can agree that Wilson neither succeeded nor failed completely; that the peace treaty which was finally made was very much unlike the Fourteen Points in many respects; that be-

cause of the selfishness of nations in general we gained neither a peace without victory nor a world safe for democracy; that instead of a peace we gained only an armed truce, or temporary halt to the fighting. The great conflict was not ended. The next battles were only postponed for a quarter of a century. Too few people realized how small the world had shrunk and how dependent countries were on one another. Woodrow Wilson, like Thomas Jefferson, was ahead of the age in which he lived.

With the Atlantic Ocean safe in friendly hands we felt secure against attack. We disbanded the army which we had raised so hurriedly. We allowed much of our merchant marine to rot, although lack of ships had been our greatest single problem in the war. We continued to oppose alliances with other nations, and left our colonial territories unprotected.

When World War I ended in 1918 Europe was a sick continent. Most of the 65,000,000 men who had shouldered arms in that great conflict had been Europeans. Of this number 8,500,000 had either been killed or had died of disease. In dollars and cents this war had cost more than all the wars of the one hundred years previous. Europe was near bankruptcy, the defeated nations most of all. In addition, certain countries such as France and Belgium had borne the brunt of four years of combat. Many of their cities and villages had been destroyed and their farms

ruined. From 1918 until the outbreak of World War II Europe was trying to recover from World War I.

After the close of the war and the defeat of the League of Nations, the United States tried to "return to normalcy" and ignore the rest of the world. The world itself, however, was not "normal" in the old way. As we have seen, we had years of prosperity and then of depression. We tried repeatedly to avoid being entangled in foreign affairs. We did not realize that some problems which seemed to be foreign actually affected the United States very closely.

Study Activities

1. Sequence of Events. Arrange the following events, late 1914, in the chronological order of their occurrence, and be able to explain how each event led to the next.

Germany comes to the aid of Austria
Murder of Austrian Archduke Ferdinand
German invasion of Belgium
Austria's ultimatum to Serbia
Great Britain enters the war
Russia comes to the defense of Serbia
The Germans halted at the Marne

2. The Hope of Isolation. When the Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated in June, 1914, American newspapers barely mentioned the fact. Most Americans had only a hazy notion where Sarajevo was. A widely-read magazine said in August, 1914, "Our isolated position and freedom from entangling alliances inspire our press with the cheering assurance that we are in no peril of being drawn into the European quarrel." Read pages 448-449 and think of all you have read of American history; then make a list of reasons why most Americans thought in 1914 that they would not be affected by a war in Europe.

3. Difficulties of Neutrality. As the war increased in Europe and more nations were drawn into the conflict, more and more Americans began to take sides. Neutrality was difficult. A reporter in the *New York Sun* humorously described the way people argued by referring to a harrowing experience in a barber shop. He reported that:

"The barber to the right of me was hocking for the Kaiser.
The barber to the left of me was hacking for the Czar.
A gentleman from Greece was shearing off my fleece,
While very near a swart Italian stropped his scimitar.
And when presently discussion, polyglot and fervid
On political conditions burst about me in the chair,
I left the place unshaven — I hope I'm not a craven,
But I sort of like to wear a head beneath my hair."

Write a conversation such as the man in the barber's chair might have overheard.

4. *Failure of Neutrality.* At a dramatic night session of Congress on April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson urged that the United States declare war against Germany. The declaration of war which followed on April 6 was a far cry from the proclamation of neutrality issued at the outbreak of war in Europe. Make a list of the reasons why the United States entered the war, and discuss the list in class. Do the following quotations from Wilson's speech help make the reasons clearer?

"Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States."

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them."

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Gov-

ernments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

5. *World "Line-up" during World War I.* On page 451 is a map which interprets World War I. With the help of geography, atlas, and wall maps, from this map make a list of the (1) Allied Nations, (2) enemy nations, and (3) neutral nations.

6. *A War Map.* Draw a large outline map of Europe and locate on it all the war engagements mentioned in Chapter 28.

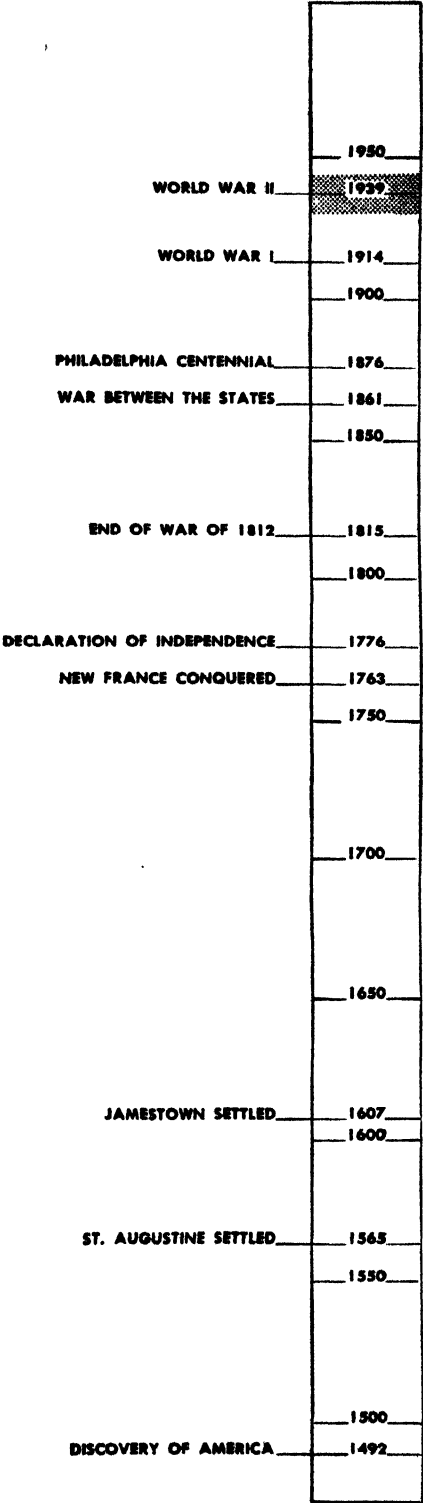
7. *The Unknown Soldiers.* In Washington, London, Paris, and the capitals of other countries involved in World War I are the tombs of unknown soldiers. In beautiful Arlington Cemetery near Washington is our tomb to America's Unknown Soldier, with the inscription, "Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God." Appoint a class member to report on the story of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Consult the encyclopedias for information. Other class members may wish to look up information on the tombs that nations have built to honor their unknown soldiers.

8. *War Songs.* *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, *Over There*, and *Keep The Home Fires Burning* were popular songs of World War I. Arrange to sing them during the music hour. Appoint a committee to give information to the class about each of the songs.

CHAPTER 29

WORLD WAR II

- 1945 END OF WORLD WAR II
- 1944 AMERICAN INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES
- 1944 ALLIED INVASION OF WESTERN EUROPE AND BALKANS
- 1943 ALLIED INVASION OF ITALY
- 1941 JAPAN ATTACKS PEARL HARBOR
- 1941 ATLANTIC CHARTER
- 1941 LEND-LEASE ACT
- 1940 FIRST AMERICAN PEACETIME DRAFT
- 1939 HITLER CONQUERS POLAND
- 1938-39 HITLER SEIZES AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA
- 1934 ITALY ATTACKS ETHIOPIA
- 1933 HITLER COMES TO POWER IN GERMANY
- 1931 JAPAN INVADES MANCHURIA



"We shall accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression—freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—freedom from want—and freedom from terrorism."
Franklin D. Roosevelt

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

During the 1930's war clouds gathered over Europe and Asia as they had over Europe in the years before 1914. This time the outbreak of fighting came in Asia, then in Africa. Before the end it affected the whole world.

Japan Attacks China

In 1930 there were 433 people for each square mile in the home islands of Japan, compared with 41 in the continental United States. Japan did not possess the minerals which were necessary to an industrial nation, nor much land that was good for farming. Among her neighbors, however, were nations where Japan could find wealth or elbowroom — or both.

The Japanese government passed more and more into the hands of its military and naval leaders. These Japanese generals and admirals looked longingly at their neighbors' lands and schemed to build an empire to control all Asia. In 1931 Japan invaded a part of north China known as Manchuria. Japan had signed treaties agreeing to fight only in self-defense, and she actually claimed that her armies marched into Manchuria only to protect herself. The League of Nations decided otherwise, but Japan continued on her path of conquest. She refused to withdraw from Manchuria. Unfortunately, the other nations of the world did not force Japan to live up to her international agreements. Because of Japan warfare continued in Asia for many years after 1931. And Japan, in violation of her international agreements, forti-

fied Pacific Islands which had been under her control. We were later to learn that Japan had aims to conquer the world.

Italy Attacks Ethiopia

Italy was not as thickly populated as Japan, and possessed more good farm land. It was overcrowded, however, and it lacked minerals even more than Japan. Italy had no petroleum, hardly any coal, and not enough iron. Italians hoped to build an empire in northern Africa and obtain the resources which they lacked.

After 1922 the people of Italy possessed hardly any power. In that year their government came under the control of one man — a dictator called Benito Mussolini (bă-ně'tō mōōs-sō-lě'ně), whose blackshirted followers were called Fascists (făsh'-ists). Mussolini determined to seize an African nation called Ethiopia. He hoped the rest of the world would stand idly by as it had when Japan attacked Manchuria. In 1934 he attacked Ethiopia, claiming that Italy was acting in self-defense. On this occasion various nations talked loudly of taking action against Italy. The League of Nations actually did decide that its members should not trade with Italy. The United States and some other nations, however, continued to trade with Italy. In the end Italy managed to conquer the African territory it desired. Mussolini strutted and boasted of a new Roman Empire. He preached against democracy, and made his dictatorship more and more complete.

The Fall of the German Republic

Germany became a republic after World War I. During the 1920's the German people overcame many of their difficulties and became rather friendly with their neighbors, including France. When hard times arrived in 1929, however, conditions were worse in Germany than in the United States or anywhere else. Germans placed much of the blame on their new republic, much as many Americans blamed President Hoover (see Chapter 26).

Conditions finally became so bad that the German people made the mistake of thinking that things could not possibly be worse. For many years Adolf Hitler had been telling all the great things he would do if he were given the chance. Until hard times came the German people paid little attention to him; but finally they gave him the chance to show what he could do. Hitler became the most powerful man in Germany in 1933, and rapidly seized the power of dictator. The German people had lost their republic and their freedom.

Hitler's Early Conquests

Hitler began to rebuild the great German war machine. He boasted about future days of glory for Germany. His personal followers, called Nazis (nă'tsēz), rapidly increased in number. Germans of all classes

drilled, obeyed, and supported Hitler's policies. The entire German nation prepared to conquer more elbowroom. Germany had much in common with Japan and Italy. These three nations allied themselves with one another in 1937, forming the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. They became known as the Axis Nations.

In March, 1938, Hitler's armies occupied Austria suddenly and with but little difficulty. France and Britain were not greatly concerned, because Austria was mostly German anyway. In September, 1938, also, Hitler took part of Czechoslovakia. France and Britain objected loudly this time, but finally agreed, at a conference held at Munich (mū'nĭk), that Hitler could have a section of Czechoslovakia where most of the people were Germans. Hitler then declared, "I have no further territorial designs in Europe."

In March, 1939, Hitler broke his promise and seized the remainder of Czechoslovakia. France and Britain were powerless to stop him. He felt more than ever that no one could stop him whatever he might do. So in the early dawn of September 1, 1939, Hitler sent his armies into Poland, contrary to his promises and without declaring war. France and Great Britain decided that they must stop Hitler then if ever. On September 3 they declared war on Germany. World War II was begun.

NEUTRALITY NOT POSSIBLE

American Attempts to Remain Neutral

Americans favored France, Britain, and China rather than Germany,

Italy, and Japan. We favored nations that were democracies rather than countries ruled by dictators. We were aroused by the loud boasts of Hitler and Mussolini that the future

of the world belonged to dictators and to force. We objected to the way the governments of the Axis nations misused their own peoples. From Germany in particular came stories of great cruelty, especially to the Jews. We lost respect for all three Axis nations because they broke promises and because they treated China, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland unjustly.

At first, however, we were determined to be neutral regardless of the cost. We had come to believe that our entrance into World War I had been a mistake. We were certain that we would not "burn our fingers" a second time. We knew how trade relations with nations at war might draw us into their struggles. Some of our leaders were ready to sacrifice our commerce if necessary in order to have peace. We refused to trade with either Italy or Ethiopia even though this helped Italy more because the Italians possessed all the weapons they needed. In 1939 Congress passed a Neutrality Act which forbade American ships to enter sections of the world where wars raged, and forbade American citizens to loan money to nations at war. Even the Neutrality Act, however, failed to keep the United States at peace.

Our Shortsighted Foreign Policy

The United States made but little effort to strengthen itself as Europe and Asia drifted slowly but surely toward war during the 1930's. We had a false sense of security — a feeling that no nation would dare to attack us. We continued to neglect our army and to avoid alliances with our friends.

Our foreign policy in the Far East

was especially shortsighted. The Philippines were 7000 miles away in waters where Japanese ships possessed naval strength superior to ours. Our continued possession of these islands depended on an adequate defense, yet we made promises that we would not improve our fortifications in the Philippines and on Guam. At the same time we did nothing to prevent Japan from fortifying islands between the Philippines and Hawaii contrary to the promises of the Japanese government.

Our foreign policy toward Europe was also shortsighted. One of our most serious mistakes was being deceived by Hitler. We felt certain, until he seized Czechoslovakia, that his only aim was to create a united Germany. We paid but little attention to the reports coming from Europe after 1933 that Hitler was heavily arming Germany and that he was building a huge number of airplanes. We did not fully appreciate the military importance of airplanes and we were surprised when lightning warfare proved superior to strongly fortified positions. Few of us realized the danger of the control of the Atlantic falling into the hands of unfriendly powers. We did not yet realize that the control of the Atlantic sea lanes by land-hungry, commerce-thirsty nations could strangle American prosperity and dictate America's future.

Most Americans felt secure against attack until Germany invaded Poland. Congress saw no need for alarm. We ended a commercial treaty with Japan in spite of the defenseless condition of our Pacific possessions. At the same time Congress, until November, 1939, would not allow France and Britain to buy arms

here to defend themselves against Germany. We were aware, however, that Germany and Japan had been allies since 1936.

Hitler Becomes Master of Europe

Poland was no match for Germany in 1939. France and Britain had neither the strength nor the necessary time to reach Poland with assistance. Russia had no love for Hitler but did agree to share Poland with Germany. In April, 1940, Hitler added Denmark and Norway to his conquests. In the early morning of May 10, German troops suddenly invaded the Netherlands and Belgium. The Netherlands were conquered in five days. The Belgian armies surrendered on May 28. Meanwhile Hitler's armies were sweeping across France, which had been considered by many to be the world's strongest military power. France was a beaten nation by June 10 and signed an armistice on June 26.

France made the mistake of relying upon its Maginot (mă'zhē-nō) Line. This line consisted of the strongest fortifications the world had ever seen. Enough ammunition and supplies were stored underground to supply a defending army for many months. Any enemy attempts to capture the French fortifications by infantry assaults would be suicide. This was a new kind of war, however. In World War II the German attacks came like streaks of lightning. Great swarms of planes shot across the sky. Armies of tanks advanced at great speed over the ground. Traitors and spies made resistance by the defenders difficult and sometimes impossible. The Maginot Line had been built for the kind of fighting which had taken place in World War I. It was powerless

before planes and tanks. The German armies quickly outflanked the French fortifications. Armies that stood still were speedily surrounded and caught.

In the summer of 1940 the dictators of Germany and Italy ruled most of Europe. Only the British Isles stood in their way. Great fleets of German planes poured bombs out of the sky. Day after day, week after week, and month after month, English cities and villages endured the terrors of air raids. Great Britain, however, continued to resist. Hitler was unable to conquer Britain by air power alone. He made plans to send German armies across the English Channel. He decided, however, to try to conquer Russia first. In the early morning of June 22, 1941, German troops began invading Russia. Hitler was surprised at the opposition he found. He was unable to conquer Russia, because the Russians defended themselves with great heroism.

The United States Becomes Worried

The United States was not greatly worried over the outcome of the war until France fell so easily. We then decided it was time to take the boasts of the dictators seriously. All that stood between Hitler and us was the British navy. If Britain fell, the world would be ruled by Hitler, whether he conquered us or not. Therefore, after the fall of France we could be neutral no longer. Democracy was at stake here and throughout the world. In September, 1940, we traded fifty destroyers to Britain in return for naval and air bases on British soil in our hemisphere to help us defend ourselves. We began to build up our



Press Association, Inc.

Lend-lease supplies from the United States move on an American-operated railroad in Iran to bring food and military equipment to the Russians.

army and navy; and Americans were drafted for military training although no war had been declared.

We were not ready to fight, however. Americans of 1940 would have been unwilling to fight on foreign soil even if we had been ready to fight. But in March, 1941, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill which allowed us to deliver war supplies to nations fighting dictators. We therefore gave and sold to Britain, China, and Russia what they needed most — planes, tanks, guns, and food. The United States became the “arsenal of democracy.”

In World War I, Wilson’s Fourteen Points had been purely an American declaration. This had turned out to be a great mistake. After World War I had ended, other nations had not felt bound by its provisions. We were resolved not to make the same mistake a second time. We were in

a much better position to persuade other nations to agree with us during World War II than we would be afterwards. We could say to the nations who sought our help, “If you will agree now to the kind of peace we want, we will give you every assistance.”

The Atlantic Charter

In August, 1941, an event of world importance took place aboard the American cruiser *Augusta* in the fog off the barren shores of Newfoundland, although what happened there remained a deep secret until afterward. It was on the *Augusta* that Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain met President Roosevelt for the first of their conferences. They became firm friends, and agreed on a program for peace known as the Atlantic Charter. According to the Atlantic Charter their nations were

not to seek additional territory after the war ended. There were to be "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." "The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" would be respected. All nations "great or small, victor or vanquished" were to have equal rights to the world's resources. Nations were to co-operate in economic matters for the common good instead of continually being at each other's throats. A peace would be established which would permit men in all lands to "live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." All nations were to use the oceans without interference. Nations who

threatened the existence of other peoples must be disarmed until some way could be found to establish law and order among nations. The world must "come to the abandonment of the use of force." Most of the nations fighting against the Axis powers approved of these peace aims and the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

Germany and Japan soon began to feel the effects of the aid we were sending to Russia, Britain, and China. Hitler had thought it was necessary to attack Russia before he could invade Britain. Now it seemed necessary for the dictators to cripple the United States before Germany and Japan could complete their conquest of Russia and China.

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

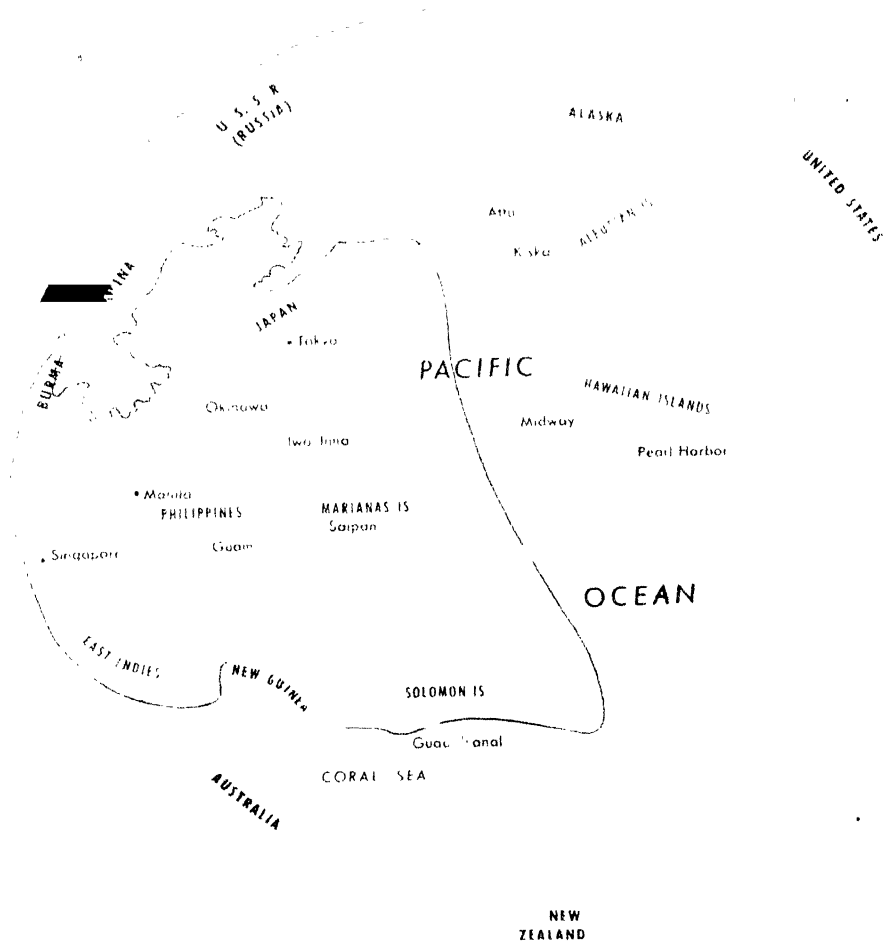
During 1941 tension increased between Japan and the United States. As 1941 neared its end, the Japanese government was preparing to attack us. Japanese diplomats in Washington acted and talked as if they desired peace, but their conversation was just a smoke screen.

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

Suddenly in the early dawn of December 7, 1941, we received our first taste of lightning war. Swarms of Japanese airplanes appeared in the sky above Hawaii. Japanese bombs blasted our great naval base at Pearl Harbor. American forces stationed at Hawaii were not alert to defend themselves. Our officers had not expected a treacherous attack from a nation with whom we were at peace. Our fleet was severely damaged. Of eight battleships stationed at Pearl

Harbor one was completely lost while the other seven were damaged, four of them severely. Naval equipment was badly crippled, and a large number of American airplanes were destroyed on the ground. Almost five thousand American sailors, soldiers, and marines were killed, wounded, or missing as a result of the Japanese attack.

The attack on Pearl Harbor aroused our entire nation more than anything that had ever occurred before. Americans everywhere were angry over the treachery of the Japanese government. We had always regarded Japan as much weaker than ourselves. We were amazed that she dared to attack us. Before December 7 many citizens had felt that no nation would ever attack us across the wide oceans. We had been dreaming that we could live in our modern world without



World War II across the Pacific. The large black lines show movements of men and supplies from the United States. The narrow white line encloses the areas that were held or were seized, for a time, by Japan.

being greatly concerned about what happened between our neighbors. Pearl Harbor was a rude awakening to most Americans. War was here; the question was not even for us to decide. Instead of being safe and secure we suddenly found ourselves in greater danger than our nation had ever known before. Within four days after December 7 the three Axis nations had declared war on the United States.

Japanese Conquests

Japan won some successes very easily, except in the Philippines. Our allies did not have, in the East, the planes, ships, or men to hold the Japanese back for long. Japanese armies overran much of southeastern Asia and the East Indies. They easily conquered the great British naval base of Singapore. They soon had control of the rubber plantations and

precious oil wells of the Dutch East Indies. They extended Japanese conquest over most of the islands north of Australia, and later won positions on the islands of Kiska and Attu in the Aleutians west of Alaska.

In the Philippines, Japan was surprised at the stiff resistance she met. She knew that Filipino and American forces in those islands were small. She realized that their supplies of arms, food, and planes were limited. She was certain that there was practically no chance for them to receive assistance from the United States, seven thousand miles away. Yet the American garrison under General Douglas MacArthur, with heroic assistance from Filipino soldiers, held off the Japanese armies in Bataan for weeks after there was any chance of American victory. Then in March, 1942, MacArthur withdrew to Australia, and was given command of all the Allied forces in the southwest Pacific.

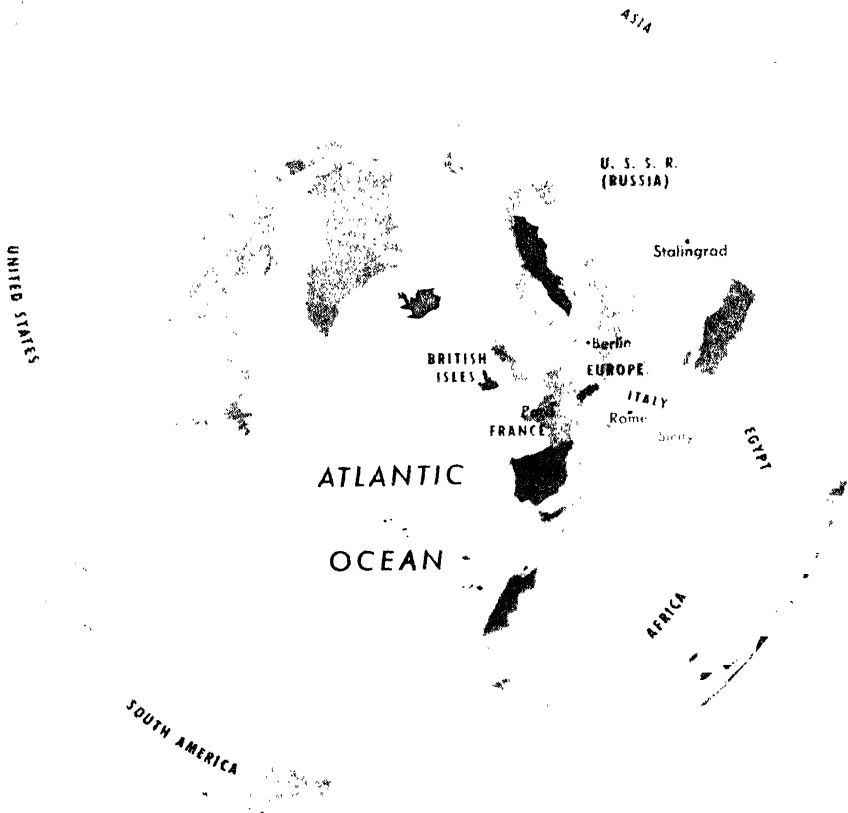
Meanwhile the Allied nations were being defeated elsewhere. In 1942 Hitler continued his advance into southern Russia. His armies nearly captured Stalingrad (stă-lên-grăd'). In northern Africa another German army threatened to conquer Egypt. But late summer and early fall of 1942 marked the high point of Axis conquests.

The Tide of Battle Turns

Stalingrad did not fall. Instead, the German armies were pushed back. Nor in North Africa did Egypt fall to German invasion. The British under General Montgomery turned on the Germans. By November 8, all Axis troops had been driven out of Egypt. Meanwhile (November 7) an Allied army under General Dwight

D. Eisenhower (i'z'n-hou-ēr) had made a surprise landing on Africa's northwest coast. With Montgomery advancing from the east and Eisenhower from the west, the Germans were slowly but surely being squeezed out of Africa. In the Pacific the Japanese attack also stalled. Important American naval victories of the Coral Sea and of Midway brought Japanese conquests to a halt. Within a week of Eisenhower's landing in North Africa, a great American naval victory was won off Guadalcanal (gwă-thăl-kă-nāl'). Japanese losses included several transports loaded with troops.

These scattered events illustrated the world-wide kind of war. Stalingrad, North Africa, and Guadalcanal were all battlefronts of the same conflict. A victory or defeat in one section of the world had a direct bearing upon events in all other sections. Our sailors were needed in both oceans and our soldiers and marines on all continents. If large numbers of soldiers were sent to Europe and Africa, there were fewer to go to Asia and Australia. Should we try to attack both Japan and Germany at the same time, or should we try to attack one while fighting a defensive action against the other? Should our planes be used to drive the Japanese out of the islands of Attu and Kiska, or to help the Russians around Stalingrad, or to defend the Suez Canal in Egypt, or to prevent the Japanese from conquering more of China, or to help MacArthur in his fight against the enemy in the southwest Pacific? Stalingrad and Guadalcanal were as closely related in 1942 as were Saratoga and Bennington in the Revolution.



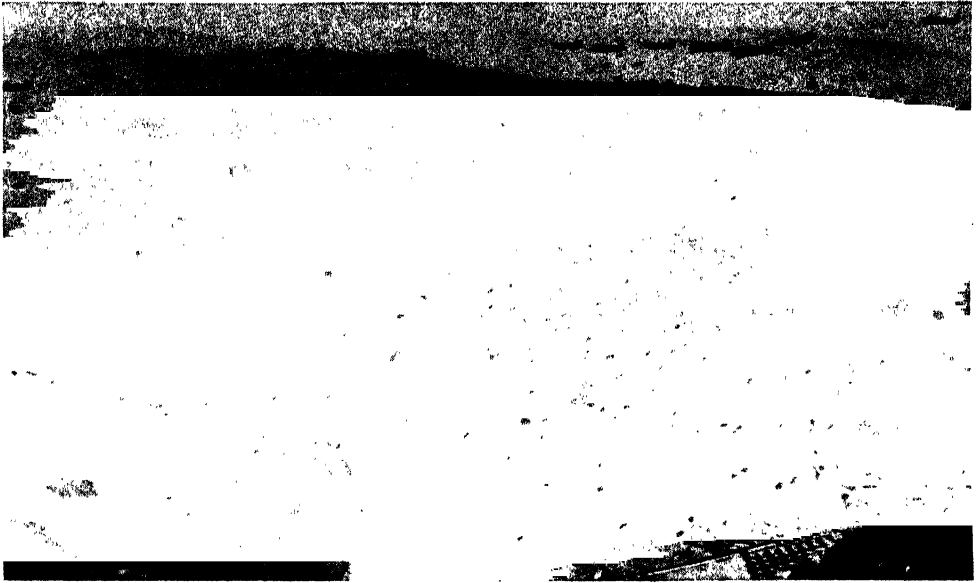
World War II across the Atlantic. The black lines show movements of men and supplies from the United States. Allied nations occupied the lands shown in light gray, Axis nations those shown in darker gray, and neutral nations those shown in white.

An important reason why the tide of battle turned in 1942 was increased co-operation among the Allies. They realized that their continued existence depended upon their ability to work together in a common cause. On January 2, 1942, twenty-six nations fighting against the Axis powers signed a "Declaration by the United Nations." They pledged themselves to fight with all their strength; they promised not to make a separate

peace; and they agreed to the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

The Growing Importance of Air Power

More and more importance came to be attached to air power, although planes alone had not brought Britain to her knees. It was generally agreed that no nations could hope to win the war without control of the skies. Battleships entering enemy waters

*Acme Photo*

Leap to free France. In "Operation Uppercot" thousands of parachutes of various colors, some holding equipment and some carrying men, filled the sky over southern France after dropping from their C-47 carrier planes.

without air protection were speedily sunk by enemy planes. Armies advancing into territory where the enemy ruled the skies were slaughtered.

By the summer of 1943 the United States was producing more than seven thousand planes a month, as compared with the total twelve thousand made during all of World War I. We were producing more planes than all the rest of the world combined. Our great production of planes and other equipment was the main reason why the tide of war turned in our favor in 1942 and became stronger in 1943. The Germans were powerless to overcome our rule of the skies in North Africa and in other important areas.

By 1943 many authorities believed that Germany and Italy could be beaten by air power alone without any large-scale invasion of Europe. During 1943 both Germany and Italy were showered with various kinds of

bombs including so-called blockbusters weighing two tons. Large cities such as Hamburg were practically ruined, while Berlin itself was badly crippled. Germany, however, did not collapse under the pounding from the air. Air power alone was not enough.

Allied Victories

In 1943 the United Nations won important victories on every front. Throughout the year Russian armies pushed the German troops ever backward, winning victory after victory. German and Italian forces were steadily pounded in North Africa until their last garrisons surrendered in May, 1943. Two months later Allied troops landed on the island of Sicily. On September 3 our armies began the invasion of the mainland of Italy. On October 13 a new Italian government declared war against Germany.

In the Pacific, Japanese forces were gradually being forced out of the Solomon Islands and New Guinea. Attu and Kiska were recaptured by Americans.

In 1944 World War II reached a climax. In the Pacific, Japanese naval and air bases were beaten and battered. American naval units roamed through Japan's island empire. By July, 1944, American forces had captured Saipan (sī-pān') Island in the Marianas. This victory placed American planes within bombing range of Tokyo. In October of 1944, MacArthur's men landed in the Philippines, and the American navy won a great victory there over the Japanese fleet. Meanwhile our huge B-29 super-bombers based in China began to bomb Japanese industrial cities.

Russian soldiers continued to push the Germans backward. By the middle of 1944 they had crossed the boundary lines into Rumania and Poland. The Russians were within six hundred miles of Berlin itself. By autumn the Soviet armies were in East Prussia, only three hundred miles from Berlin.

The American and British invasion of Italy stalled for several months. Then came a violent Allied assault resulting in the capture of Rome on June 4, 1944, and a rapid Allied advance northward. A new battle line was drawn across northern Italy.

The Invasion of France

The most dramatic event of 1944, however, was the Allied invasion of German-held France. We had been preparing for it for two and a half years, ever since Pearl Harbor. We had transported vast quantities of supplies and great numbers of troops

to the British Isles. General Eisenhower had been named as commander of the Allied armies. By 1944 we were ready to attempt the invasion. The Germans were waiting to meet us. Our intention to invade France was no secret. The entire French coast was one vast wall of German fortifications. Death threatened invaders in the sea in front of the beaches, death waited on the beaches, and death lurked in the fortifications behind the beaches. Hitler boasted that no Allied armies could successfully invade France.

The outcome of World War II depended upon the success of the invasion. For three long years Russia, with much equipment and ammunition from the United States, had been fighting Hitler almost single-handed on the continent. Her task would be made much easier if Hitler was forced to send large armies to France. She waited impatiently to see whether her Allies would succeed with the invasion. Hitler had no desire to fight other Allied armies in France. His position was almost hopeless if the invasion succeeded. He might not be seriously defeated if the invasion failed. The entire world waited for the fateful invasion day.

The invasion came with startling suddenness. Most of America was asleep when the news arrived in the United States. Americans casually turned on their radios the morning of June 6, 1944, to listen to their usual programs. They were amazed to hear that Allied troops had already landed in France. Thousands of ships and boats had crossed the English Channel under cover of darkness. Great numbers of Allied soldiers were ready to give their lives if necessary to light

*Acme Photo*

American troops and supplies move on the beaches of Normandy, France, June, 1944. At the left can be seen broken-down barbed wire entanglements and at the right a knocked-out German "pillbox."

the fires of liberty in Hitler's Europe and bring peace to the world once more. Thousands of Allied planes roared overhead—many with bombs, and many filled with paratroopers.

Then came the fierce assaults on the beaches. Hitler's fortifications poured shot and shell into the advancing Allied troops. Thousands of our soldiers fell on the beaches but others took their places and pressed grimly onward. The landing was a success. Troops of the United Nations continued to advance, and captured the port of Cherbourg (shĕr-bōōr'). The invasion of France was under way. Hitler was now required to defend himself on all fronts.

The Defeat of Germany

For weeks the Allies maintained beachheads on French soil. They had a "toe-hold" on the continent. Then, when the men and materials were all

at hand, lightning war was begun again. Allied armies broke through German defenses and raced across France. Paris was freed in August. Meanwhile other American and French troops had landed in southern France and were pushing northward. As the winter of 1944 came, the Allies were at the western border of Germany, and the Russians were at the eastern border. Across southern Europe a battle line pressed closer and closer on Germany. The Nazis fought desperately. They tried to provoke quarrels among the Allies. The soldiers of democracy pressed on and on, however. In the bitter winter of 1944 the German armies fell slowly back, and the cities of old Germany were ground beneath Allied bombs.

Suddenly in December, 1944, German armies made a desperate attempt to break through the Allied lines in Belgium and Luxemburg. They at-

tacked with all the force they could gather, and the German soldiers were told they would be "in Paris by Christmas." The Allied lines were bent rapidly backward, but were never pierced. The German attack was slowed up at Bastogne (bâs-tôn'y') where the American garrison was cut off but refused to surrender. Up from the south to the relief of Bastogne rolled the tanks of Lieutenant-General George S. Patton in time.

In March, 1945, a great Allied attack was under way. Hitler ordered the German armies to stand firm, but the troops that obeyed were cut off and captured. Suddenly American soldiers seized a bridge across the Rhine River at Remagen (râ-mă'gĕn) before the Germans could destroy it. The end of the war against Germany was in sight. Allied troops poured across the Rhine, and Russian troops under Marshal Zhukov (zhōō'kôf)

attacked Germany from the east. Several Allied armies raced toward the heart of Hitler's Europe. A Russian army captured Berlin, where Hitler was reported dead. Germany officially surrendered on May 7, although May 8 was proclaimed as V-E Day.

Victory in the Far East

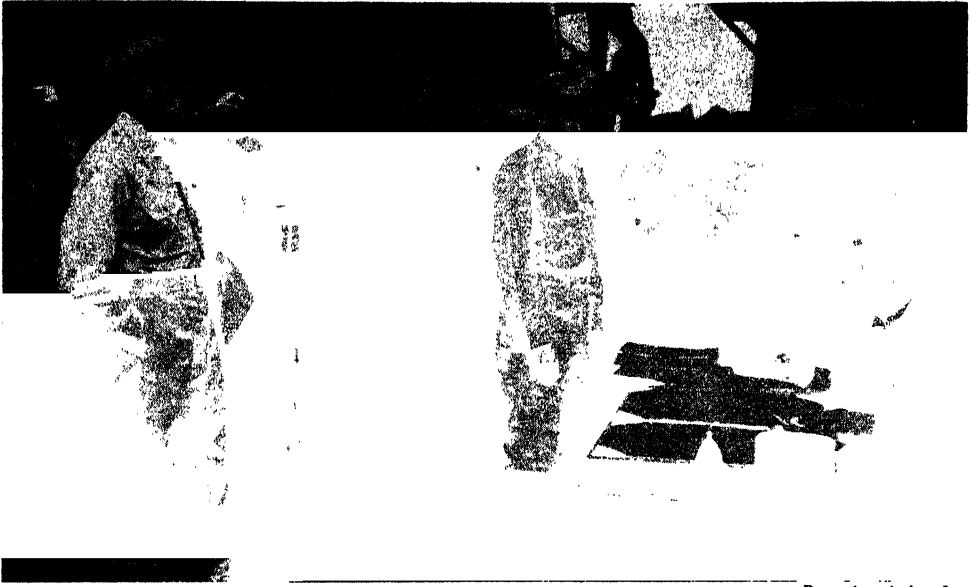
The war against Japan had increased in fury even before V-E Day. MacArthur's armies captured Manila in February, 1945, and continued to free the Philippines. American forces captured the islands of Iwo Jima (ē'wō jē'mā) and Okinawa (ō'kē-nā'wā), farther north, after bloody fighting, winning important new air bases for bombing Japan. Chinese troops won important victories on the mainland of Asia.

During the summer of 1945 our ships and planes battered Japan



Acme Photo

French women standing in a street, waving a flag, and cheering wildly as American troops made their entry into Paris in August, 1944.



Press Association, Inc.

General MacArthur watching as the foreign minister of Japan signed the surrender document, September 2, 1945, on the battleship *Missouri*.

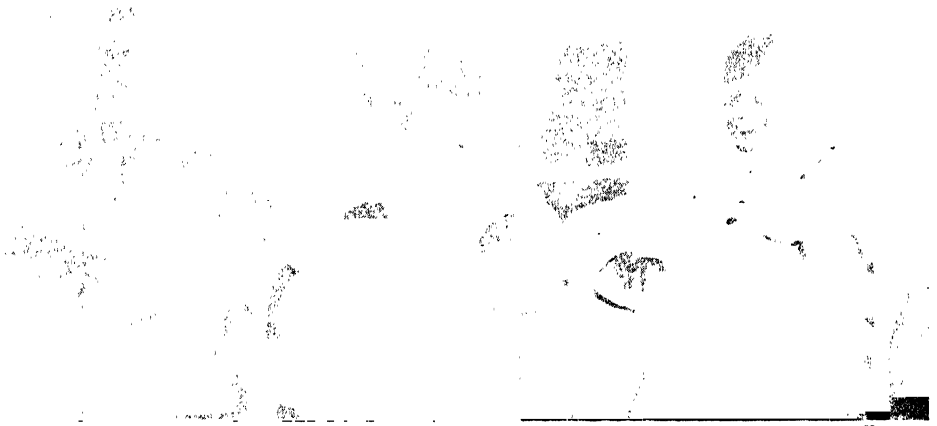
almost at will. Japanese suicide pilots were unable to protect their home islands, although they caused considerable damage. Allied bombers dropped heavier loads of bombs on Japan than had ever been dropped on Germany. American and British warships bombarded Japanese defenses from the sea. Defeat stared Japan in the face; the forces of freedom were approaching victory in the Far East.

The end of the war came suddenly. On August 6, an American B-29 circled in the morning air above Hiroshima (hē'rō-shē'mā), Japan's seventh largest city. The plane carried a new and terrible weapon — an atomic bomb (see Chapter 35). The bomb was dropped and the plane sped away. With this one blow, three fifths of Hiroshima was wiped off the face of the earth. Two days later, on August 8, Russia joined in the war against Japan. Japan's posi-

tion was hopeless, and on August 10 the Tokyo radio appealed for peace. President Truman officially announced Japan's surrender on August 14 (V-J Day); troops under General MacArthur began the occupation of Japan on August 28; and the terms of the surrender were formally signed on September 2 in Tokyo Bay on the American battleship *Missouri*.

United in a Common Cause

World War II, like World War I, was a war fought by entire nations, not just by armies and navies. The soldiers, sailors, and marines on the firing lines depended more than ever on the home front. American industry and labor accepted tasks greater than had ever been done before. American factories accomplished these tasks and did even more than had been expected of them. Many American citizens planted victory gardens, gave blood to the Red Cross,



Keystone

Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill conferred at Tehran late in 1943. The conference at Tehran was one of several held to work out military agreements and to lay out plans for peace.

bought war bonds, gave up much of their pleasure driving, paid higher taxes than ever before, contributed generously to worthy war causes, and willingly did without various items of food and clothing.

Allied victory depended on co-operation among the United Nations. Germany tried to prevent Allied co-operation by spreading false rumors and promoting quarrels among the Allies. The United Nations disagreed among themselves on various occasions, but somehow managed to remain united. The leaders of the Allied nations had conferences from time to time to iron out differences of opinion and agree on plans for the future.

In January, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met at Casablanca (kā-sā-blāng'kā), in French Africa, to consider the world-wide military situation. In August, 1943, they met again at Quebec to discuss the war

against Japan. In October, 1943, foreign secretaries of the large nations met in Moscow to discuss the war and to make plans for maintaining peace after the war. In November, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met at Cairo in Egypt with China's Chiang Kai-shek (chē-äng'ki'shěk') to discuss the war against Japan. Following the Cairo meeting they met with Premier Stalin (stā'lēn) of Russia at Tehran (tē-hrān') in Iraq. The Big Three, as Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin were called, reached a complete military agreement and pledged themselves to a peace "which will banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations." The Big Three had another meeting at Yalta in southern Russia in February, 1945. They decided to call a conference of the United Nations at San Francisco (Chapter 32) to draw up plans for world peace. They also agreed on plans for Germany after the war,

and settled various differences of opinion.

There was another conference of the leaders of the Big Three nations in Potsdam, Germany, in July, 1945, but two of the leaders were changed. Roosevelt had died on April 12, worn out by the heavy burdens of war. Harry S. Truman had succeeded him as President of the United States, and took his place in the conference. Clement Attlee succeeded Churchill as Prime Minister of Great Britain while the Potsdam Conference was in session. But, regardless of who their leaders might be, the great Allied nations were determined to work together, in peace as in war. Russia, Great Britain, and the United States were in agreement on the chief plans for Europe's future.

Americans had made one very important decision during World War II. We had been convinced by Pearl Harbor that the United States could ignore the rest of the world no longer. We had learned that the globe on

which we live is "one world." Americans of all political parties realized that what happened in the rest of the world affected us. Most of us agreed that the United States must co-operate with other nations. As World War II came toward its close Americans were studying our relations with the rest of the world more than ever before. Foreign affairs no longer seemed unimportant. On the contrary, our relations with other nations were essential to our nation's welfare.

Plans for World Peace

The final results of World War II could not be fully determined for several years after the ending of the war. One of the most important results was the United Nations organization. It was hoped that this organization would be more efficient and more lasting than the League of Nations that resulted from World War I. The account of the United Nations organization is given in Chapter 32.

Study Activities

1. Reports on Nations. At the beginning of study of World War II it is desirable to have in mind a clear picture of the Allied and Axis powers. Select one or two pupils to report on each of the following countries to the class. The reporters should consult geographies and atlases, and perhaps prepare maps and charts to exhibit in connection with their talks. Special suggestions and references are given below.

Germany: In addition to a description of the geography of Germany describe Germany's economic distress and the rise of Hitler to power. State what Germany had in men and materials for waging war in 1939.

Italy: What resources did Italy possess? Had she strengthened herself by the conquest of Ethiopia? Describe Mussolini's rise to power.

Japan: Describe the Japan of 1939, its land, people, and resources. What was the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity sphere? How had Japan prepared for war?

France: Why was France said to have the greatest military power in the world? As in World War I France was to be a battlefield in World War II. Why?

Great Britain: What were Great Britain's chief strengths and weaknesses in 1939?

U.S.S.R.: Describe the size of the Soviet Union, its people, and its resources. Why did the U.S.S.R. make a treaty with Hitler in 1939?

United States: What was the United States like in 1939? Was it as isolationist as it had been in 1914?

China: Describe China's geography and tell how she had met the Japanese invasion.

2. Steps That Led to World War II. Make a sentence outline of the steps that led to World War II.

3. War Leaders. Each of the large powers was led during the war by a person whose name will long be remembered. On the Axis side are the names of Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo. On the Allied side are Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek. Make a collection of pictures on cardboard, and write a suitable subtitle for each picture. Prepare a list, also mounted on cardboard, of the chief events in the life of each of the seven men. Hold a school exhibit of the pictures, and then present the collection to the school library.

4. Definitions. Write definitions of the following words and terms. They are essential to an understanding of Chapter 29.

dictator	neutral nations
Axis powers	lend-lease
United Nations	"arsenal of democracy"

5. A Map of German Conquest and Occupation in Europe. By May, 1941, Germany had occupied or conquered Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece. On an outline map of Europe shade these countries to show the extent of German occupation and conquest.

6. Interpreting a Map. On pages 470 and 472 are maps showing the flow of supplies and men from the United States to the

fighting fronts. Write a one-paragraph explanation of each map.

7. Global War. Mention is often made of the "global character of World War II." On the basis of experiences of the parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, and other relatives of the members of the class, make a list of all the places in the world where they took part in World War II. Under the list write a good explanatory sentence. On a world map locate the places.

8. Library Reading. Among interesting books about World War II are the following:

Keith Ayling, *Semper Fidelis: the U. S. Marines in Action*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943.

Helen Nicolay, *Born to Command: The Story of General Eisenhower*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945.

Helen Nicolay, *MacArthur of Bataan*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942.

Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men*, Henry Holt & Co., 1944.

Robert L. Scott, Jr., *Runway to the Sun*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945.

William L. White, *They Were Expendable*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1942.

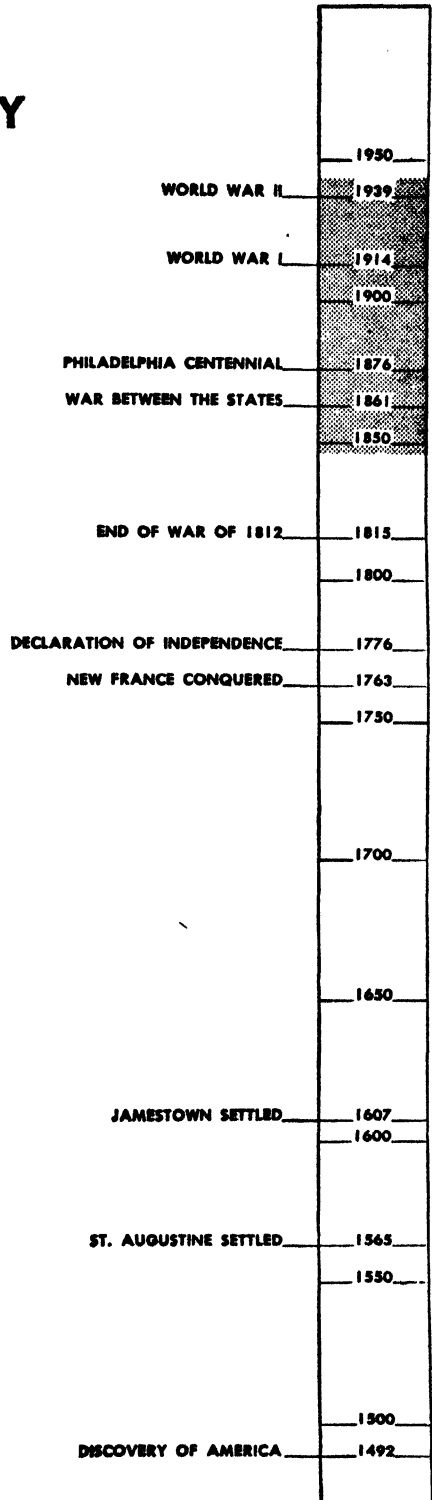
9. Steps toward Victory. Head up two columns as follows: (1) Steps toward Victory in the European Theater of War, and (2) Steps toward Victory in the Pacific Theater of War. Under each heading list the chief events which led up to the victory of the United Nations in World War II.

10. Newspaper Headlines. After careful review of the many events told about in Chapter 29, select the five you think most important and in their chronological order write newspaper headlines for each one. How much agreement is there among the class members in the selection of the five most important events?

CHAPTER 30

THE AMERICAN FAMILY OF NATIONS

1945	CONFERENCE AT CHAPULTEPEC
1933	ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY
1931	CANADA BECOMES A BRITISH NATION
1915	AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF HAITI
1914	PANAMA CANAL COMPLETED
1903	REVOLUTION IN PANAMA
1889	FIRST MODERN PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE
1879-83	WAR OF THE PACIFIC
1864-70	PARAGUAYAN WAR
1846-48	WAR WITH MEXICO



"Let this continent set the high example
of championing the forces of peace,
democracy, and civilization."

Cordell Hull

"Each one of us has learned the glories
of independence. Let each one of us learn
the glories of interdependence."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

AN OVERVIEW OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

More Nations Are Born

In 1825 there were ten independent American nations south of the United States, and north of us were the British possessions in Canada and the Russian territory of Alaska. In 1828 Uruguay was born. In 1830 both Venezuela and Ecuador separated from Colombia. In 1839 the Central American republic became five nations instead of one. In 1844 the Dominican Republic was created out of the eastern part of Haiti. In 1898 Cuba became independent as a result of our war with Spain (see Chapter 27). In 1903 Panama separated from Colombia. By 1903 there were twenty independent nations south of us instead of ten. Meanwhile

Alaska became a part of the United States in 1867. Canada grew in importance and became a practically independent nation in the British Commonwealth in 1931.

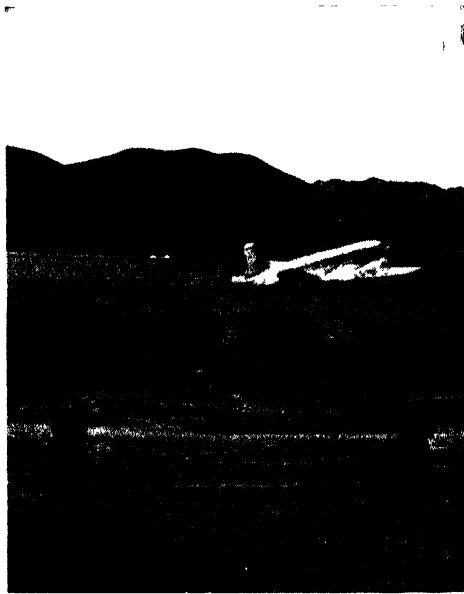
The American Nations in 1940

By 1940 the Western Hemisphere presented a far different picture from that of Bolivar's day. The United States was a strong industrial nation with about 132,000,000 Americans within its borders. Nearly as many people lived in the twenty nations south of us, ranging from about 41,000,000 in huge Brazil to only about 635,000 in Panama. North of us there were about 12,000,000 citizens of Canada and Newfoundland.



Jacobs, Three Lions

The high Andes Mountains, the brilliant sunshine, and the gay color of the houses make La Paz, Bolivia's capital, a dazzling sight, 12,000 feet above sea level.



Three Lions

At the Cuzco Airport, in Peru, Indian women carrying corn to market, much as their ancestors did long before the coming of Pizarro, pass a Pan-American airplane.

What people were doing in the Western Hemisphere of 1940 depended upon where they lived. Some people in Ecuador were weaving hats; others in Alaska were herding reindeer. Some in Bolivia worked in tin mines; others in Argentina worked amid the hum of the factories of Buenos Aires. Some perspired in the heat of river valleys of the Torrid zone; others shivered on the heights of the Andes.

The products upon which American nations depended for trade with other countries varied greatly. For exports, Bolivia depended largely on tin, Chile on copper and nitrates, Argentina on grain and meat products, Honduras on bananas, Salvador on coffee, and Cuba on sugar. Trade between the United States and our twenty southern neighbors was very important to everybody concerned. In 1940 seventeen of these nations bought more goods from the United

States than from any other country. To fourteen of these nations the United States was the best customer. Trade between the United States and Canada was more important to us than trade with any other American nation. We bought more goods from Canada than from any other country in the world. Canada was our second-best customer, following only Great Britain (see Chapter 26).

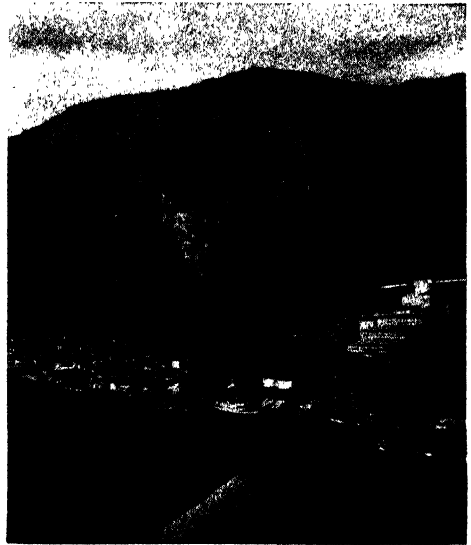
General Development since 1825

There were many boundary disputes but few serious wars within the American family of nations between 1825 and 1940. The first serious quarrels were between Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, and ended in the independence of Uruguay in 1828. The second important dispute resulted in war between Mexico and the United States in 1846 (see Chapter 15). The third and most terrible



Jacobs, Three Lions

Santiago, capital of Chile, is a busy, modern city. Shoe shines there sometimes cost less than a cent.



Three Lions

Juneau, the capital of Alaska, snugling at the foot of high mountains, is located at the head of a Pacific inlet. Notice the hydro-electric plant.

of all American quarrels was the Paraguayan War. Francisco López (lō'pās) was dictator of Paraguay. He possessed mad dreams of conquering all of South America. He fought against Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay from 1864 until 1870, when he was killed. Paraguay was hopelessly beaten, three fourths of her population having been wiped out in this terrible struggle. A fourth great conflict was the War of the Pacific, fought between 1879 and 1883. In this struggle Chile was victorious over Peru and Bolivia, winning possession of valuable nitrate deposits in the desert region along the coast.

Some American nations made much faster progress than others. Outstanding examples were Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru. These nations had greater natural resources than our other neighbors. Canada, Argentina, and Chile were democratic, Brazil made much of her progress under an emperor, Peru was ruled by dictators, while Mexico made important progress whether she had a dictator or a president. Nor did progress depend on the race, nationality, or color of most of the population. The peoples of Canada, Chile, and Argentina were mainly white, Brazil had many Negroes and mulattoes, while Mexico and Peru were largely Indian.

Each of the American nations had its own heroes and great leaders. In Chapter 8 we became acquainted with many of the early leaders in the wars for independence. Among them were Simon Bolivar, José de San Martín, and Francisco Miranda. In more recent times there have been many other great leaders. As president of Mexico in 1934-40, Lázaro

Cardenas (lā'sā-rō kār'dě-nās) recovered possession of the nation's natural resources from the hands of foreign business concerns. He was largely responsible for great changes which gave land, better health, elementary education, and new hope to millions. In other American nations were other great leaders whose achievements were important.

Some of Our Debts to Other American Nations

All of the American family of nations made contributions to the world's culture. We in the United States have become increasingly conscious of our neighbors' cultures. Many poems and novels written in Spanish or Portuguese have been translated into English. We have become well acquainted with Latin-American art, especially the paintings of the great Mexican artists, Diego Rivera (dě-ā'gō rě-vā'rā) and Jose Clemente Orozco (hō-sā' klā-mě'n'tā ô-rōs'kō). Such songs as "La Paloma" ("The Dove") have long since crossed the Rio Grande and become American favorites. "Three O'Clock in the Morning" was composed by an Argentine. On radio programs Central American marimbas have become popular.

The American family of nations enjoyed sports and recreation in common. Polo teams from Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and other nations joined in friendly competition. Canadian hockey players were outstanding in American hockey leagues. Cuban baseball players were to be found on big-league squads in the United States. In 1940 people from all the American nations had more in common than ever before.



Collection, Museum of Modern Art, New York

"Zapatistas," a group of Indians, is an oil painting by Orozco, one of the most important Mexican artists. This picture is representative of the broad, decorative influence in Mexican art.

THE "BIG STICK" IN THE CARIBBEAN

Some of Our Neighbors Become Alarmed at Us

The nations around the Caribbean Sea were greatly alarmed when the United States took so much territory from Mexico in the 1840's. They feared that our conquests might turn in their direction. They knew that we were much larger and stronger than they, and that we were becoming interested in them for economic reasons. They were not surprised when American adventurers and busi-

nessmen began interfering with their government.

William Walker sailed from San Francisco for Nicaragua in 1855 with a group of adventurers. He was soon joined by other groups of Americans. By 1856 Walker was complete dictator of Nicaragua. He dreamed of establishing an empire including all of Central America and Mexico as well. Meanwhile, rival American businessmen raised armies in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua to fight against each other. Walker became

involved in this quarrel, but was forced out of power in 1857. Three years later he tried to stir up revolution in Honduras. On this occasion he was captured and shot.

Other foot-loose Americans led groups of adventurers into Central America. Most of them worked in close co-operation with American businessmen living there. American adventurers and businessmen increased in power until the Central American nations were actually no longer independent.

The United States government did not desire to take possession of these neighboring nations. Even when the people of Santo Domingo — the Dominican Republic — asked to become a part of the United States we decided not to accept them. We did not keep Cuba, although we went to war to release her from Spain. The only Caribbean territory possessed by the United States in 1900 was Puerto Rico, which had become our territory at the close of our war with Spain.

Obtaining a Canal Route

Meanwhile our interest in canal routes across Central America grew rapidly. As we have seen (Chapter 27) we greatly needed a route between the oceans for our commerce and our national defense. There were two possible routes for such a canal. One route lay through Nicaragua and the other through a section of Colombia called Panama. Some Americans preferred one route; some Americans the other. The Panama route was selected, eventually.

Three obstacles had to be overcome before a canal could be built across Panama. We had made a treaty with Great Britain, in which

both Britain and the United States promised not to build a canal without the other. We could not build the canal alone unless Great Britain released us from our pledge. A second obstacle was that a French canal company had already started a canal there and might refuse to sell its rights. A third obstacle was that Panama was not American soil, but belonged to Colombia. We overcame the first obstacle when Britain released us from our promise in 1901. We removed the second obstacle when an agreement was reached with the French company for the purchase of its rights. The third obstacle was difficult to overcome.

Representatives of the United States and Colombia actually agreed on the amount of money we should pay for the right to build the canal. The government of Colombia, however, refused to accept this agreement, as it had a right to do. Colombia decided to ask a higher price for the privilege of building the canal across her territory. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, was impatient at the delay. He felt that we were the victim of a sort of international holdup at the hands of Colombia.

On November 2, 1903, an American cruiser arrived at Panama. On November 3 a revolution started in Panama against Colombia. On November 4 marines from the American cruiser prevented Colombia's troops from putting down the revolt. On November 6 our government recognized Panama as an independent nation. On November 18 the new government of Panama agreed to allow us to build the canal on our terms. Just how much connection

there was between all these events we may never be certain. On other occasions our nation had helped Colombia to stamp out revolt; but this time Roosevelt took advantage of it. The quarrel with Colombia cost us the friendship of millions of Latin Americans. Years later the United States paid Colombia \$25,000,000 for her rights in Panama, but money alone could never make real friends with our southern neighbors.

The actual building of the canal was a great achievement. An able engineer, Colonel George Goethals (gō'thǎlz), went to Panama

"To slit the sliding mountains
And lift the eternal tide."

A great pioneer of medicine, Dr. William Gorgas, also went to Panama and conquered yellow fever and malaria so that men could work on the canal. The canal was completed in 1914, largely because of the thrilling successes of these two men. Since 1914 the canal has demonstrated its value not only to our defense but also to international trade.

Some Nations Have Financial Problems

Meanwhile some of the Caribbean countries were having financial difficulties. They frequently borrowed money from bankers in European countries at high rates of interest. When one president succeeded another he disliked to pay the debts made by the political rival he had replaced. European bankers called on their own governments for assistance, if the Caribbean countries did not pay their debts. To collect these debts it was necessary to collect the taxes in these Caribbean nations. If

European nations came to collect these taxes they might stay. Then the Central American republics would lose their independence, and call on the United States to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. Then too our own nation would be in danger. If a strong European nation occupied territory near the Panama Canal, the United States could be more easily attacked.

The canal had to be defended by us at any cost if our navy was to be strong in both oceans at once. It was of more importance for us to uphold the Monroe Doctrine in the vicinity of the Panama Canal than in any other part of the New World. We, however, did not blame other nations that tried to collect debts due to their citizens. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a majority of our own citizens felt that if American property was destroyed, American lives lost, or American loans not paid back, it was the duty of our government to protect our citizens, by force if necessary. Our hope was that other nations would find some way to collect their debts without violating the Monroe Doctrine or threatening the Panama Canal.

Latin America had a different point of view. Luis Drago (lōō-ēs' drā'gō) of Argentina pointed out that the failure of nations to pay their debts was nothing new nor was it confined to the countries around the Caribbean. Both Americans and Europeans knew the risk they were taking when they invested money there or made loans. They should not expect their own governments to collect for them if they lost money because of their own foolishness. Drago declared that no nation had the right to collect debts forcibly.

It became clear that European nations would interfere in Latin America unless we made that action unnecessary. Theodore Roosevelt picked up the "big stick" which he had used against the trusts (see Chapter 23). He threatened to use it against our neighbors around the Caribbean unless they paid what they owed to Europe. In the words of a United States Senator we were saying to Latin America: "Here we are, your big brother; you are not behaving right, you have got to settle, and if you do not settle, we will whip you and make you settle." Of course, our neighbors were inclined to feel that they did not want such a big brother, especially after Colombia lost Panama.

Roosevelt did not need to use his big stick against the Dominican Republic. We saved that small country from bankruptcy and possible European invasion by helping her, with her consent. The situation improved as if by magic. Revolts decreased, the debt was gradually paid off, and the Dominican Republic enjoyed economic health again. The other nations of Latin America were uneasy, however. The Monroe Doctrine protected them against Europe. What was to protect them against us? We ourselves were doing what we would not let European nations do.

How We Used the Big Stick

In Haiti a similar situation existed in 1915. It was more serious, however, because World War I was under way, and there was the possibility that Haiti might be seized by Germany. President Wilson ordered American marines landed in Haiti, even though the Haitians complained bitterly of our "big stick." We

shipped Haiti's gold reserve to New York City for safekeeping, without getting or asking permission. We provided a new constitution for Haiti, made in Washington. The constitution allowed Americans to own land in Haiti, which Americans could not have done before. Our marines advanced with drawn bayonets when the legislature of Haiti refused to accept the new constitution. Our marines were in charge of voting places and counted the ballots when the new constitution was submitted to the people. There were 63,000 votes in favor of allowing Americans to own land in Haiti and less than 300 against. It was "necessary" to kill 2000 "bandits" in a period of five years to keep Haiti under American control. One leader of Haiti asked, "If the United States desires to annex Haiti, to make it an American colony, of which America's every single act affords convincing evidence — why not say so? Why continue the . . . hypocrisy of pretending, against the will of the entire Haitian people, that you are there for philanthropic reasons?" We, however, had no desire to annex Haiti to the United States. We had prevented Germany from seizing territory close to the Panama Canal and had made it possible for Americans to buy up sugar plantations in Haiti. These were our only interests in Haiti at that time.

At one time or another we decided that every Central American nation needed a big brother carrying a big stick. To obtain bananas and mahogany we needed to carry on business around the Caribbean Sea. To carry on business, a strong government was needed to prevent disorder

and destruction of property. To provide a strong government, American marines were sent to Central America on several occasions. Probably American marines became, for a time, as well-known in Nicaragua as in the United States.

The "big stick" has also been used on Mexico. Many Americans had invested large sums of money, especially in oil. All natural resources, including oil, belong to the Mexican government according to Mexican law. A dictator, however, allowed

Americans and other foreigners to take oil in spite of the law. When the dictator was overthrown, the people of Mexico demanded their oil fields back. American oil producers answered that the new Mexican government should live up to the agreements of the dictator. The United States government backed up the claims of our oil producers and demanded that they should be repaid by Mexico. This dispute dragged on for many years before being settled by peaceful means.

BECOMING A GOOD NEIGHBOR

The First Pan-American Conference

Americans paid but little attention to South America before 1880. One obstacle to close relations was distance. Buenos Aires was nearly twice as far away from New York City as was Liverpool, England. Besides, our main attention was centered on the development of our own West. We did not become greatly interested in South America until large factories brought the need of larger markets, increased raw materials, and new places to invest money.

James G. Blaine, who was our Secretary of State twice in the 1880's, realized that it was to our interest as a nation to have closer relations with our South American neighbors. He became interested in Bolivar's ideas of co-operation among the American family of nations (Pan-Americanism). He tried without success to halt the War of the Pacific in which Chile, Peru, and Bolivia were concerned. He also presided over the first modern Pan-American Confer-

ence at Washington, D. C., in 1889. American delegates could not possibly miss this conference as they had missed one in 1826 (see Chapter 8). This meeting was held in our own capital.

The Washington Conference of 1889 created an organization which later became known as the Pan American Union. The purpose of this organization was to collect and distribute information of interest to the American family of nations. The Pan American Union has done much to increase friendship and understanding among the nations. Pan-Americanism would have been impossible without some such organization.

Later Pan-American Conferences

Three more Pan-American conferences were held before World War I. A meeting at Mexico City in 1901-2 decided that no nation should be held responsible for damages suffered within its borders by citizens of another country. Claims of one nation

against another were to be settled in peaceful fashion. The next conference was held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1906. A commission was appointed to determine what laws should govern the relations of American nations. Another conference was held at Buenos Aires in 1910.

It was surprising that these Pan-American conferences met at all. The United States was taking Panama from Colombia and controlling the tax money of the Dominican Republic in this same period. Our government was trying to do two opposing things at once. We were trying to promote more friendly relations and at the same time we were ordering the Caribbean nations about as we pleased. In one hand we held out the olive branch of peace. In our other hand we insisted on carrying the "big stick."

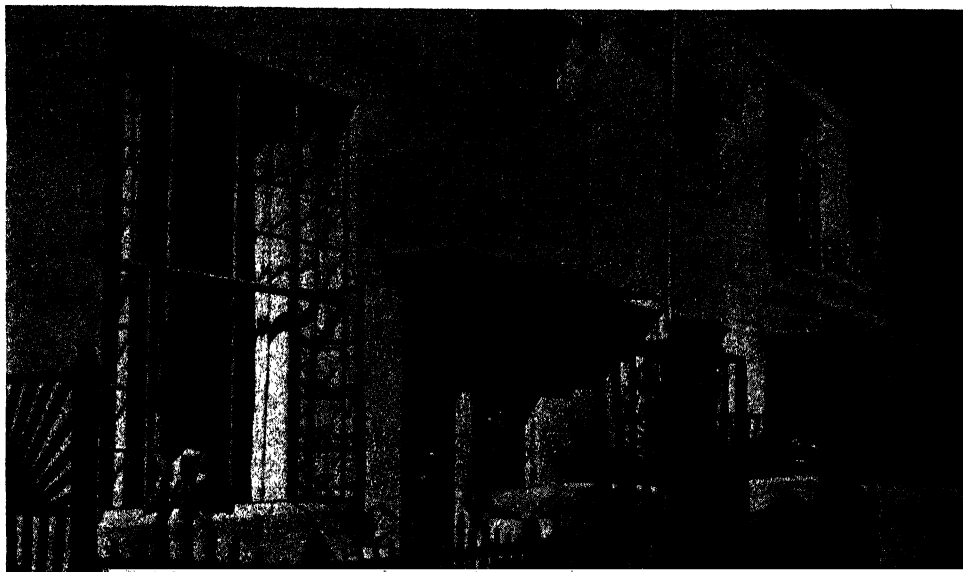
The fifth Pan-American Conference did not meet until 1923. This meeting was held in Santiago, Chile. Our American neighbors regarded us with distrust. The attitude of the United States was changing, however. We knew that our trade with Latin America was increasing rapidly. In 1900 only about 3 per cent of the goods we had exported to other nations had been sent to South America, but by 1920 this percentage had jumped to nearly 8. In 1900 about 11 per cent of the goods we had imported from other nations had come from South America, but in 1920 the percentage was about 14. We began to realize that further use of the "big stick" might cause more harm than good to the United States. Besides, more Americans were asking why our government sent marines to other countries to spend their lives

protecting American dollars. We gradually became convinced that Drago was right when he said that if a business firm chose to do business in another country the company did so at its own risk. We brought the last marines home from the Dominican Republic in 1924 and our government was bitterly criticized for not bringing them home from Nicaragua and Haiti as well. We were not yet ready, however, to treat our neighbors as complete equals. We refused to give up the right we claimed of interfering in their affairs, when the sixth Pan-American Conference met at Habana, Cuba, in 1928.

Beginning of the Good Neighbor Policy

We finally threw away the big stick and became a good neighbor in the 1930's. That we did so was largely due to Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hoover made an extended trip to various South American countries just before he became President in 1929. He did much to improve friendly relations. Later in his inaugural address he assured our neighbors: "We have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples." During the four years that he was President our relations with Latin America improved.

Meanwhile all American nations were becoming better acquainted. This closer acquaintance was due mainly to the personal relationships arising from trade and travel and to the work of the Pan American Union. Better understanding came with closer acquaintance. Many citizens of the United States were learning



Fischer, Black Star

In many a village of Mexico today stands a beautiful modern school which not only teaches the boys and girls but also serves many of the needs of the entire community. The teaching of the history of the Americas is one of the ways of promoting friendly relations.

that the Latin-American nations had high cultures of their own. Wider study of the other republics of the Americas created a better foundation for friendly co-operation.

In March, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt announced his "Good Neighbor Policy": "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor." The world soon discovered that Roosevelt was not merely rendering lip service to the ideals of Pan-Americanism. Cordell Hull, our Secretary of State, overcame many suspicions of our neighbors and won their co-operation at the seventh Pan-American Conference held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933. Hull signed the Argentine Anti-War Pact which pledged nations not to attack their neighbors. He also persuaded the

conference to favor lower tariff rates among the American family of nations in order to increase trade. The United States brought the last American marines home from Nicaragua in 1933 and from Haiti in 1934. We gave up any right to interfere in the affairs of Cuba in 1936.

Increased Unity in the American Family of Nations

An Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936. The American nations agreed once more that no country had the right to interfere in the affairs of any other. They promised to work in the interests of peace in the New World. They declared that an unfriendly act against any American nation was the concern of all. And they pledged

themselves to consult together if war in any part of the world threatened the peace of the American republics. The Monroe Doctrine was no longer entirely a policy of the United States. It had become the policy of the American family of nations. Instead of our nation acting alone, all American countries were to act together as equal partners. Talk was heard of "a common democracy throughout America."

In 1938 the eighth Pan-American Conference met at Lima, Peru. The nations agreed upon a Declaration of American Principles which indicated how much the countries of the Western Hemisphere possessed in common. Colombia and the Dominican Republic mentioned the idea of an American League of Nations. Provision was made for meetings whenever difficulties arose with foreign

countries. The first of such meetings was held at Panama, in 1939, in an effort to keep American nations neutral in World War II. A second meeting at Habana was mainly concerned with defense. A third meeting was held at Rio de Janeiro in 1942, after the United States had been attacked by Japan.

Would the American family of nations act as one? Public opinion in all the American countries was strongly on the side of the democracies and against the dictators. There were, however, many Italians, Germans, and Japanese living in South America. These foreign groups were especially strong in Argentina.

As soon as the United States was attacked by Japan, the American republics proved their good neighborliness. The United States and Mexico came to be on far better terms of



Dahlberg, Three Lions

The stadium in Santiago, Chile. The police have just cleared the field so that a football game can begin. The same games played in different countries help in the growth of Pan-Americanism.

friendship than they had ever been before. Into the war in the summer of 1942 came another great friend, Brazil. Chile and Argentina tried to remain neutral. German agents took advantage of their neutrality to inform German submarine commanders of the movements of our ships on the oceans. Chile finally broke off relations with Germany. Argentina, however, continued her refusal to take sides until Germany was hopelessly defeated, although a majority of her citizens were ready to join with the other American democracies in World War II.

In 1945 another Inter-American Conference met in Chapultepec Castle near Mexico City. Twenty American republics agreed to the "Act of Chapultepec," pledging themselves to defend one another's borders against

enemies without or within this hemisphere. The American family of nations were determined to use force if necessary to maintain peace in the New World. This idea of preserving peace by agreements among nations living together in one of the earth's great regions is known as regionalism. The United Nations Charter which was framed at the world conference of nations at San Francisco recognized regionalism as one means of preserving peace when its activities are not opposed to the program of the United Nations organization.

As the American family of nations face the future their destiny is together. The time of the "big stick" and of "dollar diplomacy" is over. Closer relations and deeper understanding will continue to exist among the American republics.

OUR NORTHERN NEIGHBOR

Canada is larger than any other American nation — greater in size than either the United States or Brazil. She is rich because of her minerals, forests, and fine farm lands, but her population is small as compared with that of the United States. Three fourths of Canada's citizens speak the English language; but a quarter of her people — the French Canadians — speak the French language and possess French culture.

In various ways Canada is in a class by herself. In addition to being a member of the American family of nations, she is a member of the British family of nations as well. Canada is a democracy; and love of liberty is as strong in Canadian hearts as in the United States.

Unfriendly Relations before 1870

Relations between the United States and Canada were unfriendly in the early years of our republic. From Canada had come British invasion armies during the Revolution, with their hired German soldiers and Indian allies. To Canada during the Revolution had fled many inhabitants of the thirteen colonies who had remained loyal to Britain's king. These Tories continued to be bitter against their former neighbors. There was suspicion and distrust on both sides of the border. In the period that followed the Revolution, many Americans felt certain that British generals in Canada were paying Indians for American scalps. One of the main

causes of the War of 1812 was a desire to conquer Canada and add her to the United States (see Chapter 7). During the War of 1812 British and American armies once more clashed along the border.

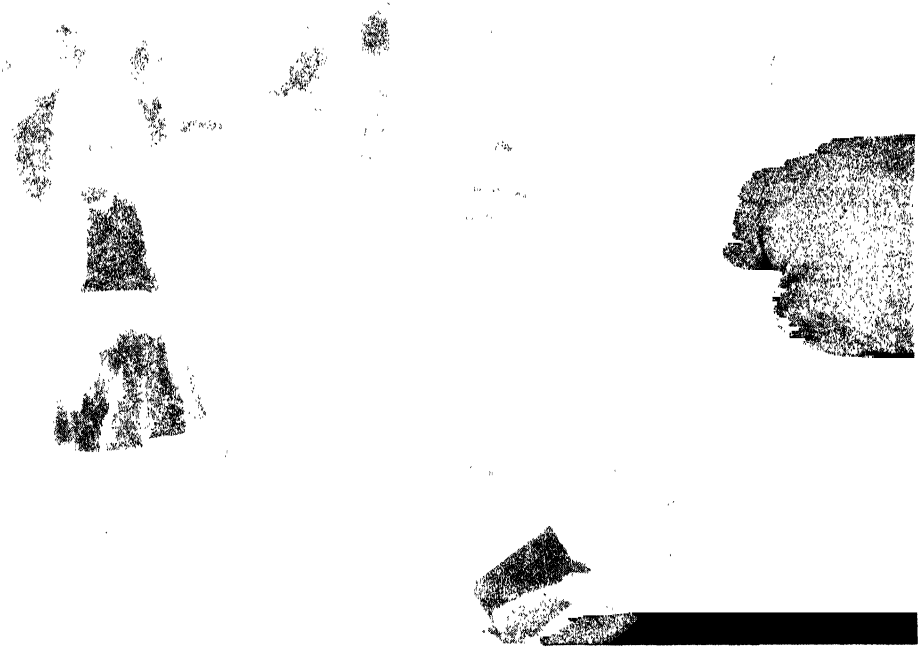
From the close of the War of 1812 until after our War between the States our relations with Canada improved somewhat, yet there were several disputes which might have led to more wars. The nearest we came to interfering in Canadian affairs was in the 1830's when a revolt started in Canada against Britain. The sympathy of our citizens was on the side of those who wanted to win independence from the mother country. Americans gathered on our side of the border, prepared to assist the rebels. It soon became clear, however, that the great majority of Canadians did not desire independence. The revolt speedily collapsed and Americans turned once more to minding their own business.

In the 1840's the British in Canada and our own citizens were engaged in furious competition for the Oregon territory until the dispute was settled by compromise in 1846. During our War between the States (1861-1865) and immediately after that conflict there were various disputes which involved Canada and the United States. In 1866 and in 1870 armed bands of Irish Americans, known as Fenians, made preparations in the United States to conquer Canada. The Fenians hoped to force Great Britain to grant freedom to Ireland by using Canada as a hostage. Because some Americans encouraged the Fenians and because our government failed to prevent their attacks on Canada, our northern neighbor was bitter at that time.

Increase of Friendship since 1870

Relations between the United States and Canada have become extremely friendly since 1870, however. This increased friendship was due to several causes. First, the United States enjoyed greatly improved relations with the British Empire, of which Canada was a member. Second, Americans talked less often about annexing Canada, as we gradually learned that what Canada desired from her mother country was self-government, not independence. Third, we became bound to Canada by trade more closely than to any other country in the world. In 1939 we imported more goods from Canada than from any two other nations combined. Also Canada was not far from being our best customer. Fourth, Canada and the United States gradually had more and more in common due to constant association, travel back and forth, and the mixture of our population.

Many American citizens crossed the Canadian border to make homes when the frontier ended in the United States. They settled mainly in Canadian wheat lands where there was yet plenty of elbowroom for pioneers. A million Americans moved to Canada between 1897 and 1914, 139,000 of them crossing the border in one year. There has also been a movement of peoples in the opposite direction. In 1930 in Michigan and in all the New England states except Connecticut more of our foreign-born population had come from Canada than from any other nation. In Washington, Oregon, and Montana, Canadians were the second largest foreign group, while in Idaho, North



People of all ages in Edmonton, Canada, eagerly await the arrival of the traveling library, a street car with shelves stocked with a wide variety of books. This picture shows the traveling library during the hours set aside for the children.

Dakota, and Minnesota they were third. This great migration of Canadians was all the more unusual when we realize that the entire population of Canada in 1940 was only about twelve million.

It would be difficult to tell where the border is except for the presence of customhouses. There are no forts along the boundary line, nor any fleets of battleships on the Great Lakes. Life on both sides of the border is very much the same. In the province of Quebec we find a section of Canada that is not English but mostly French. Even there, however, we find no great differences in race as we cross the border into northern New York and Vermont. A large part of the population is French on both sides of the border.

The Two Nations Have Much in Common

Recently Canada and the United States have had a similar history and development. Both nations were friends and allies in World War I. Both nations had periods of great prosperity in the 1920's, followed by periods of great depression in the 1930's. Both nations had periods of reform. Sometimes Canada's foreign policy was more similar to that of our own government than to that of Great Britain. Both Canada and the United States urged the British to end their alliance with Japan in 1921. Meanwhile Canada had changed from a British colony into a position almost equal to that of Great Britain herself in the British Commonwealth of Na-

tions. After 1931 Canada was a nearly independent nation, and the United States treated her as an equal instead of as the possession of a European power. Finally the two nations were once more allies in World War II, equal partners in the world-wide war between democracy and tyranny.

The firm friendship of Canada and the United States was displayed at the opening of the Thousand Islands Bridge across the St. Lawrence in 1938. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking on Canadian soil, said: "Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire." Two days later Premier W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada replied: "We, too, have our obligations as a good,

friendly neighbor, and one of them is to see that enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

Canada, the United States, and all the other members of the American family of nations are bound to European countries by various ties. The nations of the New World, however, are bound even closer to each other by common ideals, similar problems, and an undying love of freedom. In their hearts the men of all the American nations are the same. Democracy is a language common to Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, Chicago, and Montreal. The sacred flame of liberty burns as brightly on the crests of the Andes as on the heights of our own or the Canadian Rockies. This love of human freedom is a tie which unites all Americans.

Study Activities

1. A Review. Chapter 8 of Unit II tells the story of the Revolutionary period in Latin America, and of the establishment of the early republics of South and Central America. Chapter 30 continues that story, dealing with Inter-American relations in the years since 1876. Delegate one pupil in class to review Chapter 8 and report on it to the class as background for the study of Chapter 30.

2. A Map of the Americas. In order to understand the story of the American family of nations it is necessary to know well the geography of North and South America. Construct a large class map of the two continents. On it show: (1) the countries of the Americas, (2) the major rivers and mountain ranges, (3) the major city or cities of each country. Keep the map on display in the classroom while studying Chapter 30.

3. Chart of Distances. Using wall maps, maps in the textbook, and maps in available geographies, make a chart showing the approximate air mileage from each of the cities in the left-hand column below to each of the cities in the right-hand column.

New York	Santiago
New Orleans	Bogotá
Minneapolis	Mexico City
San Francisco	Buenos Aires
	Rio de Janeiro
	Habana
	Toronto
	Vancouver

4. Definition of Terms. Write definitions in your own words of the following words or phrases used in Chapter 30:

Western Hemisphere	The "Big Stick" policy
exports	Pan American
imports	Good Neighbor policy

5. An Outline. Make a careful outline of the second and third sections (pages 485-493) of Chapter 30. On the basis of your outline write a single paragraph explaining how the policy of the United States toward Latin America has changed since 1825.

6. Leaders in America Foreign Policy. On the basis of what is said in Chapter 30 write one sentence describing the attitude of each of the following men toward Latin America.

James G. Blaine	Herbert Hoover
Theodore Roosevelt	Franklin D. Roosevelt

7. The Good Neighbor Policy. Write a short theme explaining what the Good Neighbor policy is. Explain whether it is a wise policy for the United States to follow.

8. An Exhibit. Have members of the class borrow articles "Made in Mexico" from their homes or the homes of friends for use in a school exhibit. Include pictures by Mexican artists and books by Mexican writers in your exhibit. Do the articles in the exhibit indicate ties between Mexico and the United States?

9. An Inter-American Time Line. Secure a copy of the pamphlet *Latin America* by Lynn Perrigo (Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1944). In the pamphlet is a chart showing events which have influenced both North and South America. Study the chart and compare it with the time lines in the chapters of the text.

10. Reading about Latin America. There is much interesting material to read about Latin America. Write to the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., for their booklets. Such Headline Books published by the Foreign Policy Association (22 East

38th Street, New York City), as *Look at Latin America*; *Mexico: the Making of a Nation*; and *The Good Neighbors: The Story of the Two Americas*, illustrate the material with very interesting pictographs. If your school keeps files of the current-events weeklies written for boys and girls, and of the *National Geographic Magazine*, you can find in them much information on Latin-American life. "Our Latin-American Neighbors," Vol. 5, No. 1, of *Building America*, contains many good pictures. To the books on Latin America listed on page 141 the following should be added:

J. E. Downes, N. H. Singer, and Donald Baker, *Latin America and Hemisphere Solidarity*, D. C. Heath & Co., 1943.

Delia Goetz, *Half a Hemisphere: The Story of Latin America*. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1943.

A. R. Hager, *Wings over the Americas*, The Macmillan Company, 1942.

Z. A. Thralls and Ralph Hancock, *Let's Look at America*, American Education Press, 1942.

11. Books about Canada. Have three members of the class report, one on each, on the following books about Canada:

George W. Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1942.

Frances Carpenter, *Canada and Her Northern Neighbors*, American Book Company, 1946.

Harold B. Clifford, *Canada, My Neighbor*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

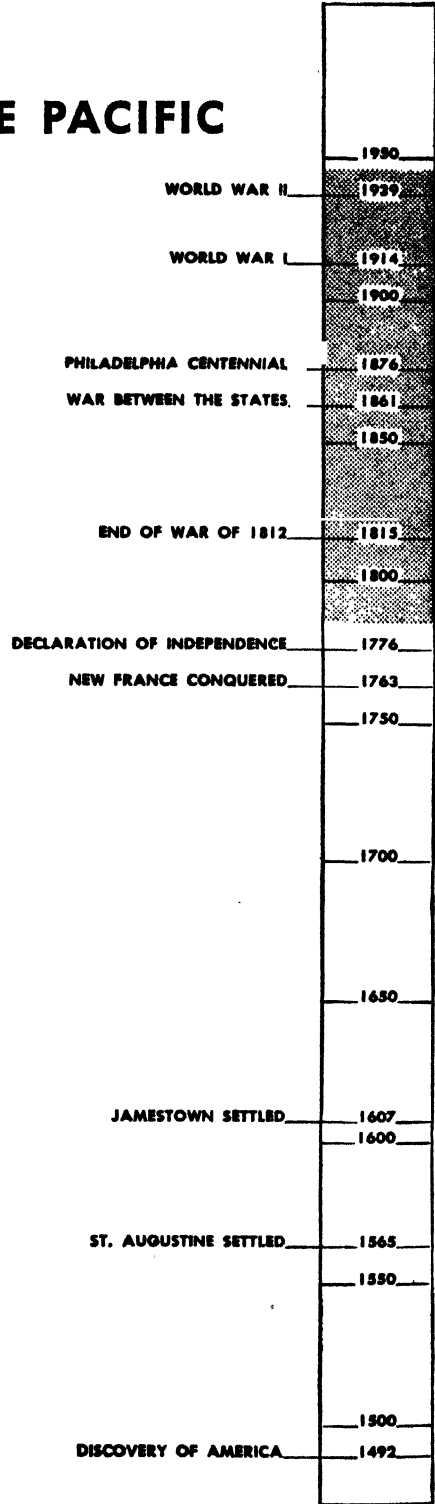
At the conclusion of the reports the three pupils should hold a panel discussion on the following questions:

- a. Is Canada an *independent* nation?
- b. Are Canada and the United States much alike?
- c. Are Canada and the United States good friends?

CHAPTER 31

LOOKING ACROSS THE PACIFIC

1946 INDEPENDENCE OF THE PHILIPPINES
 1934 TYDINGS-McDUFFIE ACT
 1916 JONES ACT
 1907 FILIPINOS ALLOWED SOME
 SELF-GOVERNMENT
 1907 "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" WITH JAPAN
 1900 BOXER REVOLT
 1899 OPEN-DOOR POLICY IN CHINA
 1854 OPENING OF JAPAN BY PERRY'S VISIT
 1784 VOYAGE OF "EMPRESS OF CHINA"



"We have entered upon a Pacific Era.
 Around the Pacific Ocean are gathered a
 major portion of all living human beings.
 To them comes the last great opportunity
 for man on this earth to conquer
 himself as he masters space."

Ray Lyman Wilbur

NEW NEIGHBORS

At First the Pacific Neighbors Were Strangers

In February, 1784, only five months after we had won our independence from Great Britain, the good ship *Empress of China* sailed from New York for Canton. We have been interested in trade with the Far East ever since that voyage was made. Trade acquainted us with the islands of the Pacific and the great nations of Asia. We generally looked upon Asiatics as strangers, however. They lived on the opposite side of the earth. Between us and them stretched the great Pacific Ocean, covering one third of the earth's surface. Its vast area was larger than all the continents of the world combined. Americans who thought that they could remain out of European affairs certainly never expected to be greatly concerned with what happened in Asia more than twice as far away.

We were related to Europe by common customs, while the ways of the East were vastly different. Most of us were Christians, but the people of Asia believed in other religions. Most of us were white, but vast numbers of them were yellow. We had our own views about what clothes to wear, what foods to eat, and how to run our schools, and theirs were somewhat different. In 1884, a century after the voyage of the *Empress of China*, there still seemed to be little in common between a typical Chinese resident of Canton and a typical American citizen of Chicago. A Chinese from Canton wore a queue

hanging down his back, ate rice with chopsticks, and sought to follow the habits of his ancestors. An American living in Chicago ate with a knife and fork and spoon and sometimes was not willing to give much credit to any of his ancestors.

Because we and the people of Asia were strangers we often failed to understand one another. We took it for granted that white people were superior to those of any other color. We were certain that the civilization of Europe was better than that of Asia. We considered it to be our duty to shoulder the "white man's burden" among uncivilized savages who were found on some of the islands of the Pacific. We also felt that we should assume the "white man's burden" among civilized people such as the Chinese. We failed to realize that civilization began in Asia before it appeared in Europe. Many of us did not know that the people of China and India were developing culture centuries before our ancestors were. On the other hand the people of Asia did not understand us. They regarded us as crude and selfish, interested only in making money. It seemed that there could never be much in common between men of Europe and men of Asia. The English poet, Kipling, summed up this opinion when he wrote:

"Oh, East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

We Become Better Acquainted

East and West were bound to meet, however. First there were the strong



Three Lions

Pupils at the Sanatan Dharam High School at Lahore, India, are playing games during recess. India faces a vast task if she is to educate all her people.

bonds of trade, which grew stronger as the years went by. By 1914 8 per cent of our total American exports went to Asia and the Pacific Islands. This had increased to 18 per cent by 1940. During the same period our imports from Asia and the Pacific Islands increased from 17 per cent to 39 per cent of our total. By 1940 we bought more goods from Asia than from any other continent.

In the second place, there were social contacts. The presence of so many Chinese-Americans in our midst increased our understanding of the peoples of Asia. We became acquainted with young men and women from China, India, and Japan who, like Madame Chiang Kai-shek, studied in American colleges. When these students returned to Asia they increased the East's understanding of us. Then too there were many Americans who for various reasons went to live in Asia. Lafcadio Hearn went to Japan in 1890 at 40 years of age. He married a Japanese woman, became a Japanese citizen, and was professor

of English at the University of Tokyo. He wrote twelve books about his adopted country. Pearl Buck was another author who lived in Asia. As a young girl she was taken to China by her missionary parents. She has interpreted China to us by such books as *The Good Earth*. American missionaries also did much to bring the East and West together. Missionaries of various religious organizations spent their lives in Asia and in the islands of the Pacific. Some were especially interested in medicine. They established hospitals and relieved suffering. Other missionaries were mainly interested in education, and established schools and colleges. Due to the efforts of missionaries several million inhabitants of Asia have been converted to Christianity. Among these converts have been many of the leaders of China and Japan.

In the third place we are beginning to realize how much both East and West are indebted to each other. Silk was being made in China more

than 3000 years ago. From China also came the world's first printed book, tea, porcelain, gunpowder, the compass, lacquer, playing cards, dominoes, the folding umbrella, some medicines, the use of zinc and coal, such plants as the chrysanthemum, and such fruits as the peach and the apricot. A recent contribution of importance has been the soybean, which we have used in making bread, crackers, soups, steering wheels and dashboards for automobiles, plastic combs, and hundreds of other articles. All these gifts of the East to us have greatly increased our respect for the peoples beyond the Pacific. We are also indebted to many of Asia's great leaders. Confucius lived in China 2400 years ago. He tried to teach people how to live together well, although he was not a religious leader. You have probably heard some of his wise sayings, such as his Golden Rule: "Do not unto others that which you would not wish them to do unto you." Confucius has probably influenced more people than any other man or woman in the history of the world.

FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA

Europeans Became Interested in China

When white sea captains first approached China, the Chinese were curious but not interested. Their Emperor later wrote to King George III of England, "I have no use for your country's manufactures." The Chinese desired nothing that they did not possess in abundance. They confined our ships to Canton when they did consent to trade. They did not want our businessmen and our

In the fourth place the steamship and now the airplane have brought East and West closer together. Shanghai, Tokyo, and Singapore are nearer to San Francisco today than Boston and Philadelphia were to each other in 1700.

Changes in Asia

Great changes have recently taken place in Asia. Democracy has made real gains. China became a republic in 1912 under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. Under Chiang Kai-shek many reforms have been made, and there have been new developments in industry, agriculture, education, and medicine. Japan became a compact, strong nation under its generals and admirals, largely by copying Western ways. Peoples of India, wishing democracy and independence, in 1947 were permitted to form two self-governing dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Mahatma Gandhi (gān'dê) and other Indian leaders played very important parts in the recent development of Asia. Asia, everywhere, is in the midst of change.

missionaries in their midst, because they considered white men, in general, as less civilized individuals than themselves.

The white man was not content to leave China alone, however. He was making more manufactured goods than could be used in Europe or America. China possessed no factories. Her vast population seemed to be a fine market for the white man's surplus goods. She had no way to keep the white man out, because she did not possess a modern army. In



In Kwantung Province, China, the head of a boys' and girls' camp is giving instructions to her staff of teachers and supervisors.

Jacobs, Three Lions

1839–1842 China and Great Britain fought the Opium War. As a result the British were given the island of Hong Kong, and the right to trade in four other ports in addition to Canton. In 1844 the United States secured similar privileges in China. In 1858 France went to war against China, forcing the Chinese to open up such ports as Tientsin (tín'tsín'). Then at the close of the nineteenth century Germany seized Kiaochow (jyou'jō'), Russia took Port Arthur, and Great Britain secured Weihaiwei (wā'hī'-wā'). Was it possible that the nations of Europe would divide China among themselves as they had divided Africa?

The Beginning of the "Open-Door" Policy

We were opposed to the schemes of the nations of Europe. We were not hungry for a part of China for ourselves. But if European countries should succeed in dividing up China there would be no Chinese trade for us. We wanted to trade in as many Chinese ports as possible. We insisted that if China gave any nation the right to trade in one of her ports we should have equal rights to trade there.

Our Secretary of State, John Hay, insisted in 1899 that China's ports should be open doors — that in all

Chinese ports all nations should have the same privileges to trade. This was known as our "open-door policy." Great Britain agreed to the "open-door policy" and most other nations finally followed her example. Our main reason for stating the "open-door policy" was to obtain our share of China's trade. Our policy, however, had the effect of keeping China independent. We proved to China that we did not desire any of her land for ourselves. China has rewarded us with her friendship.

China Becomes Bitter Against Foreigners

Meanwhile many of the Chinese became bitter against the white foreigners in their midst. Some of the Chinese decided to kill all the "foreign devils," and not to allow any more to enter China. A great revolt against foreigners took place in 1900. This revolt was called the "Boxer Uprising" because it was led by a secret society known as "Boxers." At first the revolt was a success. Foreigners were killed and foreign property was destroyed. Then troops of many nations, including our own, joined together and severely punished the Chinese.

China was required to pay damages for the lives and property destroyed. She was forced to borrow from Europe because she did not have the cash herself. The European nations would not make the loans until China agreed to buy more goods from them. So China was more under the control of Europe than ever before. The United States, however, did not insist on huge payments. When we found that the money received from China was more than enough to pay

for the damage caused, we returned to China what was left over. China used the money to send students to study in American colleges.

The Difficulty of Upholding the "Open-Door" Policy

We had difficulty making other nations live up to the "open-door policy." Various countries continued to demand special treatment by China. Russia and Japan actually fought a war to decide which one was to have possession of Port Arthur, which really belonged to China. In 1915 Japan took advantage of World War I to make enormous demands of her neighbor. China was forced to agree to Japan's demands because she was in no condition to oppose the Japanese. However, the United States objected to this violation of the "open-door policy." Due largely to our objection, Japan gave up her claims to Chinese territory at the Washington naval conference of 1921-1922 (Chapter 32, page 517). Nine nations, including Japan, agreed not to interfere with China's independence.

Japan violated this agreement in 1931 by invading a part of China known as Manchuria (see Chapter 29). Japanese armies remained in Manchuria in spite of the fact that the League of Nations declared that Japan was in the wrong. The United States refused to recognize that Manchuria was Japanese territory. We stated that we would not recognize any exchange of territory which was the result of force. We said that Manchuria was Chinese soil regardless of the length of time another flag might wave there.

Japan desired more than Manchuria, however. Japanese soldiers

continued their conquests through Chinese territory along the seacoast south of Manchuria. Japanese officials closed China's ports to the trade of other nations, and we found ourselves locked out. We were shocked by the cruelty which the Japanese inflicted upon their innocent victims. Our concern was for the freedom of China. Many Americans contributed

money and goods to assist China as she continued to resist Japan's abuse year after year. We came to realize that China was in the front-line trenches of a vast world-wide war between democracy on the one hand and slavery on the other. In spite of many wartime difficulties China and the United States became firmer friends.

OUR RECORD IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Conquest of the Islands

We won possession of the Philippines as a result of the war with Spain (see Chapter 27). Filipinos under Aguinaldo had helped American soldiers drive the Spanish out of the islands. The Filipinos, however, objected to being ruled by the United States just as they had objected to being ruled by Spain. They wished to form an independent nation ruled by themselves. When the United States would not set them free, the Filipinos fought against American soldiers.

The war between Filipinos and Americans was an unequal struggle. The Filipinos lacked military skill and did not possess good weapons or enough ammunition. They fought fiercely for their independence, however. More than three years were required for the American army to conquer the islands. This war cost the United States eight times as much as we had originally paid Spain for the islands.

American Government of the Islands

It remained to be seen how well the United States would shoulder the

"white man's burden" in the Philippines. William Howard Taft, who later became President of our nation, was appointed the first governor of the Philippines in 1901. Taft proved to be very popular among the Filipinos. He allowed all men over twenty-three to vote if they paid taxes or could speak, read, and write English or Spanish. He allowed as much individual liberty as he thought the Filipinos knew how to use properly. He made plans to give the Filipinos gradual control of their own government. By 1907 Filipino voters were allowed to elect representatives to their own congress.

A great system of improvement was carried out under American rule. We built bridges, highways, lighthouses, port improvements, and irrigation projects. We erected hospitals and made provision for public health and sanitation. Hundreds of young American men and women went to the Philippines to teach Filipino children. There were more than three times as many pupils in Filipino schools in 1917 as in 1902. The population of the islands increased rapidly. Filipinos began to produce large amounts of sugar, coconuts, hemp, and tobacco.

The Movement for Independence

The Filipinos and Americans cooperated warmly in improving and developing the islands. The Filipinos appreciated what the United States was doing, but they did not forget their longing for independence. They continued to ask for separation from the United States. They wanted an independent nation bound closely to the United States by ties of friendship and trade.

Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States in 1913. During his administration the Filipinos were given more self-government. In 1916, while Wilson was President, our Congress passed the Jones Act which gave Filipinos complete control of the Philippine congress. Under the provisions of the Jones Act three times as many Filipinos could vote as had voted before. The Jones Act also stated that the United States would recognize the independence of the Philippines "as soon as a stable government can be established." In 1920 Wilson informed Congress that the Filipinos had succeeded in creating and managing a stable government.

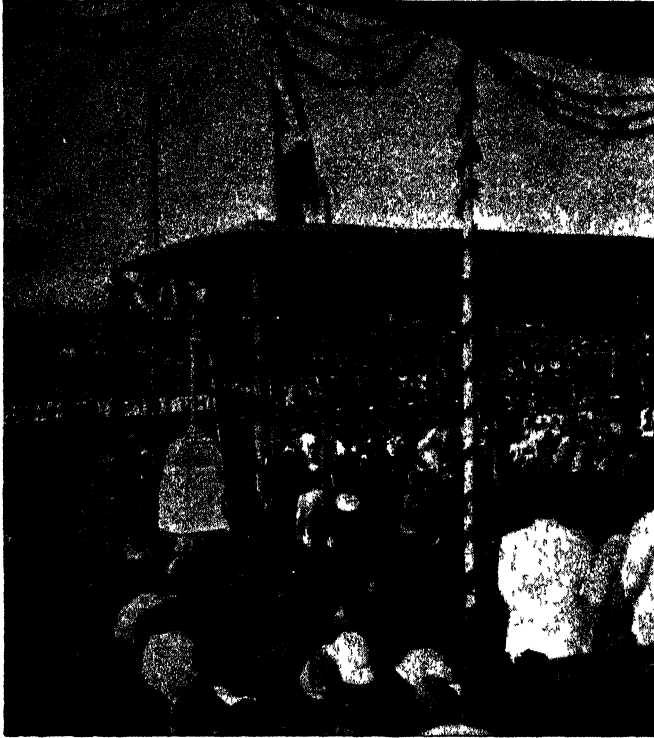
The problem of Philippine independence, however, was becoming more complicated in 1920 and the years that followed. Many Americans were not yet ready to free the Philippines. We had lost some of our faith in ideals as a result of the disappointments of World War I. We had begun to fear that Japan might seize the islands if the United States withdrew. The question of independence was postponed until the 1930's.

Then in 1934 Congress passed a law which gave the Filipinos control of their own government at once.

By this act, called the Tydings-McDuffie Act, complete independence was promised by about 1945. In November, 1935, Manuel Quezon (mä-nwāl' kā'sōn) was elected the first president of the new Philippine Commonwealth. At his inauguration Quezon declared, "We are witnessing the final state of fulfillment of the noblest undertaking ever attempted by any nation in its dealings with a subject people." On July 4, 1946, the Philippine Commonwealth became an independent nation.

The United States had every right to be proud of her record in the Philippines. Some other nations had used their empires for selfish purposes, and had granted but little liberty to "subject peoples." Our nation, however, had brought prosperity and democracy to the Philippines. Our flag had become a symbol of freedom, rather than of oppression, to Filipinos.

The wisdom of our policy toward the Philippines was proved in 1941 when Japan suddenly attacked the United States. Immediately after Pearl Harbor the Japanese attacked the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Japanese soldiers and sailors won easy conquests in most of the territory they attacked. Natives living in lands belonging to other empires made but little effort to defend themselves against the Japanese. But Japan did not enjoy a similar experience in the Philippines. Filipinos fought desperately, helping American troops to hold back the invader. Their heroic fighting held back the great Japanese war machine for five months. During the three years that followed, while the Philippines were occupied by Japanese armies, the Filipinos remained loyal to the United States.



Press Association

Ambassador Paul McNutt and President Manuel Roxas lower the flag of the United States and raise the Philippine flag, July 4, 1946, at an impressive ceremony in Manila, and the Republic of the Philippines takes its place in the world as an independent nation.

They welcomed the Americans when our forces reconquered the islands. The United States was rewarded for its good deeds in the Philippines. Filipinos and Americans will always

have much in common because of their association together. Both will be bulwarks of democracy in the world of tomorrow.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

For many years Japan, like China, asked merely to be left alone. Traders who dared to stop at Japanese ports received cruel treatment and sometimes death. The only traders who were not harshly treated were the Dutch. The Dutch were allowed to carry on a limited trade at Nagasaki. The first American ships to stop could do so only under a Dutch flag. Japan refused to open any of her ports to us until 1854, after Commodore Mat-

thew C. Perry had visited the islands with ships of the American navy. On his demand, the Japanese government made a commercial treaty with the United States.

The Japanese Copy European Ways

The Japanese, unlike the Chinese, promptly copied many Western ways. A tremendous change has taken place in Japan since 1854. At the

time of Perry's visit Japan was as backward as Europe of the Middle Ages, according to our standards. By the 1890's Japan was powerful enough to defeat China, a nation several times her size. By 1900 Japan had become the commercial rival of the United States. Soon afterwards she surprised the world by winning a war with mighty Russia. She rapidly became one of the world's strongest naval powers. Finally by 1941 she felt powerful enough to fight the United States and China at the same time. In many material ways Japan advanced as far in one century as Europe had in eight.

"Japan not only learned what Western nations wanted to teach her, but she now proceeded to learn from them some things they were not so anxious to have her understand," said one writer on American foreign policy. Yellow men as well as whites needed markets for their manufactured goods, places to obtain raw materials, colonies in which to invest money, and lands to which they could send some of their rapidly growing population. China seemed to possess much that Japan needed. Japan prepared to devour her large neighbor, copying methods used by European nations in Africa and elsewhere. Japan never succeeded in conquering China, however. Her failure was largely due to the open-door policy of the United States. We were the greatest obstacle that lay in Japan's path to world power.

Reasons for Rivalry

Japan claimed to copy our Monroe Doctrine in order to justify her treatment of China. She spoke of Asia for the Asiatics just as we had talked

of America for Americans. She declared her intention of keeping Europeans and Americans out of Asia just as we had announced that we would keep Europeans out of North and South America.

Japan began to look with longing eyes upon the other islands of the Pacific about the same time as did Germany and the United States. She was angered when we took possession of Hawaii and the Philippines. Yet large numbers of Japanese immigrants moved into our island empire. By 1940 there were about 30,000 Japanese in the Philippines, or more than three Japanese for each American. By 1940 there were 155,000 Japanese in Hawaii, or about three eighths of the entire population. Many Americans feared that Japan would seize these possessions if they should be given independence. The Filipinos began to have the same fear. They began to wonder if the Japanese Asiatic Doctrine would be applied to the Philippines in the same way that it had been applied to China.

Another cause of hard feelings between the United States and Japan was Japanese immigration to our west coast, especially California. The Japanese, like the Chinese, were able to live on much less than white men could. They took jobs away from Americans because they were willing to work for lower wages than white men needed. Our government made a "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan in 1907 to protect our citizens from this competition. Under the "Gentleman's Agreement," Japan promised not to allow any more Japanese laborers to move to the United States. Japan faithfully lived

up to her agreement. The Japanese in California, however, increased in number from about 10,000 in 1900 to about 40,000 in 1910 and to about 70,000 in 1920.

Many Americans became alarmed over the rapid increase of our Japanese population. Americans who lived on the Pacific coast were especially angered. By 1920 Japanese farmers raised 88 per cent of the berries, 90 per cent of the celery, 86 per cent of the asparagus, and 80 per cent of the tomatoes grown in the state of California. California tried to prevent the Japanese from buying land, but for various reasons her efforts were not successful. The feeling against the Japanese was so strong that in 1924 our Congress passed a law which would not allow any more Japanese to enter our nation. Since hardly any Japanese were entering anyway, the law accomplished nothing except to insult Japan and increase bitterness between the two nations.

Rivalry Ends in War

Meanwhile important events were happening in Japan itself. The Japanese people were losing what democracy they had previously won. The leaders of Japan's army and navy gradually became more powerful than the people. Finally, Japan's generals and admirals and industrialists became dictators. They were more interested in plans to conquer foreign territory than in the welfare of the Japanese people. Their method was to start a war and then ask the nation to back them up. Anyone who refused to support them was a traitor. Neither the ordinary Japanese citizen nor even the Japanese emperor had

much choice under such circumstances. If Japan had been a democracy, a sudden surprise attack like that at Pearl Harbor could never have happened. A peaceful solution of our differences could probably have been found.

Another reason why rivalry between Japan and the United States ended in war was overconfidence on both sides. We did not dream that a smaller nation like Japan would ever dare to attack us. We felt that our navy would have little difficulty bombarding Japan into submission if war ever came. The dictators of Japan, however, had but little respect for us or any other white men. As Theodore Roosevelt suspected in 1905, the Japanese "lump Russians, English, Americans, Germans, all of us, simply as white devils inferior to themselves . . . to be politely treated only so long as would enable the Japanese to take advantage of our various national jealousies, and beat us in turn." Their military leaders, having stamped out democracy in their own country, looked upon all democracies as weak. When they thought of us they considered us so concerned with our own selfish desires and with quarreling among ourselves that we would not risk our necks to fight them. They thought that our bodies were so weakened by bad health habits that we would not be their equal in battle even if we should fight. The Philippines in particular were tempting to Japan because our nation was far away and not prepared for war. If we had not been overconfident we would have been prepared; and if Japan had not been overconfident she would not have dared to attack us.

FACING THE FUTURE

The Increased Importance of the Pacific

In 1852, William H. Seward declared: "The Atlantic interests of the United States will sink in importance, while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond will become the chief theater of events in the world's great hereafter." In our own day this prophecy has already come true.

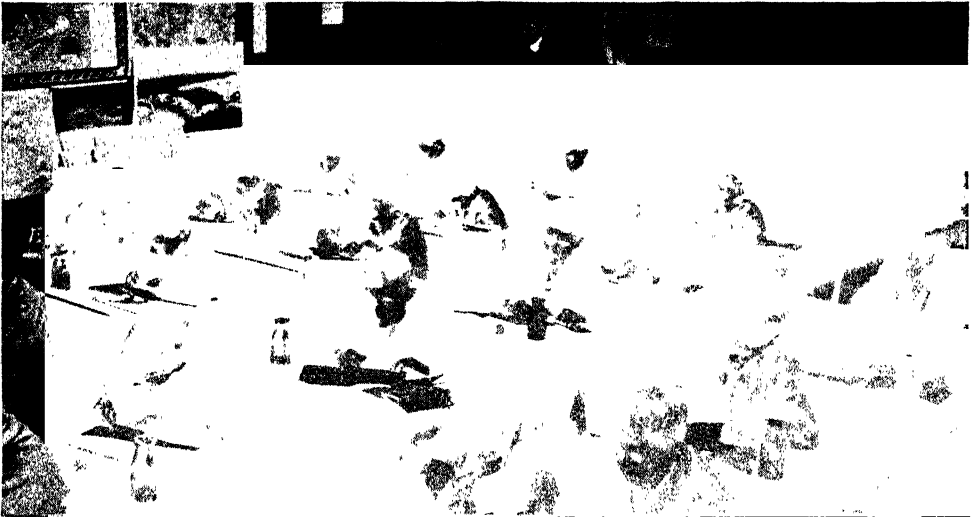
The East is very sure to influence us more in the future than ever before. One reason why this influence will grow stronger is economic. Nowhere else in the world can be found so vast a market. We depend mainly on the East for certain resources that we cannot easily produce ourselves. A second reason for this growing influence is political. Asia is taking a more active part in world affairs than ever before. It contains more than half the population of the earth. It

cannot be expected to let the world be run completely by Europeans and Americans. Such huge countries as China and India are certain to make their presence felt more in the future than in the past.

Americans realize more and more the growing importance of the Pacific in world affairs. In 1900 Senator Beveridge declared: "The Power that rules the Pacific is the Power that rules the world." If Senator Beveridge was correct perhaps it is also true that if no one nation is allowed to rule the Pacific no nation can rule the world. Perhaps the growing importance of the Pacific explains why certain Americans said that World War II would be won in Europe but that peace would be won in Asia.

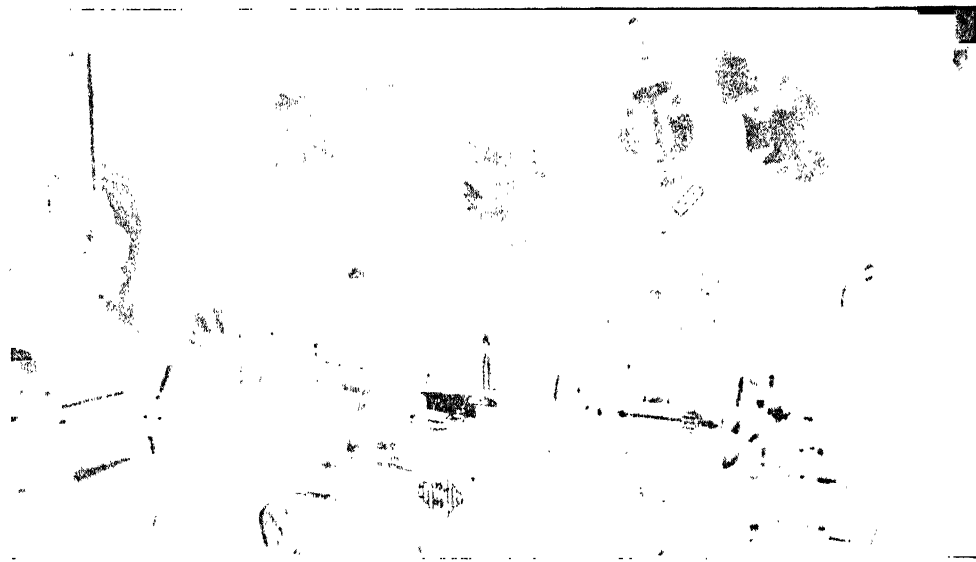
Relations with Our Far-Eastern Neighbors

The continent of Australia and its near neighbor New Zealand are small



Three Lions

Children in New Zealand receiving milk under the Social Security Plan. From this picture, what can you tell about school life in New Zealand?



Great Northern Railway

Enthusiastic young Chinese are learning about modern, high-speed machinery. Developments in industry in one country, in recent times, spread easily to another.

in population. In 1940 Australia had fewer citizens than New York City, and New Zealand had less than one fourth as many as Australia. The United States, however, has more in common with Australia and New Zealand than with any other nations beyond the Pacific. Americans, Australians, and New Zealanders are mainly English in race, language, and social institutions. All three peoples have made a success of democracy. All three nations had frontiers, and all three were affected by their frontiers in a similar manner. Relations between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States should continue to be friendly.

The Filipinos are our greatest friends among the islands of the western Pacific. Neither Filipinos nor Americans will ever forget their heroic struggle together in defense of liberty in World War II. The greatest obstacle to peaceful relations in

the Pacific consisted of the islands of Japan. All problems with Japan, however, probably can be solved by peaceful means when the Japanese nation is ruled by its people rather than by dictators.

We should become better acquainted with the vast nations of Asia—for our own good if for no other reason. In particular we should become better acquainted with China because good relations with the Chinese are the foundation of our future friendship with Asia. There are as many kinds of Chinese as there are kinds of Americans, and we must not conclude that because we know one type of Chinese we understand them all. We need a much better understanding of their culture, their religions, and their ideals.

"One World"

We are closely bound to Europe by ties of race, language, and social in-

stitutions. We are closely bound also to the other members of our American family of nations by common traditions and interests. And we are closely bound to the nations of Asia. They are important neighbors for us. More than half of the people of the world live on that one continent, as we have seen. Sometimes we think of the United States as having a large population. However, if we add up not only our own citizens but all the men, women, and children who live in North, Central, and South America, the total is only half the number found in China alone. India also has a great population, nearly three times our own.

The greatest need in our relations with our neighbors in Asia is friendly understanding. We have learned to respect the opinions and beliefs of those who differ with us in our own country. We have found that no

great differences in ability exist between races and national groups entering our nation when these races have had equal opportunity of education and advancement. Similar lessons must be learned in international affairs. It is too easy to regard other people as inferior if they differ from us in their habits and ways of life. No one likes to be considered inferior to anyone else. In any case it would be difficult to prove who was superior and who was inferior.

Within our own country there was ill-feeling until sectional conflicts disappeared — until there was no longer North against South, or East against West. May the nations of the earth never divide into sections with East facing West, or North against South. May the welfare of all the people of the world be considered of greater importance than the selfish interests of any one nation.

Study Activities

1. *A Collection of Maps.* Select individuals in the class to make large reproductions of the maps of Asia and "the Pacific Rim" to be found in the textbook. Display these large maps on the classroom bulletin boards. Add to the display any maps of Asia or the Pacific which pupils can locate from other sources. Make explanatory notes for each map. Study all the maps and discuss them in class until you have in your mind a clear picture of (1) the countries bordering the Pacific, (2) the island "stepping stones" across the Pacific, (3) the chief seaports on the Pacific, and (4) the chief air and sea routes across the Pacific. If you have the geography of the Pacific area clearly in mind, it will be easier for you to study Chapter 31 and many important current events.

2. *Clippings.* During your study of Chapter 31 make a collection of current newspaper clippings and magazine articles about Asia. Post your clippings and articles on a class notebook, classifying them under the headings: China, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, Japan, and American Relations with Asia.

3. *Statements to Explain.* Explain the meaning and significance of the following three statements:

a. "The first American merchants went to the East not so much to sell as to buy" but "after 1815, the introduction of manufactured goods . . . caused American manufacturers to regard China as a limitless market."

b. "Had the Pilgrim fathers settled in Sitka instead of Plymouth, they would have found milder climate, better soil and timber, and more game, furs, and fish."

c. "The Power that rules the Pacific is the Power that rules the world."

4. *A Basic Library on Asia*. There are many good recent books about Asia now published, many of which are very interesting. Consult your librarian to see what volumes are available. Among the books on which oral reports should be given by members of the class are the following:

Donn V. Hart and Howard E. Wilson, *The Philippines*, American Book Company, 1946.

Jean Kennedy, *Here Is India*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945.

Manorama R. Modak, *The Land and the People of India*, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1945.

Elizabeth Seeger, *The Pageant of Chinese History*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1944.

Cornelia Spencer, *Made in China*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1943.

Anna Louise Strong, *Peoples of the USSR*, The Macmillan Company, 1944.

5. *Material on China*. The relations between China and the United States have been increasingly friendly. Delegate members of the class to write to the following addresses to secure information and material about China today:

Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 E. 54th St., New York City

United China Relief, 1790 Broadway, New York City

East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, New York City

6. *Chinese Words*. Chinese words seem as strange to Americans as American words do to the Chinese. From Chapter 31 and the maps of China find uses of the following Chinese words:

Ho (river)	Peh (north)
Kiang (river)	Tung (east)
Hu (lake)	Nan (south)
Shan (mountain)	Sin (west)

One member of the class could prepare a report on the Chinese language. Useful materials may be secured from the United China Relief. Also see the pamphlet by Herrlee Creel, *The Chinese Language*, published by the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

7. *An Outline*. Prepare an outline of the second section of Chapter 31, dealing with "Friendship with China."

8. *Definitions*. Write one-paragraph definitions of "extraterritoriality" and "open-door policy." Would you like to give other nations the rights of extraterritoriality in the United States?

9. *The Philippines*. The relations between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines (established in the summer of 1946) are very close and friendly. Can the class arrange a fiesta and exhibit in honor of Philippine independence? Many ideas for exhibits and suggestions about a fiesta will be found in Hart and Wilson, *The Philippines*. In your fiesta program be certain to explain why the United States is especially interested in the Philippines.

10. *Japan*. Divide the class into committees, each committee responsible for one scene in a series of brief, dramatic episodes in Japanese history. The first scene should deal with Perry's opening of Japan to trade in 1854; the second should describe the rapid westernization of Japan. The third should present the peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the close of the Russo-Japanese War; the fourth should deal with Japanese invasion of China in the early 1930's; the fifth with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor; the sixth with MacArthur's entry into Japan as victor in 1946. The series of scenes could be presented before the school assembly.

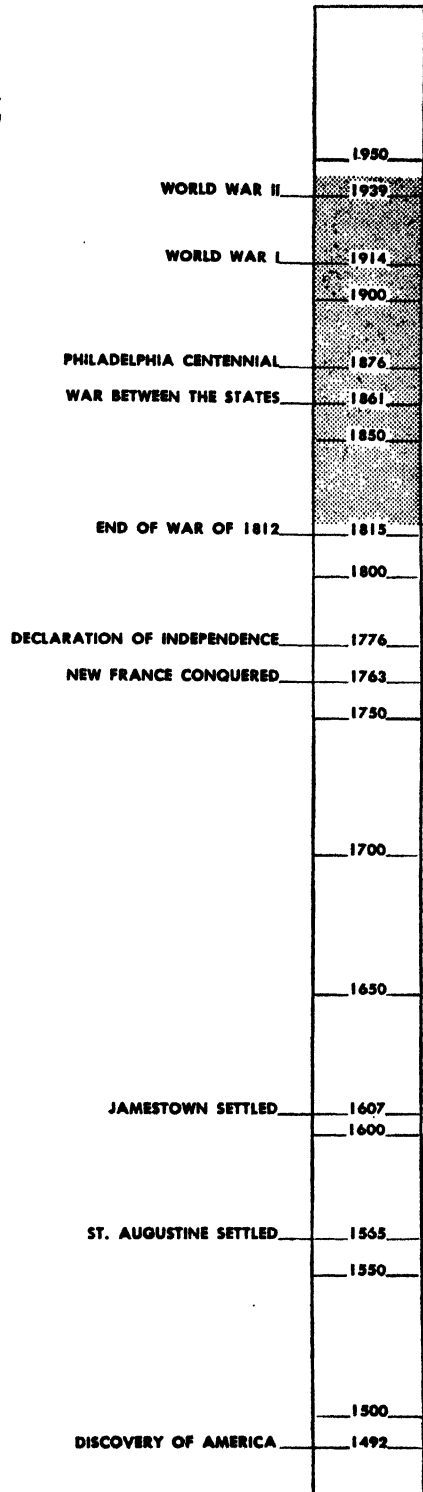
11. *People to Know*. Most educated Asiatics know something about the great figures of American and European history, know much more about the great figures of Asiatic history. How many of the following can you identify? Can you find information about each in the encyclopedias or other references?

Confucius	Emperor Meiji
Buddha	Chiang Kai-shek
Kublai Khan	Sun Yat-sen

CHAPTER 32

THE UNITED NATIONS

1945	CHARTER OF UNITED NATIONS
1944	CONFERENCES AT BRETTON WOODS AND AT DUMBARTON OAKS
1930, 1935	LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCES
1928	KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY
1921-22	WASHINGTON NAVAL CONFERENCE
1921	WORLD COURT ESTABLISHED
1920, 1923	LEAGUE OF NATIONS SETTLES DISPUTES
1907	SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE
1899	FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE
1871-72	SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS AGAINST BRITAIN
1846	OREGON CONTROVERSY SETTLED
1843	SETTLEMENT OF MAINE BOUNDARY
1818	CANADIAN BOUNDARY COMPROMISE



"The road to peace must be paved with trust, kindness, happiness, friendship, peace of mind, prosperity for all nations, consideration of the needs of others, duty, sound political policies, and fair trade relations."

Thomas J. Watson

THE FACTS OF ONE WORLD

Through most of its history the United States felt that it would co-operate with, or ignore, other nations as it pleased. It failed to realize how dependent we were becoming on other nations, and how much all nations possessed in common. We were accustomed to think of continents as remote from each other. It did not seem that the Americas would ever have very close relations with Europe and Asia. We realize now, however, that great changes have taken place in the relationship between nations and continents. It is no longer possible for individual nations or continents to ignore the rest of the world. The people of all nations are next-door neighbors. All people of all continents are fellow-citizens of the world. The world in which we live has become one world.

Ties That Bind Humanity

We are tied to all other peoples of the world by economic interest. American farms and factories produce great quantities of goods, much more than could be used in the United States. Our prosperity depends upon our ability to sell our surplus goods in the world markets. If other nations cannot buy our goods, there are hard times in American factory towns and on American farms. We need the products of other nations to keep our factories running and to have a high standard of living (Chapter 25). American investments in foreign lands are enormous. Many large American corporations, such as the Ford Motor Company, have factories on other

continents. The profits of American investors depend upon sound business conditions in the nations where American factories are located. Many large European corporations have factories in the United States. The economic well-being of any nation is the concern of all.

We are tied to other nations by a common culture. There are no national boundary lines in the appreciation of art and music. A beautiful painting is admired whether it was painted by an American, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, or any other artist. Good music is enjoyed whether it was written by an Italian, a German, a Mexican, or anyone else. Fine architecture is admired whether found in India, in Brazil, in the United States, or elsewhere. Scientific research and progress is also world-wide, not confined to national boundary lines.

We are a nation of immigrants and are tied to the lands that gave birth to our forefathers. A volcano erupting in Italy is of special concern to Italians who had migrated to New York. A river flooding in China is of special importance to Chinese who had moved to San Francisco. The mistreatment of Jews in other nations is of particular concern to Jews living in the United States.

People of all nations are tied together by a common love of human freedom. No individual enjoys being oppressed, wherever he lives. He desires freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Isolation Is Impossible

The ties which bind us to other nations and other continents have been growing much stronger than we realized. It is no longer possible for us to be a hermit nation, refusing to have relations with our world neighbors. Our attempts to remain isolated from other nations have been in vain.

We had tried desperately to remain out of World War I, believing that the affairs of Europe were no concern of ours. We had entered that war eventually, but then decided that we had made a mistake. After World War I ended, most Americans felt that we could continue to remain isolated from other nations. Many Americans believed that isolation was possible, until December 7, 1941. On that day the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor demonstrated to us that we could not isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. The airplane had made Japan and the United States next-door neighbors, although thousands of miles apart. Peace and prosperity for the United States depended upon peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Our Choice of Foreign Policies

There must be some type of world order to maintain peace and prosperity for ourselves and for our world neighbors. How could that order be

maintained? It has been suggested that the United States should form close alliances with certain nations, forming a combination so powerful that these nations could rule the world. This idea has serious weaknesses, however. Rule by brute force, whereby weak nations are at the mercy of the strong, is contrary to the principles of democracy upon which our nation was built. Such an alliance would serve as a perpetual challenge to other nations to form a larger and stronger alliance. It has also been suggested that the United States should maintain a balance between combinations of nations. According to this idea, our nation would throw our great influence in whatever direction the world's welfare indicated. This, however, would mean a world armed to the teeth and ruled by the forces of the strong. World decisions would be reached by might, rather than by right and by justice.

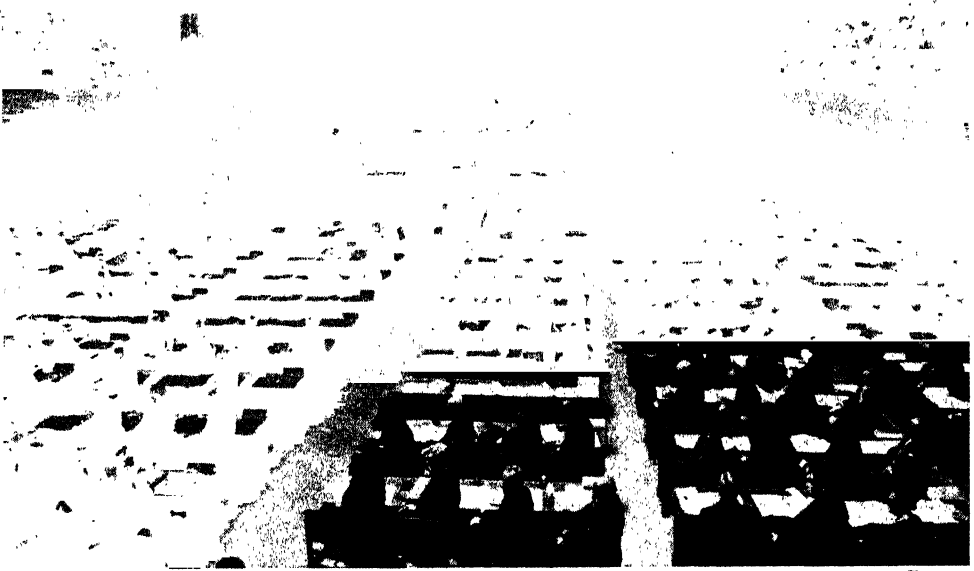
Still another idea is a world organization of nations, large and small, with a world congress to represent all peoples of the earth. There would be a constitution to determine the rights and duties of member nations. World disputes would be decided by ballots rather than by bullets. Economic problems could be solved for the general welfare of the world community, rather than for the selfish interests of one or two nations.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

The League of Nations Experiment

An attempt to form such a world organization of nations was made at

the close of World War I. We have seen, in Chapter 28, how President Woodrow Wilson organized the League of Nations. The legislature of that League, like our own Congress,



Keystone

The League of Nations holds one of its early sessions at Geneva, Switzerland, which was chosen as the headquarters of the League and some of its co-operating organizations.

consisted of two houses. The lower house, the Assembly, was composed of delegates from all nations who belonged to the League. The upper house, the Council, was composed largely of representatives of the more powerful nations. The League of Nations did many things to increase good will among nations. In 1920 it settled a dispute between Finland and Sweden concerning possession of the Aland (Åland) Islands. In 1923 it halted war between Italy and Greece. On other occasions it settled similar disputes which might have led to war. The League did effective work in promoting international health activities and cultural relations among the nations. It tried to prevent World War II, but this was too difficult a task. The League did not possess sufficient power to enforce its decisions. Some nations failed to co-operate, and the fact that the United

States refused to become a member weakened its power.

World Courts

The United States took an important part in the forming of international agreements even though we did not join the League. We had been interested for many years in the idea of a world court. In 1899 we had sent delegates to a conference of nations at The Hague in Holland. There an international court had been formed to settle some kinds of disputes between nations. In 1907 a second conference had met at The Hague, largely due to the urging of President Theodore Roosevelt. On this occasion the nations had agreed upon rules of conduct to soften the horrors of war. In 1921 a new World Court was established. It was sometimes called the Permanent Court of International Justice. It was unlike the old

court established at The Hague, which settled disputes by compromise. The new World Court sought to secure justice for all nations by deciding disputes in accordance with the facts. It determined who was right and who was wrong, instead of asking both nations to give in a little. An American, Elihu Root, was on the committee which created the World Court. Various American citizens have served as judges. Every American President since the World Court was organized, until World War II, urged our nation to become an active member. The United States, however, refused to submit its disputes to the World Court, for the same reasons that it failed to join the League of Nations (see Chapter 28).

Attempts to Promote Peace by Treaties

The United States took a leading part in efforts to promote peaceful relations among nations by making treaties. We had reached a peaceful settlement of disputes with Great Britain on various occasions. Differences in regard to several parts of the northern boundary of the United States were settled by such agreements in 1818, in 1843, and in 1846.

A very serious quarrel between the two countries had existed during and after our War between the States. This bitterness was due to the fact that the British had permitted Confederate ships to be built in British shipyards. We insisted that Great Britain pay for the damage these ships had caused. War between the two nations was possible, but an agreement was finally made which left the dispute to be settled by arbitration in 1871 and 1872. The arbi-

tration committee, of five members, decided that Great Britain should pay the United States \$15,500,000. This was the first time in history that such an important dispute was settled in this way.

After World War I, the United States continued in its effort to promote peaceful relations by treaties. A great international conference was held in Washington in 1921-1922 to bring an end to a world-wide race to build warships. The United States took a leading part in this conference. The nations finally agreed to limit their larger warships in such a way that Great Britain and the United States would be of equal strength, with Japan three fifths as strong as either one. Some warships already built were to be scrapped. No more warships were to be built for a period of ten years. Most Americans felt at that time that our nation was serving the cause of world peace by taking the lead in reducing the world's navies.

A second naval conference was held in London in 1930. Here an agreement was reached concerning smaller warships. The three leading nations agreed to have an equal and limited number of submarines. Japan's naval strength was increased a little, but was still smaller than that of Great Britain or of the United States. A third conference was held in London in 1935. This time Japan insisted on having a navy as large as any other nation's. The other nations would not agree to Japan's demands, and efforts to limit navies were abandoned.

In 1928, when Coolidge was President, France and the United States tried to persuade the nations of the world that fighting was wrong except

in self-defense. A world conference was held in Paris. The members drew up an agreement called the Pact of Paris, or the Kellogg-Briand Treaty. The Pact of Paris branded war as an outlaw. It called nations who were attacking others criminals in the eyes of the world. The agreement was signed with a gold pen nearly a foot long, half an inch in diameter, and set with turquoise. The Pact of Paris was of little value, however. All nations always feel, or at least claim, that they are fighting in self-defense. Nations without honor do not care how they look in the eyes of the world. Nations continued to attack their neighbors in spite of their agreement. The vague promises contained in the Pact of Paris failed to prevent World War II.

Thus we can see that our agreements with foreign nations were not always as successful as we had ex-

pected. They succeeded more often than they failed, however. The world was spared a great amount of suffering and hardship when quarrels were settled by peaceful means. Americans have reason to be proud that our nation played a leading part in settling disputes in a civilized manner.

Growing Unity during World War II

During World War II the United States co-operated with its world neighbors more than ever before. In August, 1941, the Atlantic Charter emphasized the need of united effort among the peace-loving nations of the world. At that meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill on the Atlantic there was born the idea of the United Nations. On January 2, 1942, it was announced that twenty-six nations had signed a United Nations Declara-



Wide World

At their historic meeting somewhere in the North Atlantic in August, 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill drew up the ideas contained in the Atlantic Charter.



Acme

Bales of clothing for UNRRA are being loaded by police cadets in Sydney, Australia. Australia collected a great deal of clothing for the relief of war victims.

tion, agreeing to the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and promising united effort throughout the war. When a United Nations conference met at Hot Springs, Virginia, on May 15, 1943, there were forty-four members. This conference was concerned with food problems. It hoped to obtain "freedom from want" as promised in the Atlantic Charter. There seemed no reason why wheat should be allowed to rot in American and Canadian bins while people were starving in the streets of Bombay. This conference led indirectly to the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) six months later to relieve suffering in stricken nations.

In July, 1944, another conference of the United Nations was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to make plans for the financial future of the world. Before this conference, each nation had been mainly concerned with its own selfish interests. It had used its trade and wealth to

gain every possible advantage over its rivals. Germany had made trade agreements with some of her neighbors, agreeing to buy her neighbors' goods but requiring her neighbors to buy a similar quantity of German goods whether these goods were needed or not. Under such agreements Greece was required to accept hundreds of thousands of German mouth organs, and Yugoslavia had to buy a ten-year supply of aspirin. Other nations adopted policies equally unfair to secure selfish advantage over their world neighbors. Few nations could hope to benefit from such cut-throat competition. The prosperity and general welfare of the world in general would be improved if such unfair competition could be abolished. At the Bretton Woods Conference the United Nations agreed to the ending of cutthroat competition, and made plans to establish a huge international fund to regulate the money of the nations for the common good. In November, 1944, an-

other international conference met in Chicago to work out the many arrangements necessary for carrying on world-wide transportation by air.

Meanwhile, in August, 1944, conferences attended by delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China were held at Dumbarton Oaks, near Washington, D. C. The delegates made blue prints for a new world organization to enforce peace after the end of World War II. That organization was to be based on the principle of equality among all peace-loving nations and was to be open to all such nations, large and small. It was to provide for peace and security and to create the kind of world which was necessary for the maintenance of peace. The Dumbarton Oaks plan was made public and the people of the world had the opportunity to study and discuss it for six months before the United Nations Conference on International Organization was held in San Francisco in 1945.

The San Francisco Conference

The United Nations Conference on International Organization met at San Francisco in the spring of 1945 just as the war against Germany was ending in victory. The delegates of the United Nations had many differences of opinion, but they were united in their desire to prevent any third World War. The League of Nations had ended in failure. Would the United Nations conference create an organization of nations that would be better and stronger than the old League and succeed where the League had failed? The delegates were determined to succeed; they could not afford to fail. This conference might prove to be man's last opportunity

to save the world from destruction. The delegates framed the Charter of the United Nations, stating their purpose in its preamble, or introduction:

"We, the people of the United Nations,

Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold suffering to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations: large and small, and . . .

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . .

. . . do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations."

The Charter set up an organization much like that outlined at Dumbarton Oaks. First, there was to be a General Assembly in which each member nation was to be represented by not more than five persons. This Assembly was to be "the town meeting of the world," providing free discussion of world problems. Second, there was to be a Security Council, composed of eleven members of the United Nations, each acting through one representative. Five powerful nations—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France—were to have permanent seats in the Council, while six other nations were to be members for two-year periods by vote of the General Assembly. It was expected that the

THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Up to five delegates from each of fifty-one member nations, but only one vote for each nation. Its duties are to discuss any questions within the scope of the Charter, and submit recommendations to the Security Council.

SECURITY COUNCIL



Eleven members — the Big Five permanent, the other six elected for two-year terms by the Assembly. Investigates international disputes; takes action against aggressors if necessary.

TRUSTSHIP COUNCIL



Composed of any members administering trust territories; plus those of Big Five not administering such trusts; plus as many others as are needed to ensure equal representation of members who do and do not administer trusts.

SECRETARIAT



Headed by a Secretary General, it includes administrative and research staffs, serving the entire United Nations.

INTERNATIONAL BANK



Part of the Bretton Woods plan, ratified by thirty-five nations. Will provide funds for reconstruction and develop resources not fully employed.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND



Also part of the Bretton Woods plan. Will be employed by member nations to help stabilize currencies.

FOOD & AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION



A research and study organization to help ensure freedom from want, increased food production, improved agricultural methods and higher food and nutrition standards throughout the world.

CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION



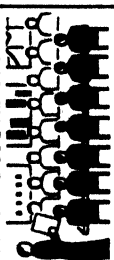
Organized in 1944 to deal with complex economic and legal problems in commercial air transport operations, and impact of travelers and cargo to prevent spread of disease.

INTERNATIONAL COURT



Fifteen members, chosen for 9 year terms, by Assembly and Council, from candidates nominated by national groups in Permanent Court of Arbitration. Will meet in permanent session to decide legal disputes between nations.

ECONOMIC-SOCIAL COUNCIL



Eighteen members elected for three-year terms by the Assembly. Will coordinate the work of specialized agencies to eliminate economic and social roots of war.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION



Eleven members of the Security Council plus Canada. Will consider problems arising from the discovery of atomic energy.

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE



Composed of Chiefs of Staff of U.S., Britain, U.S.S.R., China and France. Decides composition and directs forces against aggressors under the Security Council.

INTERNATIONAL ARMED FORCES



To be composed of a quota of forces readily available from all members for putting down threats to peace. (Not yet organized. To be decided by Military Staff Committee.)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION



Drafted at London 1945, to develop international cultural understanding and to help make the world's accumulated knowledge available to all.

United Nations through the Security Council could act quickly and effectively to maintain peace and security. Third, there was to be an Economic and Social Council to study world economic and social matters. Fourth, there was to be an International Court of Justice, elected by the Assembly and the Security Council, to settle disputes among nations. Fifth, there was to be a Secretariat, headed by a secretary general, to manage the many affairs of the United Nations organization. Any weaknesses which might be uncovered in the Charter could be corrected by amendment.

The great majority of Americans agreed with Senator Arthur Vandenberg that "America has everything to gain and nothing to lose by giving (the charter) support; everything to lose and nothing to gain by declining this continued fraternity with the United Nations in behalf of the dearest dream of mankind." On July 28, 1945, the United States Senate approved the United Nations Charter by a vote of 89 to 2, although another Senate had refused to join the League of Nations after World War I.

The United Nations in Action

The first meeting of the United Nations under the new Charter was held in London in January and February, 1946. The General Assembly and the Security Council had many difficult problems to solve, much as our United States Congress had after the adoption of our Constitution. The conference in London did not accomplish all that had been hoped, yet it did not fail as some had feared. Some of the United Nations quarreled bitterly, but they all remained united in their determination to prevent any

third World War. The Assembly voted to locate the permanent site of the United Nations organization in the United States. A long second meeting of the Security Council was held in New York City beginning in April, 1946, where it once more attempted to solve world problems that threatened peace. The General Assembly began a meeting in New York City in October, 1946.

Efforts to promote better understanding among nations, however, were not confined to the Assembly and the Security Council. Foreign ministers of leading nations had informal conferences to iron out differences of opinion. Other organizations, both public and private, contributed to the cause of world peace. Among the organizations established by the United Nations was an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) "to increase the understanding between nations and between peoples, whose mass opinions are now so important to peace." It sought to develop an appreciation of the life, the culture, the arts, and the sciences of world neighbors, and to extend the world's knowledge and culture to all peoples.

Meetings of the foreign ministers of the world's leading nations were held from time to time. Bevin of Great Britain, Molotov of Russia, Bidault of France, and Secretary-of-State Byrnes of the United States met in Paris in the last week of April, 1946. They were mainly concerned with the framing of proposed treaties of peace with Italy and with some other European nations. Later they held other meetings at which they sought agreements concerning other problems which had arisen because of the war.

PROBLEMS AND HOPES

Some of the Problems

The habits of a lifetime are difficult to break. Nations that have been rivals for centuries cannot forget that rivalry overnight. Nations that have been misused and abused cannot change their bitterness to love immediately. Nations that have been ruled by tyrants cannot learn the ways of democracy all at once. A world where selfishness abounds and where nations depend for victory on might cannot suddenly become a world of justice in which right triumphs. Time is required to quiet the hates, the selfishness, and the rivalry of past centuries. Time is needed to calm the earth's fever.

One of the main problems faced by the United Nations in the difficult period following World War II is to remain united. When our nation was young, during the years of the Articles of Confederation, the thirteen states quarreled bitterly among themselves. They learned to work together, however, for their general welfare and in time became firmly united. The United Nations is now in its infancy and its members, in mid-1946, had not learned to work together. Time should heal old wounds and result in greater unity.

The large nations of the world had been powerful enough to do as they pleased in their relations with smaller world neighbors. It was difficult for them suddenly to accept small nations as their equals in international relations and in the United Nations organization, and to have decisions involving them decided by a congress of nations. Large nations had

fought bitterly for control of the world's natural resources. Now it was difficult for them to think in terms of one world, so far as freedom from want was concerned.

Another great problem facing the United Nations was how to prevent the world from destroying itself. No place on earth could feel secure against sudden attack and destruction. The invention of the atomic bomb made the problem doubly serious. A nation armed with atomic bombs might rule the world.

The Necessity for Success

The future of the entire world depended upon the success of the United Nations in solving these problems. The nations had to co-operate together as one world or suffer separately the evils of war and famine. War anywhere was certain to affect all the nations of the earth. Poverty anywhere would be felt by all other nations engaged in international trade. The atomic bomb cast its shadow over the world's future. It made peace much more important than before. A World War III, fought with such weapons, might mean the end of civilization as we know it and bring misery to human beings everywhere.

Sir Arthur Salter of Great Britain stated two important reasons why he thought the United Nations would succeed where the old League had failed. "First, its membership includes America and Russia, as the League of 1920 did not, and it was the absence of these two countries which was the League's principal source of weakness. Second, the



Members are indicated in white

Members of the United Nations, August, 1947

Non-members are indicated in grey

Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byeno Russia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Republic, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R. (Russia), United Kingdom (Great Britain), United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

peoples of the world now know much more about what war means and about its causes."

America's Responsibilities

The United States occupies a position of world leadership. It is the wealthiest and most influential of all the nations. The American people have no choice in this matter. Our only choice is whether the United States will be a good or a bad leader.

In much of the world the people have been exhausted by war. In some countries the daily problem of remaining alive has seemed more

important than world problems. All the leading nations, except the United States, experienced at first hand the horrors of war. The United States was the only nation that remained strong enough to lead the United Nations in their quest for peace. The success or failure of the United Nations depended on the support of the American people, according to John Foster Dulles, "more than on any other single factor." This is a tremendous challenge to the United States. We have a glorious opportunity for success, but also a terrible responsibility if we fail.

Study Activities

1. *Finding the Answers.* As you study Chapter 32, "The United Nations," be able to answer the following questions.

a. What are the ties that bind humanity?

b. What are the three types of foreign policy a nation can try to work out? In the long run, which kind of foreign policy do you think is likely to bring about the best ways for settling problems between nations?

c. What was the League of Nations? In what ways did it succeed? In what ways did it fail?

d. What world courts have been set up to settle disputes between nations?

e. What are some of the important treaties the United States has made with other nations to maintain peace?

f. In what ways did the United Nations co-operate during World War II?

g. What was the great achievement of the San Francisco Conference held in the spring of 1945?

h. How is the General Assembly of the United Nations made up? The Security Council? The International Court? The Economic and Social Council?

i. What are the two most urgent problems of the United Nations? Why are they important to every human being in the world?

j. Why must the United Nations work out solutions to world problems?

2. *Definitions.* Write your own definitions of the following words or phrases. After you have checked your definitions in the dictionary and through class discussion, make any corrections that are necessary.

humanity	treaty
isolation	social progress
foreign policy	tolerance
world court	international organization

3. *The United States Co-operates with the Nations of the World.* During the past century the United States has become a member of many international organizations dealing with special problems. Appoint members of the class to report briefly on the work of the following international organizations to which the United States belongs. Have any of these organizations become part of the United Nations set-up?

International Telecommunications Union
 Universal Postal Union
 International Institute of Agriculture
 International Office of Public Health
 International Association of Road Congresses
 International Labor Organization

4. Keeping up with the United Nations. By listening to the radio, clipping items from newspapers, magazines, and your current-events papers, consulting the *World Almanac*, and writing to the Department of Public Information, United Nations, Box 1000, New York 1, N. Y., you can keep up with the work being done by the various bodies and commissions of the United Nations. Place interesting clippings and pictures on the class bulletin board.

5. Books and Pamphlets. While learning about the United Nations, you will find such books and pamphlets as the following helpful.

Thomas A. Bailey, *America's Foreign Policies: Past and Present*, Foreign Policy Association, 1943.

William G. Carr, *Only by Understanding: Education and International Organization*, Foreign Policy Association, 1945.

William G. Carr, *One World in the Making: The United Nations*, Ginn and Company, 1946. History, Charter, and explanations.

Vera M. Dean, *After Victory: Questions and Answers on World Organization*, Foreign Policy Association, 1945.

Vera M. Dean, *On the Threshold of World Order*, Foreign Policy Association, 1944.

C. M. Eichelberger, *United Nations Charter*, American Association for the United Nations, 1945.

Richard Plant and Oskar Seidlin, *S.O.S. Geneva*, Viking Press, 1939. A story that explains how the League of Nations worked.

United Nations Organization: A Handbook of the UNO. Charles E. Merrill Co., 1946.

6. Floor Talks on the United Nations. Appoint members of the class to prepare floor talks on the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court, Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and

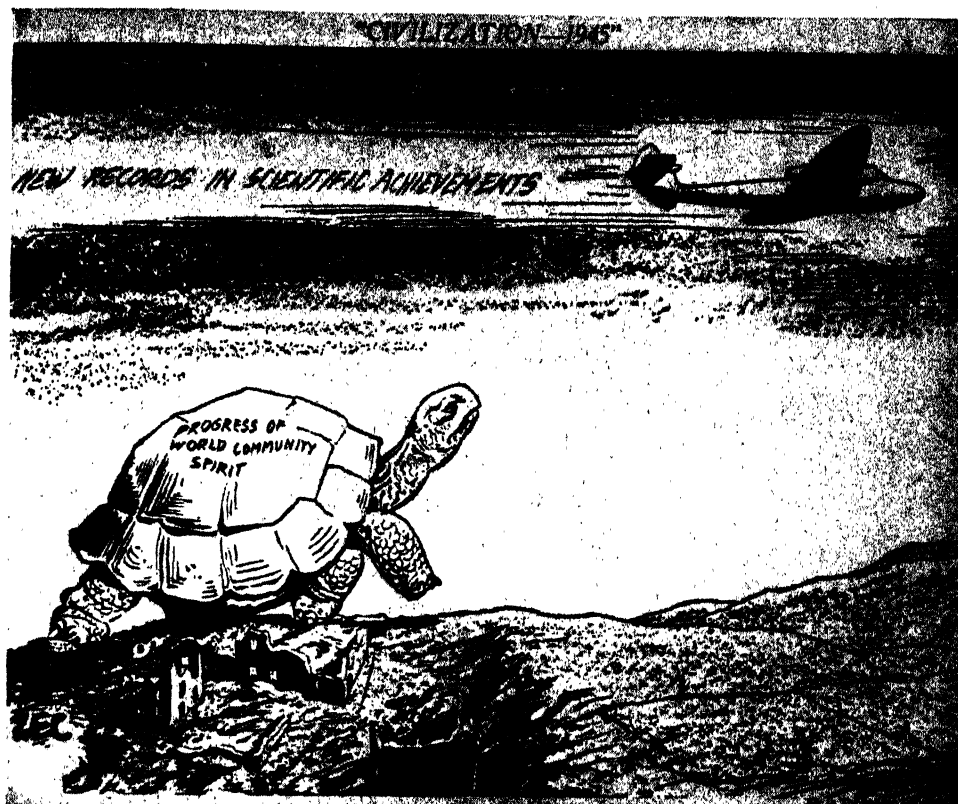
the various other organizations and commissions that are associated with the United Nations. Be sure to tell how each body is made up, what its work is, where its headquarters are, who heads it, and what problems it is working on at the present time. The *World Almanac* will prove a timely source of information, besides the references already listed.

7. A United Nations Map. On page 524 is a map which shows the place of the United Nations in the world. With the help of geographic and atlas maps, on an outline map or on one you draw, color and name the countries that make up the United Nations. From information you get from the newspapers, the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, and the *World Almanac*, locate on the map the headquarters of the various bodies and commissions of the United Nations. Appoint a class committee to make a wall map of the United Nations.

8. Meanings. Discuss with your classmates the quotation beside the time line at the beginning of Chapter 32. What is meant by the statement, "The General Assembly of the United Nations is the 'town meeting of the world'?" Does the class agree that "in terms of the flight of airplanes and missiles the whole globe is today smaller than the thirteen Colonies of 1776"?

9. A United Nations Flag. There are proposals that there should be a United Nations flag which would fly with the flag of every member nation. Thus in our country the United Nations flag would fly with the "Stars and Stripes," in France with the "Tricolor," in Great Britain with the "Union Jack," and so on throughout the world. What do you think of the idea? Has the class any proposals for such a flag?

10. Explaining a Cartoon. Write a one-paragraph explanation of the idea expressed in the cartoon on page 527.



Zec, The Daily Mirror, London; and New York Times

Review Exercises for Unit VII

1. *A Unit Discussion.* At the end of the Overview on page 432 there are ten questions which Unit VII answers. Hold a class discussion on the ten questions and then write a good summary paragraph explaining how the United States has become a world power.
2. *The Class Time Line.* From the time lines at the beginning of each chapter in Unit VII select the most important dates and add them to the class time line.
3. *American Presidents and Our Foreign Policy.* Select the five Presidents you think have had the most influence on the foreign policy of the United States. Write their names in your notebook or on the blackboard. Under the name of each of the five Presidents list the dates of his administration and the reasons you think he had an important influence on the foreign policy of the United States.
4. *A Cartoon.* Draw a cartoon showing why you think it is important for the United States to work with other nations to bring about a peaceful world. Appoint a committee to select the best cartoons and then display them on your bulletin board or in the halls of your school.



UNIT VIII

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

OVERVIEW

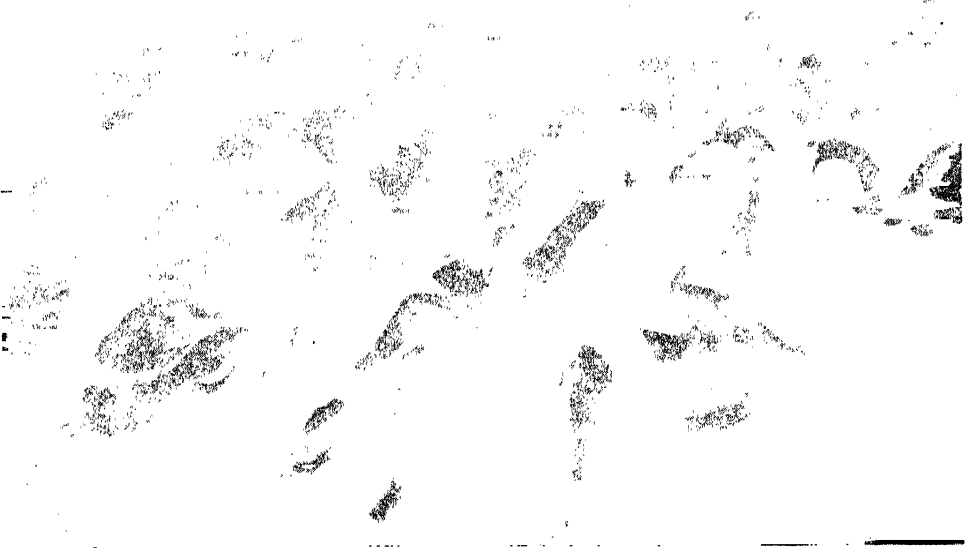
The United States, as we know and live in it today, is the product of our national past. The purpose for which you have studied American history is to know and appreciate better the land we live in, its people, and its ideals. All the events described in this textbook help to explain what the United States is today.

Unit VIII tells of the United States today in much the same way that Unit V told of the United States in 1876. This Unit VIII gives a cross-section picture of the American people and of their ways of living. And it looks into the future to ask what the United States will be like in 1976.

Chapter 33 tells of the people of the United States. It describes recent immigrant groups and their contributions to American life. It tells where Americans live and how they live. It raises the question of whether there is a "typical" American, and emphasizes the importance of "Americans all." Chapter 34 tells what Americans have done in the arts since 1876. It tells of some of the nation's great writers and of what they wrote. It tells of American buildings, and of planned communities. It tells of beautiful paintings and sculpture, of theaters and motion pictures. All these help to make the United States we know today.

Chapter 35 tells the wonderful story of modern science, and of how it has changed and is changing our homes and communities, farms and factories, medicine and education and communication. One cannot understand America today or in the future without knowing of the effects of science on our lives. Chapter 36, the last of the book, tells of our debt to the past for what we have, and are, today. It tells of the "Four Freedoms" and of our search for them. In a way, Chapter 36 describes the democracy in which the United States believes.

With Unit VIII our study of the history of the United States comes to a close. But the nation's story does not end with the events related in this book. Our history goes on into the future. The past is long; today is here for only a little time; many tomorrows are coming. In the country's development — which each citizen shares for a lifetime — will come many things we cannot now foresee. But the future is built on the past and the present. The history we have studied is one clue to the nation's life in the future. What do you think life in the United States will be like when the nation's second hundredth birthday rolls around in the year 1976?

*Library of Congress*

At Interlochen, Michigan, peace-loving Americans enjoy the open air as they listen to a music rehearsal. Here are Americans of today, free to pursue life, liberty, and happiness. Will the coming years enrich their life?

Questions Answered in Unit VIII

1. What is the United States like today?
2. What immigrant groups have become a part of modern United States?
3. Is there a "typical" American?
4. What is the "American standard of living"?
5. Who have been our greatest writers since 1876?
6. What contributions have Americans made to painting and sculpture?
7. How are American buildings distinctive?
8. What changes has modern science made in our ways of living?
9. What does American democracy mean?
10. Is democracy worth having?
11. What do you think the United States will be like in 1976?

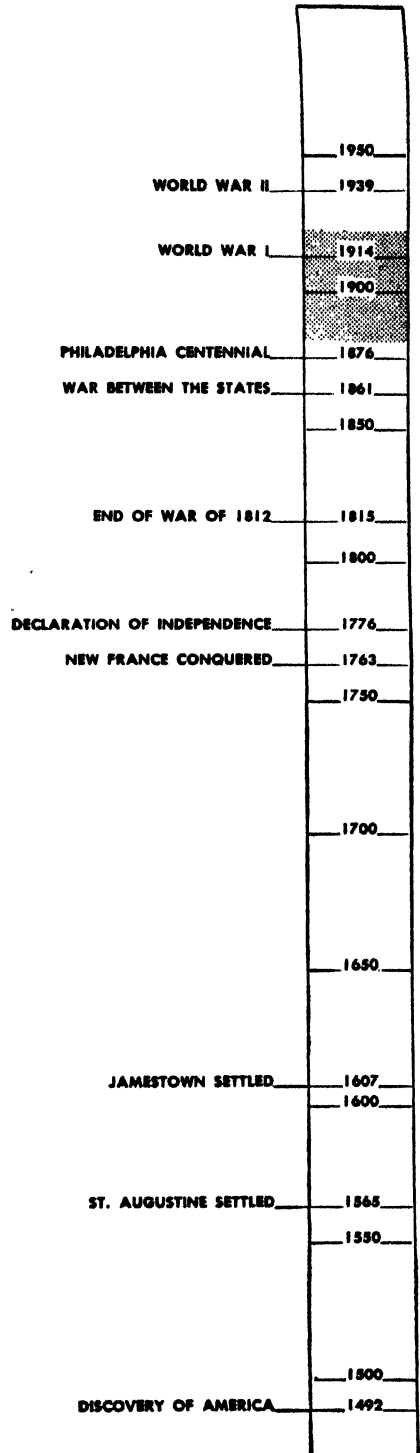
CHAPTER 33

"WE, THE PEOPLE"

- 1921-24 LIMITING IMMIGRANTS BY QUOTAS
- 1917 REQUIRING IMMIGRANTS TO BE ABLE TO READ AND WRITE
- 1907 IMMIGRATION REACHES ITS HEIGHT IN THE GREAT WAVE OF 1903-1914
- 1889 HULL HOUSE ESTABLISHED BY JANE ADDAMS
- 1882 CHINESE IMMIGRATION HALTED

"America always has welcomed diversity, variety, differences. . . . No one strain has a monopoly on the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy. . . . At its best, Americanism is nobody's monopoly. . . . The future . . . is in unity within diversity."

Louis Adamic



We have made our land pay abundantly (see pp. 532-533).





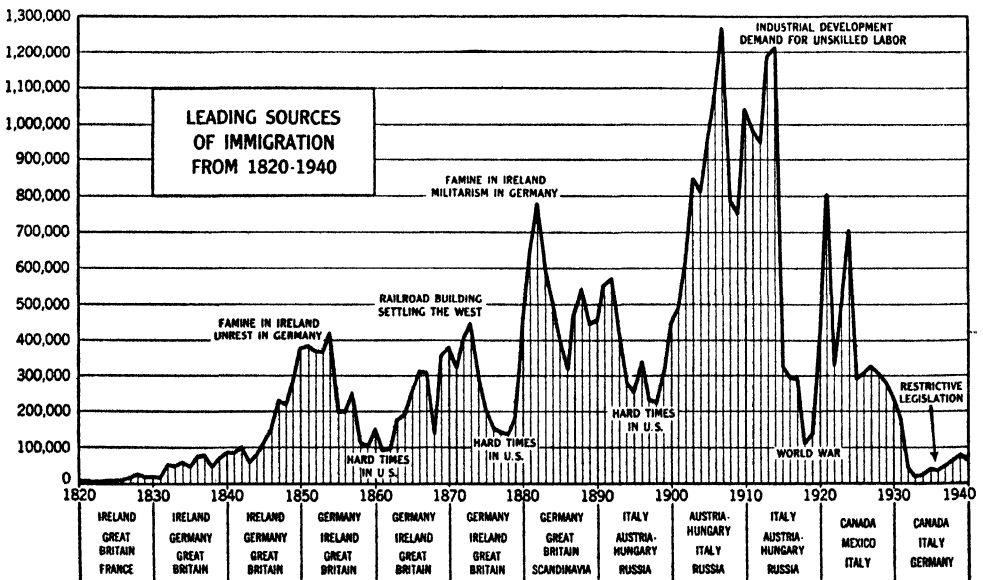
ARRIVALS FROM ABROAD

Waves of Immigrants

"We, the People" are a nation of immigrants. All through our history people have migrated from Europe and Asia and Africa to American shores. In some years more have come than in others. When the number of those who came at various times is put on a chart like that below, it looks as if great waves of immigrants have rolled in on American shores, one wave after another.

The first large immigrant wave began in the 1840's. It grew larger because of famine in Ireland and political trouble in Germany. It came to an end about 1860 because of hard times in our own country. A second great wave reached its height in the early 1870's because so many foreigners wanted to settle on the free rich farmland of our West,

or desired jobs building railroads. This wave ended because of the hard times following the panic of 1873. A third wave of immigrants reached its height in 1882 due chiefly to conditions in Germany. It came to an end in the late 1890's due to hard times here. The fourth great wave of immigrants was the largest in our history, reaching its greatest height in 1907 and remaining very high until 1914. During this period American industry was developing rapidly and there was a great demand for labor. Europeans could earn much higher wages in our mills and mines than in their native lands. More than a million immigrants came to our shores in each of five separate years from 1906 to 1914. This great migration of peoples came to an end because of World War I. A fifth great wave of immigrants started as soon as that



*Keystone*

With mixed feelings of joy and anxiety, millions of immigrants caught their first glimpse of the shores of America.

war ended. Millions of foreigners prepared to leave the war-torn lands of Europe and rush to the United States in search of jobs. By that time, however, our nation had decided that so many millions of immigrants could not be cared for easily. Congress passed laws to prevent them from coming in such great numbers.

Various Foreign Groups

On some occasions one foreign country would supply the largest number of immigrants; on other occasions some other foreign group would be most numerous. In 1876 the great migration of the Irish to our shores was nearly over, but the migration of Germans was becoming stronger than ever before. The German migration reached its height in 1882; within a period of forty years three million Germans moved to the United States. Most of the new German immigrants settled in cities, unlike the Germans of earlier days

who had settled mainly on farms. Immigration from the Scandinavian countries reached its height at about the same time as the migration from Germany. The Scandinavian immigrants settled mainly on western farms, although many of them settled in New England and Ohio. They continued to come to the United States until there were half as many Norwegians in our nation as in Norway itself. One fourth of the world's Swedes and one tenth of all Danes became Americans.

Until 1890 most of the immigrants came from countries in western and northwestern Europe. During the 1880's they came mainly from Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. After 1890, however, most of the new arrivals came from southern and eastern Europe. During the 1890's the most numerous groups were from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. They made up the larger part of the ten million people who



Hull House — Photo, W. W. Kirkland

At Hull House, Chicago, one of our earliest and most famous settlement houses, instrumental music is only one of the many activities available to the people of the neighborhood.

sought new and better jobs and homes in the United States between 1905 and World War I. The Italian migration reached its height in 1907 when more foreigners sought homes here than at any other time in our history. The Russian wave, consisting mostly of Jews, reached its crest just before the outbreak of World War I. Both the Italians and the Russians tended to settle in cities and factory towns.

Smaller groups of immigrants came from many other countries. From Europe came Greeks, Poles, Finns, Rumanians, Czechs; in fact every European nation saw at least some of its citizens move to our shores. From the Near East came Arabians, Syrians, Armenians, and Turks. Our Chinese population grew and many Japanese came after 1890. Other immigrants came from our two next-door neighbors, Canada and Mexico.

Many immigrants became leaders in our country. Among these leaders were Charles Steinmetz, the scientist; Andrew Carnegie, the industrialist; Samuel Gompers, the labor leader; James J. Hill, the railroad builder; Arturo Toscanini (är-tōō'rō tōs-kä-nē'nē), the conductor of symphony orchestras; and Carl Milles, the sculptor.

The newly-arrived immigrants often settled in the most wretched sections of our cities. Various settlement houses were established to protect the immigrants and to help them learn the ways of their new country. The best-known settlement house was Hull House, which was established by Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. During the forty years that Miss Addams remained at its head, Hull House played the part of big brother, protecting the weak and the poor. Immigrants were

protected from dishonest merchants, support was provided for deserted women, insurance was collected for widows, and many other services were provided for the needy.

Growing Opposition to Foreign Groups

Immigrants had received a hearty welcome throughout most of our history. They had played a very important part in the settlement of the West, and had provided cheap labor which American industry needed to develop our railroads, mines, and factories. By 1890, however, the situation was beginning to change. The frontier had ceased to exist; no longer could good farms be obtained in the West for little or nothing. American laborers became less and less willing to compete with the newly arrived immigrants for jobs in industry. Most of the foreigners were very poor; if they had been well-to-do they might not have left their motherlands for new homes in a strange country. The newly-arrived foreigners would gratefully accept any jobs, whatever the wages might be. They could exist on so little that native Americans wondered how they could live at all. Their willingness to work for such little pay made it more difficult for the American laborer to obtain the wages he needed. As our labor unions increased in strength and importance, opposition to the coming of so many foreigners grew.

There were also objections to immigration on other grounds. Some of the foreign groups had had no opportunity to practice democracy in their motherlands, and did not understand how it worked. They did not know that citizens in democracies had many

duties and responsibilities if their government was to be a success. In time the immigrants could be taught the ways of free men and women, but the education of the foreigners was often difficult. Many of the immigrants could neither read nor write.

The problem of making new immigrants into Americans was all the more difficult when they tended to settle by themselves in their own particular sections of large cities. The city of New York has separate foreign districts even in our own day. It has a "Little Italy" where many of its Italians live by themselves; one hundred and fifty thousand of them lived in an area of one square mile in 1940. There is a German section in the city where is preserved much of old Germany. Most of the Chinese live in a section called Chinatown, where store windows are filled with Chinese foods and Chinese manufactured articles. The Scandinavians, the Syrians, the Arabians, and other national groups also tend to live by themselves. The Jews are not a national group, because they came from various nations, but they also tend to live by themselves. More than half the residents of the Bronx district in New York City, in 1936, were Jews.

Many of the immigrants continued to use their own language instead of English after they settled in such city districts. They often read their own newspapers instead of American papers. They were slow in learning American ways, surrounded as they were by individuals who had come from the same country as themselves. More and more Americans decided that it was best not to admit immigrants to our country faster than we could Americanize them.

Limiting Immigration

The first successful attempts to limit immigrants came in the 1880's. Congress passed various laws to keep out convicts, lunatics, idiots, and laborers who were brought into our country under contract. In 1882 Congress also passed a law to keep out Chinese immigrants for ten years because of their willingness to work for extremely low wages and because of their slowness to adopt American customs. In 1917 Congress passed another law which required immigrants, with few exceptions, to be able to read and write if they were to be admitted.

As World War I drew to a close in 1918 it became clear that such restrictions were not enough. Many European nations were suffering terribly because of the war. Millions of their citizens were preparing to crowd our shores in search of a better living. We felt deep sympathy for the suffering peoples of Europe. We knew, however, that so many new immigrants would drive many of our own workers out of their jobs and reduce wages in general.

The result was that the United States ceased to be a free refuge for the peoples of the Old World. In 1921 Congress passed a law limiting the number of persons who could

come each year from any one country to 3 per cent of the number of its immigrants in the United States in 1910. Three years later Congress decided to admit each year only a number equal to 2 per cent of the foreign-born from the same country here in 1890. This law greatly decreased the number of immigrants who could come from southern and eastern Europe. A "Gentleman's Agreement" (1907) was arranged by which Japanese did not migrate to the United States; later (1924) Congress passed a law bluntly forbidding Japanese to come. After 1929 our total immigration was limited to 150,000 a year, so distributed that new arrivals would not alter the present make-up of the American people.

Between 1820 and 1940 about 40,000,000 immigrants came to our shores in search of freedom, particularly freedom from want. But the greatest movement of peoples in the history of the world had come to an end. Foreigners who were not held back by laws of Congress remained away of their own accord during the hard times of the 1930's. After 1931 fewer came into the country than the law allowed. The 35,576 who arrived in 1932 were fewer than had come in any year for an entire century; while about an equal number of foreigners returned home.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE NATION'S POPULATION

Growth of the Nation

After 1860 the population of the United States continued to increase rapidly although the rate of increase became somewhat less even before

Congress limited immigration. In 1940 there were 15 residents of our country for every 14 who lived here in 1930. In 1940 there were 131,669,275 people living in the United States, while about 19,000,000 other citizens

and residents of our country were living in the outer territories and possessions of the United States. Today there are about forty Americans for each one of Washington's day; twelve for each one who lived at the time of Andrew Jackson; and five for each one at the time of Lincoln's election in 1860. Our nation is a giant in population as compared with most European countries or with any other country in the New World, but is small as compared with China or India.

Some Sections Grow Faster Than Others

The fastest-growing section of the nation since 1876 has been the Far West. The greatest percentage of increase in any period since 1876 was to be found either in the Mountain states or in the states located on the Pacific coast. This growth was to be expected in newly settled regions of the nation. Florida, however, was the fastest-growing state in the Union between 1930 and 1940 because of its popularity as a winter resort. During that period Florida's population increased four times as fast as that of the nation as a whole. During the same period some other states actually decreased in population, especially in the "dust bowl" area of the Great Plains.

No state has been in a position to challenge New York's leadership in population for more than a century. More than one tenth of all the residents of the United States were New Yorkers in 1940. Rhode Island was the most-thickly populated state, however, with one resident for each acre of land. Nevada was at the other extreme with one resident for each 641 acres of land.

Changes in Our Population

We also have ceased to be a nation of farmers, as was indicated in Chapter 23. When Washington was President, only one resident of our country in twenty lived in a city or town having a population of over 2500 people. In 1940 more than half of our population lived in such communities. Until recently there was a tendency for more and more of our people to live in large cities rather than small cities and towns. Between 1876 and 1940 the population of New York City increased from less than two million people to more than seven and a third million. Los Angeles was the fastest-growing of our large cities (picture, page 540). Within seventy years it grew from six thousand to more than a million. Recently, however, the migration to cities has slowed down, especially the migration to large cities. Some of our largest cities have actually declined. It has become the fashion for people who work in cities to live in near-by suburbs, because of newer and better means of transportation. Thus in our own day we find cities in clusters, with a large city surrounded by a number of so-called "bedroom cities." By 1940 nearly half of our citizens lived in these clusters, or metropolitan areas, as they are called.

Nine out of every ten of our people living in 1940 had been born in the United States. Various foreign groups were more numerous in some parts of the nation than in other regions, but in general they were most likely to be found in the Northeast.

Nearly nine out of ten of our people in 1940 were white. There were three times as many Negroes in our country



Acme

Los Angeles, originally an Indian village, was named for a saint's day, in 1769. In 1880 its population had reached 11,183, and by 1940 it had jumped to 1,504,277, making it the largest city west of the Mississippi.

in 1940 as in 1860, although the Negroes had not increased as rapidly as the whites. The proportion of Negroes in our total population decreased from one seventh in 1860 to one tenth in 1940. The larger part of the Negro population continued to live in the South, but large numbers had moved into the cities of the North. In 1940 only one of our people in nearly four hundred was an Indian. Nearly a third of all the Indians live in the Mountain states of the West, but one fourth live in the one state of Oklahoma. Our people with yellow skins, mostly of Japanese or Chinese origin, are less than one in five hundred. They have been most numerous on the Pacific Coast, especially in California. Some are leaders in truck farming, and some live in "little Tokyos" or "Chinatowns" in large cities.

The nation underwent changes in religion between 1860 and 1940. The

huge waves of immigrants were composed mainly of Catholics. The last great wave in the years preceding World War I also contained large numbers of Jews. A majority of our people continued to be Protestant in religion, but the largest single church in the United States in 1936 was the Roman Catholic with about twenty million members.

Most Americans are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Our ancestors came from a great number of countries, as we have seen. Our skins are of different colors. We differ in our ideas and our customs, but our duties as citizens of the United States are the same. Whether we are good citizens depends not on race, color, religion, or where we live. It depends on how we live and on our willingness to think and act in accordance with the general welfare. We are all Americans.

OUR STANDARD OF LIVING

Increased Wealth

In 1860 each man, woman, and child in the United States would have had about \$500 worth of property if the nation's wealth could have been divided equally. After 1860 the wealth of the nation increased rapidly. By 1930 each man, woman, and child in our country would have had about \$3200 worth if wealth had been divided evenly. Since 1930 our wealth has undergone great changes because of hard times and the war, but it remains very high. Due to this tremendous wealth most Americans can afford to buy more food, better clothes, finer homes, and a greater number of luxuries than almost any other people in the world. This is what we mean when we say the American standard of living is high.

Some Americans, however, have more wealth and a higher standard of living than others. Much of the nation's increased wealth went to make up large fortunes. The first American to possess \$100,000,000 was Commodore Vanderbilt, who died in 1877. By the 1890's there were several such fortunes, and millionaires were not uncommon in the great cities of the Northeast. By the close of World War I millionaires were almost as common in Detroit, Toledo, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Denver, and Seattle as they had been in New York and Boston in the 1890's. In 1940 1 per cent of the population controlled 20 per cent of the nation's wealth. Over half of all American families actually had incomes of less than a hundred dollars a month when World War II began.

Differences among Sections of the Country

At the outbreak of World War II incomes averaged highest on the Pacific Coast and lowest in the South. The average yearly income of the farmer at that time was less than \$1000; the average village family received slightly more than \$1200; and the average income of the city family varied from \$1300 in small cities to \$1700 in the giant cities. Thus the income of a family in our largest cities was about 80 per cent greater than that of a farm family. Greater income, however, does not always mean a higher standard of living. The cost of living is higher in cities than on farms, and higher in the North than in the South. The city dweller has to spend more on rent, clothes, transportation, and many other items than his country cousin; the Northerner has to buy more fuel, build a warmer home, and wear warmer clothes than the Southerner.

Changes in the Standard of Living

The average American probably does not eat more food than the average American of 1860, but he enjoys a greater variety of food and has better food. This improvement in the standard of living is due partly to increased wealth and partly to modern improvements and greater knowledge. More milk, fruit, and vegetables are eaten because of refrigeration, faster transportation, and the growth of the canning industry. As a result Americans eat less meat and bread. About 1916 the importance of vitamins was discovered and greater

attention was given to foods containing minerals and other food elements necessary to good health. We had more money to buy products such as coffee and sugar, which had been considered luxuries by many peoples. The average American used twice as much coffee in 1939 as in 1871, and three times as much sugar.

The average American of today lives in a better home than the average American of 1860. Some improvements in housing have been due to local laws. The first laws were the result of attempts by various cities to regulate light and air, and provide sanitation and safety, in tenements. In 1911 Columbus, Ohio, became the first city to have laws regulating the building of houses in an entire community. Such laws prevented the building of bad houses, but did not provide good ones. Many Americans could not afford to build or rent good homes, and could not pay for improvements. City homes had more improvements than farm homes. Nine city homes out of ten had electric lights in 1930, but this was true of only about one farm home out of eight. Only one third of our farm population had telephones; less than one sixth had running water in their homes; and only about one twelfth had water piped into bathrooms. Meanwhile the government had become interested in the problem of housing. In 1932 Congress passed laws dealing with low-cost housing. State after state passed laws establishing commissions with power to own and operate low-cost housing plans.

The average American of today has more and better clothes than the average American of 1860. The price

of cloth decreased because of new discoveries and inventions. Rayon and nylon partly replaced silk, which continued to be a luxury to many Americans. Ready-made women's clothes enabled the working girl to dress attractively on her wages.

The average American of today has more leisure time than the average American of 1860. The average worker in 1860 worked eleven hours a day. He was required to spend additional hours with household chores such as cutting kindling wood for his stove and filling his lamps with oil. He had little time left for amusements, which then were simple and few. Today the forty-hour week is normal in many occupations. Holidays are numerous, and many workers receive two weeks' vacation a year with pay. New household improvements have greatly reduced the time needed for household chores. Millions of Americans have been attracted to various forms of sports; millions have escaped the heat of city streets by visiting parks, picnic grounds, and beaches; entire states such as Maine and Florida have advertised themselves as the playgrounds of the nation. From 1924 to 1938 the amusement industries of the nation had an average income of a billion dollars a year. Americans also have more time to spend with books and art.

One of the greatest changes in the American standard of living has been due to inventions used in homes, on farms, and for travel. The story of the development of these improvements is discussed in detail in other chapters of this book. One example of the change that has taken place is the change from the horse and buggy to the automobile. Most people did

not possess horses and buggies. Those that did were required to spend considerable time feeding, watering, and caring for the horses. Rides were short and slow. The horse had to be harnessed and unharnessed. The automobile, however, could be left in a barn, a shed, or out-of-doors for an indefinite time without attention. It would start with the turn of a key and the push of a button. It would carry its passengers rapidly for hundreds of miles to a much greater variety of places. It became a necessity rather than a luxury because it could

be used for so many purposes. By the 1920's millions of American families felt they had income or money enough to afford it.

Some Americans benefited more than others from the higher standard of living, but the condition of all classes of Americans has been improved to some extent. Many Americans do not possess as good food, houses, improvements, and clothes as they need, but the average American has more of the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life than ever before.

IS THERE A TYPICAL AMERICAN?

Some Statistics

It is difficult to describe what a typical American is like when we consider all the ways in which Americans vary. Suppose we follow an American principle of majority rule and pick our typical American from the majority groups. Let us picture our typical citizen as a male, because there are more men than women in our country. Our typical citizen is unquestionably white because most Americans are white people. He is likely to have English ancestors, he speaks the English language, and is more likely than not to be Protestant in religion. He probably lives in a village or city with a population between twenty-five hundred and twenty-five thousand people, because that is where the average citizen dwells. He is probably a worker.

Our typical American had, in 1936, an annual income of \$1160. He is likely to be a tenant, since more Americans rent homes than own

them. Between 1930 and 1940 the average family declined in size to less than four. The typical American's age in 1930 was 26.4 years, but in 1940 it was 29.9 years. He is almost certain to possess an automobile, a radio, a telephone, and an electric flatiron. He and his family spend more money for cosmetics than for books, more for candy than for musical instruments, and more for automobiles and their operation than for houses.

Thus we might go on and on, using cold statistics as a basis for our description. We could even arrive at the probable color of his eyes and his hair, the probable size of his shoes or his hat, and his probable height and weight. We could even say that when he joined the army in World War II he was one inch taller and five pounds heavier than his father was in World War I. Our description of the typical American, however, would remain incomplete even if we considered all these details. It is as unsatisfactory

to measure human beings by statistics as it is to measure what we accomplish solely in terms of dollars and cents.

The typical American has a much greater share of the world's wealth than most people in the world. As a result he has a higher standard of living. He has better food and more of it; he possesses finer clothes and a better-furnished home; and he has more money to spend on luxuries. His prosperity is illustrated by the fact that although Americans made up only about a one-sixteenth part of the world's population in 1940, they owned more than two thirds of the world's automobiles. Because of our great wealth, we have a great opportunity in science, culture, and the solving of social problems. On the other hand the typical American is much more wasteful, and more careless in his spending, than his cousins across the seas. Also he is likely to seem to them a bit boastful about his good fortune; to place too much importance on the dollar sign; and to give too much attention to his personal pleasure. He gives less attention to government than a citizen in a democracy should. He does not realize fully that the kind of government he has depends on whether he votes and how he votes. He has made the mistake of not giving sufficient thought to our relations with other nations.

But, after all, one cannot describe a typical American; there are many typical Americans. Variety is one of the finest qualities of American life. Texas cowboys, Iowa farmers, California fruitgrowers, stenographers and school teachers, blonds and brunettes, Indians and immigrants from every land under the sun, labor leaders and employers, football heroes

and movie stars and newsboys and railroad conductors and aviators and miners — all these are Americans. The typical American is one who loves his country and wants to make it better. The typical American looks like almost any person you can meet.

Actual Americans

There are many actual Americans who could be regarded as typical in one way or another. Ernie Pyle was born on an Indiana farm. When the time arrived to select his career, he decided to be a reporter. He was a typical or average reporter until he was forty. In 1940 he was in Africa hurrying to an interview when German planes attacked. He dived into a ditch for protection. After the planes were gone, he tapped a soldier on the shoulder and said, "Whew, that was close, eh?" There was no answer. The soldier was dead. Ernie Pyle forgot his interview and began to write on the war. He was a shy, sickly man who disliked war, but became the best-known reporter of World War II. He was later killed in action, and lies buried on a far-away island in the Pacific.

Clyde Tombaugh husked corn for a neighbor for a dollar a day so he could buy lenses to gaze at stars. He sometimes spent a whole night with his home-made telescope. The neighbors laughed; even his brothers and sisters made fun of him. But he secured a real job in an important observatory, and in February, 1930, he discovered a new planet, Pluto. This was the most startling discovery in astronomy in a hundred years. In 1929, Clyde Tombaugh was considered a joke by the farmers of Kansas; in 1930 at twenty-four years of



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Audie Murphy, as he appeared at the age of twenty-two, was the holder of 17 war decorations, making him the "most decorated GI."



Acme

Bob Feller won 27 baseball games for the Cleveland Indians in 1940 and was presented the "most valuable player" award for the year.

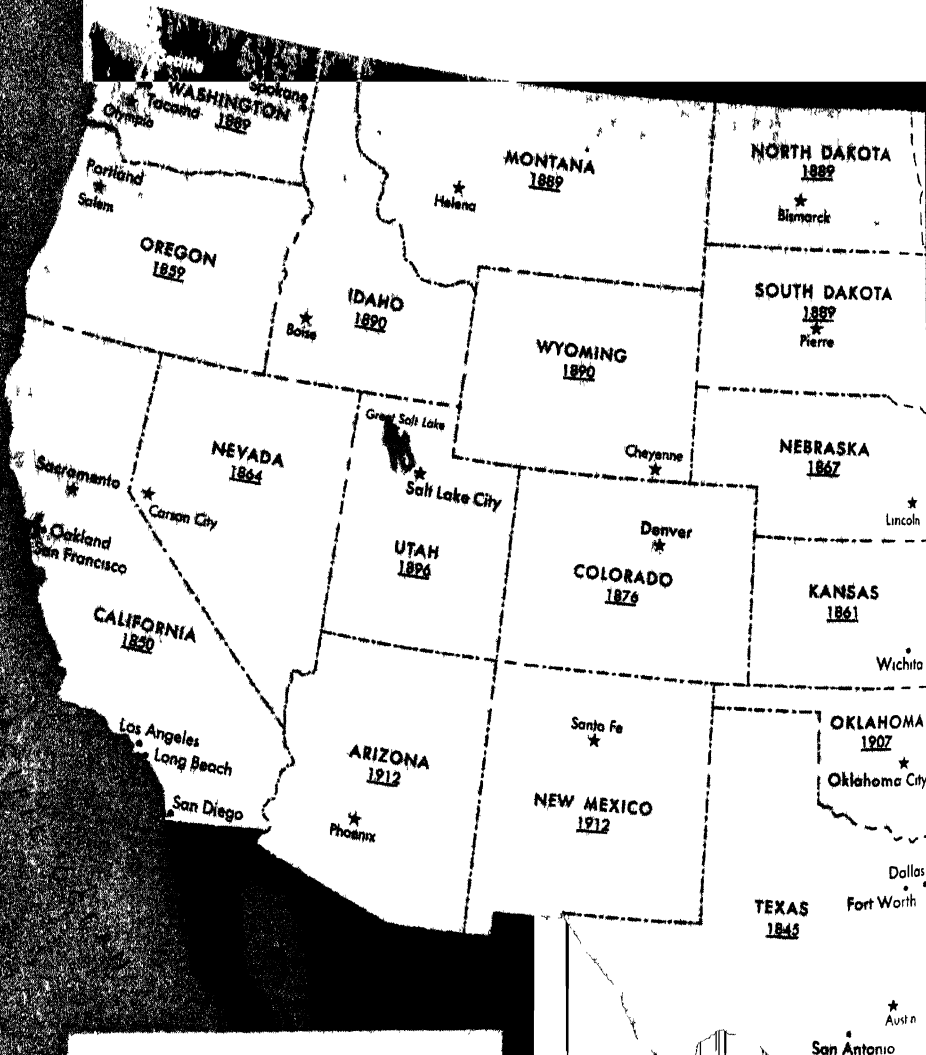
age he seemed on his way to become one of the world's great astronomers.

Marian Anderson was born in Philadelphia in 1908. Her father sold ice and coal, but his income was so small that her mother was forced to take in washing. At the age of eight she earned her first fee as a singer, fifty cents. In 1925 she competed with more than three hundred young singers for the honor of appearing with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, and easily won first place. In 1936 she sang at Carnegie Hall and became recognized as one of the greatest American singers of all time. In 1939 she received an award for the "highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year."

Bob Feller was an Iowa boy who liked to play baseball. He began to

play ball about as soon as he could walk. At ten years of age, when in the sixth grade, he organized a baseball team which defeated the high-school squad seven times in eight games. He was willing to spend long hours of practice when the other boys preferred to rest. In 1936 at seventeen years of age he was ready for the major leagues. He arrived in Cleveland in the middle of the season and broke the league record by making seventeen strikeouts in one game, more than had ever been made by such famous pitchers as Walter Johnson. Feller was on his way to become one of the great heroes of American sport.

Audie Murphy lived in Farmersville, Texas. At the age of eighteen he enlisted in the United States Army for worthy service in World War II.



THE UNITED STATES

1864 Dates of admission

- ★ St Paul or St Paul Capital cities of 100,000 and over
- ★ Frankfort or Frankfort Other capital cities
- St Louis or St Louis Other cities of 100,000 and over





Acme

Wendell Willkie, Republican candidate for President in 1940, wrote a book entitled *One World* which helped to change our attitude toward our world neighbors.

For three long years he fought through the campaigns of Africa, Sicily, Italy, and France. He received the Distinguished Service Cross for capturing a German garrison, and the Congressional Medal of Honor for halting the advance of 250 Germans single-handed. When he celebrated his twenty-first birthday in 1945, he had fourteen medals which made him the "most decorated combat infantryman in the Army."

Wendell Willkie was born in Elwood, Indiana, in 1892. He became a lawyer in 1916, and the president of one of our nation's largest public utility companies in 1933. In 1940 he was nominated by the Republican party for the office of President of the United States, but was not elected. He wrote a book entitled *One World*

which convinced many Americans that the United States could no longer ignore other nations and remain isolated from its world neighbors. Willkie died in 1944, but his views helped to shape the nation's future.

Carl Hatch was born in Kirwin, Kansas, in 1889, the son of pioneers. At the age of sixteen he became a clerk in his father's hardware store in Oklahoma. He eventually became a lawyer and in 1933 became a member of the United States Senate. In the Senate he was untiring in his support of clean government. He fought against corruption in any form. Due largely to his efforts, laws were passed seeking to prevent the corrupt use of political influence and money in government. Hatch was a reformer who hoped to make our nation a better and finer democracy.

There were many other Americans who became famous for their achievements. There were even more whose names did not appear in newspapers but who rendered important services to the world. There were men and women in the armed services who were quietly risking their lives to defend their country and help make a better world. Vast numbers of men and women in the churches, in the schools, and in the homes quietly spent their lives trying to make the next generation of Americans better and more capable to manage the world of tomorrow. Farmers and workers provided the food, goods, and services upon which the existence of the world depended. Most Americans were contributing, through their work, to the common good. The average or typical American had dignity and self-respect. The welfare of the nation depended upon all its citizens.

Study Activities

1. *Cross Reference.* As you begin the study of Chapter 33 study the map of the United States on pages 546-547. Compare it with earlier maps to have a clear picture of our growth.

2. "*A Nation of Nations.*" In 1944 the American author, Louis Adamic, published a book about the people of the United States called *A Nation of Nations* (Harper & Brothers). The book tells the story of Americans who came from all sections of the world. Make a list of all the national origin groups in the United States. Write a paragraph explaining what you think Adamic meant by the title of this book — *A Nation of Nations*.

3. *A Pageant of Peoples.* Write a revue or pageant in which representatives of the various groups living in America appear and tell what problems they encountered in becoming Americans and what contributions they have made to American life. Perhaps the pageant can be staged for the school assembly.

4. *Immigration Restriction.* When the United States government decided in the 1920's to restrict immigration on a quota basis the policy followed throughout our earlier history was changed. The "open door" was almost completely closed. Draw a cartoon showing the importance of this event in our history. If you had been a member of Congress at the time would you have voted for or against the "quota laws"?

5. *A Population Map.* In the appendix of the textbook is a table in which the population of each state is given. On an outline map of the United States draw a group of dots in each state — one dot for each 100,000 people — showing the approximate population of the state. Using the figures in the table find out the answers to the following questions:

How many people live in the states on the Pacific Coast?

How many live in New England?

How many live in the states on the Atlantic Coast?

About how many live in the Mississippi Valley?

6. *The Typical Class Member.* In Chapter 33 the difficulty of determining who is a typical American is pointed out. It is difficult also to determine the typical member of your class. Secure the following data for each class member — exact age, height, weight, color of eyes, color and texture of hair, and color of skin. Can you determine from this information who the typical class member is? Is there a difference between *average* and *typical*?

7. *Biographies of Americans.* In Chapter 33 are brief descriptions of a number of different Americans — Wendell Willkie, Marian Anderson, Bob Feller, etc. In one sense all of these are typical Americans; certainly they are all good Americans. So are millions of other people whose names do not appear in history books. Prepare a booklet of good Americans you know; have each member of the class select one person *whom he knows and considers a good American citizen*, and then write a one-paragraph biography of the person. Read the biographies in class, and compare your choice with the persons mentioned in Chapter 33.

8. *Books about Some Americans.* In the library you can no doubt find many interesting books about interesting people in our country. Try to find the following and then report on them to the class.

Shirley Graham, *Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1946.

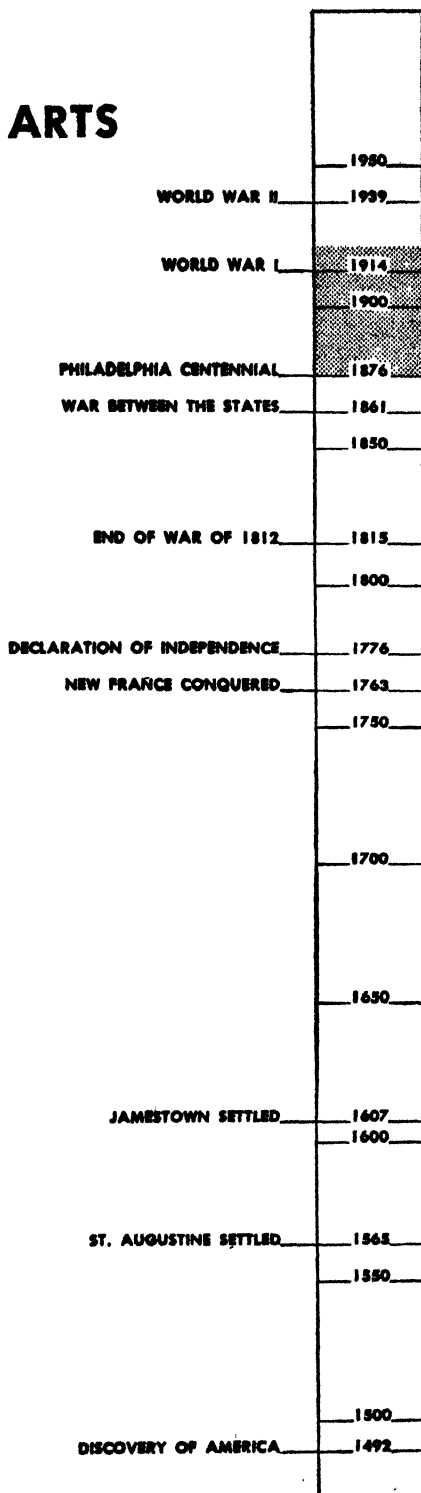
Alden Hatch, *Young Willkie*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944.

Jacob A. Riis, *The Making of an American*, The Macmillan Company, 1933.

CHAPTER 34

ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE ARTS

1923 "RHAPSODY IN BLUE"
 1915 ORIGIN OF THEATRE GUILD
 1914 FIRST IMPORTANT MOVIE
 1899 "MAN WITH A HOE" POEM PUBLISHED
 1885 FIRST SKYSCRAPER
 1883 GRAND OPERA WELL ESTABLISHED
 1878 NEW YORK SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
 1876 AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION



"Art is a commodity that some
 creative spirit has produced to give
 you a more beautiful environment
 in which to live."

Peyton Boswell, Jr.

LITERATURE

It was in the period between 1876 and 1900 that the United States became a really wealthy nation. No longer was the enjoyment of literature, painting, sculpture, the drama, and fine music reserved for a favored section of our population. Ordinary citizens possessed money enough to purchase books after buying such necessities of life as food and clothing. Due to an improved school system more people were able to read than ever before. A great audience was created for the works of our poets and other authors. More and more Americans could earn a living by writing.

Many Americans were not greatly concerned whether the books they read possessed any real value as literature. They were satisfied with books that were exciting and amusing, even though poorly written and worthless so far as any lasting benefit was concerned. The number of great writers, however, was increasing, and gradually the "reading taste" of Americans was improving.

Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, who were already famous in 1876, lived far into the second century of our independence, Whitman until 1892 and Twain until 1910. Twain wrote *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in 1884. This book told of the wanderings of two boys who ran away from home and had many adventures floating down the Mississippi on a raft with a faithful Negro, Jim.

New Authors

New novelists wrote about a variety of subjects. General Lewis

Wallace thrilled boys and men alike with the stirring chariot race in *Ben Hur*. Helen Hunt Jackson aroused sympathy for the Indian in her novel *Ramona*. In the south Joel Chandler Harris published volumes of "Uncle Remus" tales for children. Jack London wrote adventure stories. He became a tramp at the age of eighteen. He wandered for more than ten thousand miles in the United States and Canada in the 1890's. In 1903 he wrote *The Call of the Wild*, a story of Alaska's frozen wilderness. His main character was a dog named Buck that was stolen from a fine home and forced to draw a sledge in the northland. At the end, Buck became the leader of a pack of wolves.

Many recent novels and short stories have tended to deal with social problems. Some have been about industrial workers in our cities; some have been concerned mainly with farm life; while others, such as Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*, have been about small towns. In addition to producing fine literature, the writers of these stories have made it possible for Americans in all parts of the nation to understand one another better.

Edwin Markham was of special importance among our poets. He was born in Oregon, but spent his boyhood on a California ranch; he was educated to become a lawyer, but became an educator instead; and although his poetry was fine literature, it was mainly important because of its influence on public opinion. He had an experience which showed

that in literature and art there were no longer any national boundary lines. For years he carried in his mind a picture entitled "The Man with the Hoe," painted by a great French artist, Millet (mē-lě'). It was a picture of a French peasant pausing in his work; tired, weary and forlorn. Markham felt drawn to this peasant; in fact, he himself had been born such a man. He regarded Millet's peasant as an illustration of the common man everywhere, in all ages — the toiler in the factory as well as in the field. He wrote a poem bearing the same title as the picture. This was published in 1899.

First Markham described the common man as follows:

"Bowed by the weight of centuries he
leans

Upon his hoe and gazes at the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the
world."

Then the poet began to ask questions:

"Is this the Thing the Lord God made
and gave

To have dominion over sea and land?"

and

"O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this
Man?"

Common American citizens everywhere came to think of themselves as men with hoes and bearing the burdens of the earth. The influence of the poem was greater at this time than it would have been otherwise, because the struggle with the great trusts was just reaching its climax. "The Man with the Hoe" was looked upon as a sort of declaration of independence by the common man. The public

opinion aroused by the poem made the regulation of the trusts easier. It was no accident that the next year after Markham's poem was printed at least twenty-eight books and one hundred and fifty magazine articles were written about trusts. One of the nation's leading railway builders recognized that poetry could be important in shaping the political growth of the United States. He vainly offered money to anyone who would write a poem in answer to Markham. Markham's poem was not confined to national boundaries any more than Millet's picture. Men in other lands asked Markham's questions as they gazed again at Millet's art. In their turn they considered themselves as men with hoes. It was said that Markham had created "the battle cry of the next thousand years."

Robert Frost became an interesting poet of an entirely different type. He was born in San Francisco in 1875, and lived in England for some time, but became a poet of New England. At one time he worked in a mill; at another time he taught in Amherst College. He wrote of subjects which were commonplace — of a hired man asleep beside the kitchen stove, birch trees bowed down by ice storms, a calf so young that it tottered beside its mother, and a cow as "she bellows on a knoll against the sky." He told us of

"Blueberries as big as the end of your
thumb,

Real sky-blue, and heavy, and ready to
drum

In the cavernous pail of the first one to
come!

And all ripe together, not some of them
green

And some of them ripe! You ought to have seen!"¹

Carl Sandburg is widely known as Abraham Lincoln's biographer. He is also one of our greatest poets. He was born in Illinois in 1878 of Swedish descent. He had a variety of occupations such as truck handler, dishwasher, and soldier in the Spanish-American War. Here is a poet who is interested in steel mills and prize fighters. It has been said that he describes America "in the raw." Like Whitman, he is perhaps ahead of his time, and also like Whitman he is mainly the poet of democracy. In *The People, Yes*, published in 1936, he declared his firm faith in the common man, stating "man will yet win."

"The people know the salt of the sea
and the strength of the winds
lashing the corners of the earth.
The people take the earth
as a tomb of rest and a cradle of hope."²

Better Libraries

The appreciation of good literature was encouraged by the growth of public libraries. In 1850 there had been but few public libraries except in certain eastern cities; such libraries, however, increased rapidly in size and number as the nation grew in wealth. The father of modern public libraries was Professor Charles C. Jewett, librarian of the Smithsonian Institution. Due to his enthusiasm there was a conference of American librarians in 1853. Out of this

conference grew the American Library Association founded in Philadelphia in 1876. Old libraries were made more efficient, and new free public libraries were formed in increasing numbers. By 1900 there were over nine thousand libraries in America, each possessing three hundred or more volumes and providing books for readers without charge. More than half of these libraries were to be found in the Middle West and Far West. By 1934 the public libraries of the nation possessed a hundred million volumes. In that year the number of books loaned to people who used these libraries was three and two-thirds times as great as the total number of men, women, and children in the nation.

The rapid increase in the number of libraries was partly due to the gifts of men of wealth. Within a period of twenty years (1878-1898) wealthy Americans gave \$36,000,000 for libraries. One sixth of this sum was contributed by Andrew Carnegie alone. By 1919, when Carnegie died, he had given \$60,000,000 to libraries.

Much good literature (and some not good) could be found in magazines (Chapter 35). The increase in the number and circulation of magazines meant that more people could enjoy the reading of literature. Sometimes an entire novel might be included in one copy of a magazine which might sell for twenty-five cents. Many of the great books, such as *Tom Sawyer*, were brought to millions of Americans by means of motion pictures. Sometimes good literature could be heard by radio listeners. In our own day all Americans have the opportunity to enjoy good literature by one means or another.

¹ Reprinted from "Blueberries" included in *Collected Poems of Robert Frost*, 1939. Copyright, 1930, 1939, by Henry Holt and Company, Inc. Copyright, 1936, by Robert Frost.

² From Carl Sandburg, *The People, Yes*, 1936, Harcourt, Brace and Company.

PROGRESS IN THE FINE ARTS

In the Nineteenth Century

In 1876 most Americans did not appreciate the best painting and sculpture being produced at that time. Some of the better artists, such as Winslow Homer, who remained in our country were not appreciated. Other artists, such as Whistler, preferred to live in foreign countries where they were appreciated. Americans who purchased contemporary works of art frequently used poor judgment in what they bought. American art, however, has made great advances since 1876.

George Innes (in'ēs) was our greatest landscape painter in the latter part of the nineteenth century. "After a Summer Shower" was one of his many paintings. The hot dry earth is no longer parched as the shower moves on, but the unusual feature of the picture consists of its varying lights and shadows. John LaFarge (lā-färzh') became an outstanding painter of religious scenes, such as "The Ascension" in a New York church. John Singer Sargent was our greatest portrait painter since 1876. Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847-1917), little known during his early years, is now recognized as a great American painter. The greatest advance, however, in American painting has been quite recent.

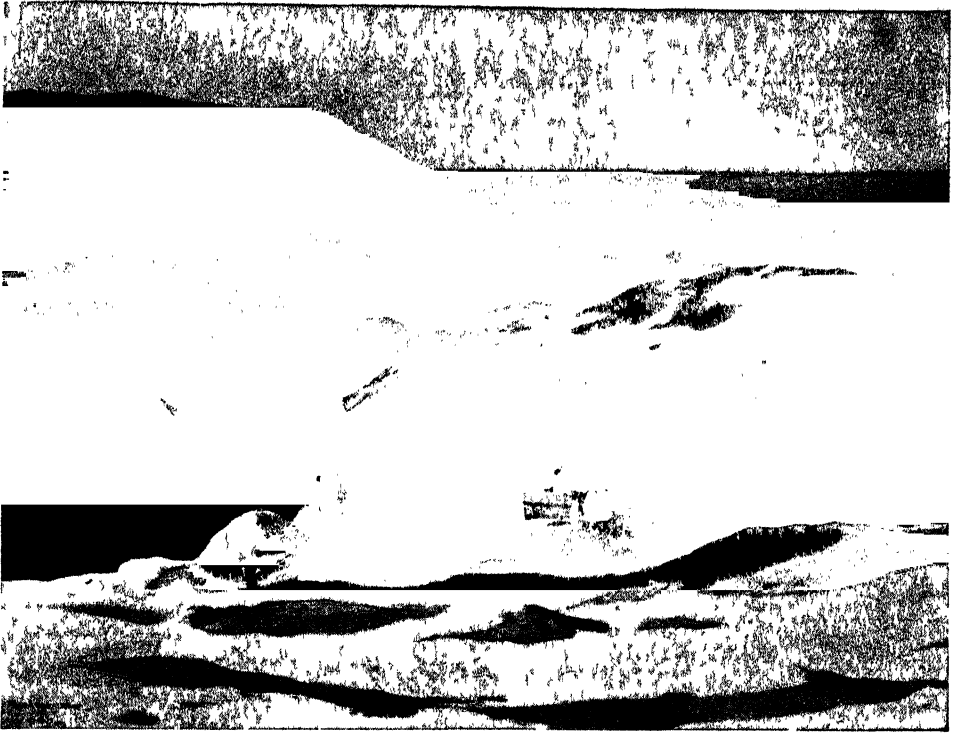
Recent Painters

Increasingly in the last three decades, American artists became more and more aware of American subject matter and less dependent on European influences. They began to step

out of their studios into the fields, the streets, and the factories, and paint life as it existed. The leaders of the new movement in art were John Curry of Kansas, Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, and Grant Wood of Iowa. During the 1930's many other artists followed their example.

Curry was a Kansas farm boy who was used to hard work. He supported himself at the Art Institute of Chicago for two years by sweeping floors and acting as bus boy. In 1930 he painted "Tornado over Kansas." It is a violent scene, showing the tornado funnel swirling toward the rural home; the big, red-headed farmer is shouting at his sons seeking to save their pets as his wife and baby enter the cyclone cellar. Curry once said that "it would be a lively and fitting thing if a community which had raised a well-bred and excellent herd of cattle or a prize-winning horse, or developed an unusual food product, could have these celebrated in good paintings on the walls of community buildings."

Thomas Hart Benton was expected by his family to be a lawyer, but became an artist instead. He studied art in Paris for several years and then tried to earn a living as an artist in New York. He became discouraged, however, and finally gave up his painting for a variety of occupations. Later he decided that he could paint scenes from everyday life, and returned to Missouri. He was hired by the Missouri legislature to paint murals in the new Capitol building. One of his portraits showed life on the Mississippi as described



"Winter," by Rockwell Kent, a popular illustrator and artist, was painted in 1907.

by Mark Twain in *Huckleberry Finn*. Another portrait was of a hold-up by Jesse James, a well-known outlaw. Many people of Missouri objected to such pictures, preferring portraits of heroes and statesmen instead.

Grant Wood was an Iowa farm boy who had to support his mother and sister after he was ten. At the age of twenty-three he lived in poverty with his mother and sister in a shack on the outskirts of Cedar Rapids. He trapped rabbits to obtain food. During World War I he improved his position and became an art teacher in Cedar Rapids after the war ended. Most famous of his paintings in the 1930's was "American Gothic." It pictured a farmer and his wife who seemed as hard and unfriendly as the pitchfork held so conspicuously

by the farmer. The painting won an important prize at the Chicago Art Institute, but some Iowa farmers protested loudly that it held them up to ridicule. Grant Wood became a famous teacher of art at the University of Iowa, and one of the most popular of modern painters.

Stimulated by increased concern over social conditions, many artists painted pictures dealing with social problems such as poverty. George Biddle, for example, painted "Tenement" for the Department of Justice Building in Washington, D. C. This picture consisted of three scenes of the miserable existence of people who lived in tenements, lacking warmth, food, and hope.

Recently other artists have been chiefly concerned with expressing



Courtesy of Senior Scholastic

This painting by Dan Toth, of East Technical High School, Cleveland, Ohio, won first prize in its group in the 1946 Scholastic Art Awards.

their ideas and feelings in abstract paintings which are concerned with shapes and designs in color rather than with pictures of individuals or objects that actually exist. Some of these newer artists are known as Expressionists and Surrealists.

A Greater Interest in Art

Meanwhile more and more Americans had become interested in art. Between 1880 and 1900 the number of American art museums had increased from 40 to 120. Wealthy Americans spent large sums of money to purchase paintings for these museums. New improvements in photography and printing made it possible to produce excellent likenesses of famous works of art in large quantities

at low cost. You may find many of the world's great paintings shown in special volumes in your school library, or included in encyclopedias such as the *Pageant of America*. You may find some of them occasionally in the magazines. Business firms such as the Merchandise Market in Chicago and the Groos Bank of San Antonio have decorated their walls with art. Art classes in schools have made boys and girls acquainted with art and inspired an interest in painting. Some universities have art departments, and support painters who live on the campus but teach no regular classes.

During the 1930's the support of the government became very important in the growth of art. At first the main concern of the government



The Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.

"Railroad Gantry" by Charles Burchfield, a water-color painting, shows a typical American scene, painted in a bold, simple style

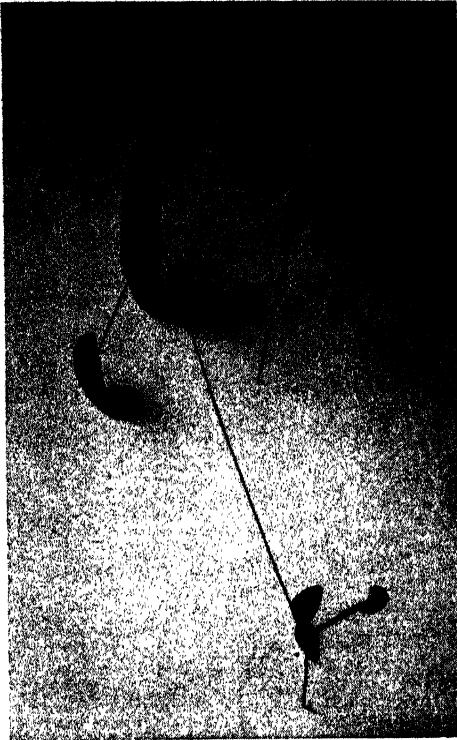
was the relief of unemployed artists. In one year three thousand needy artists were hired to paint for the government, most of them on murals. It was soon realized, however, that the government should encourage art for art's sake — not just to keep artists from starving. A section of Fine Arts was set up within the Treasury Department. By March, 1939, the government had purchased hundreds of murals for decorating public buildings throughout the nation. Congress passed a law providing that one per cent of the cost of each building erected by the government should be used for art. Many buildings were erected in communities remote from art museums and exhibits. More Americans were able to see different

kinds of art than ever before; and more Americans were painting pictures than ever before.

Sculpture

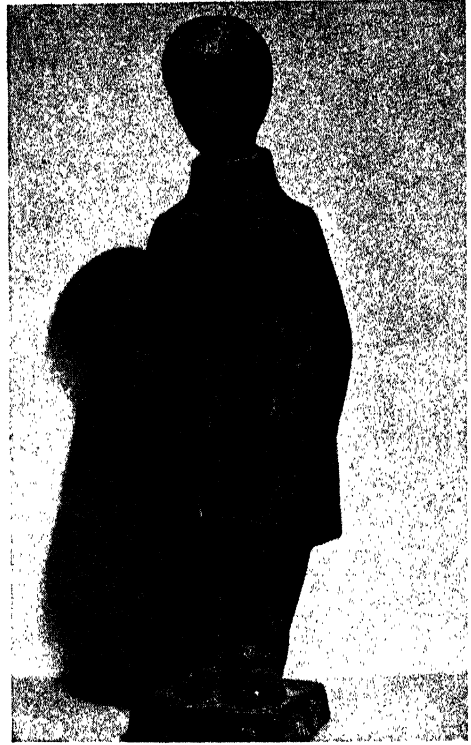
American sculpture was very slow to develop, and lagged behind other forms of fine art. The quality of American sculpture has been very greatly improved, however.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who was mentioned in Chapter 21, was one of the greatest sculptors our nation has ever produced. Daniel Chester French is perhaps the best-known. French was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1850. His first real success was the "Minute Man" (page 351), a figure in bronze which was unveiled at Concord, Massachusetts, in 1875. His



The Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.

"Constellation with Red Object," an abstract arrangement of wood and steel rods by Alexander Calder.



The Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.

"Miner's Son," a cast-iron piece of sculpture, by Bernard Walsh. Compare this figure with "The Minute Man," page 351.

greatest success, however, was the Lincoln Memorial, a huge marble statue which was unveiled in Washington, D. C., in 1920.

A sculptor of different ambition was Gutzon Borglum, a native of Idaho. He was not content to make statues of ordinary size. He preferred to carve huge figures out of mountain rock in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Here we find enormous faces of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Some of our leading sculptors were born in other lands. Carl Milles (mī'lēz) was born in Sweden in 1875 and first visited the United States in 1929. He is perhaps best known for his "Meeting of the Rivers Fountain"

which he completed in 1940 at St. Louis, Missouri. Gaston Lachaise (lă-shěz') was born in France in 1882 but came to the United States in 1906. He became noted for decorative sculpture which he created in Rockefeller Center in New York. William Zorach (zō'rāk) was born in Lithuania in 1887, and come to our country as a child. He became noted as a sculptor working on the Post Office Department Building in Washington, D. C.

Many other sculptors have created beauty out of stone and metal. Cities from one ocean to the other have erected statues adding grace and beauty to parks and public squares. During the 1920's the sale of statues

doubled, due to prosperous times; but even in the hard times of the 1930's sculpture flourished. Due to assistance from the Federal government 3500 sculptures were produced by WPA (Works Progress Administration) workers alone. Today the average man, even in remote country towns, is aware of beauty in stone and metal.

Music

Music increased in importance in much the same way as painting and sculpture. The New York Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1878. By 1900 there were similar orchestras in Minneapolis, New Orleans, and Seattle. Grand opera became established on a firm footing in New York in 1883. An increasing number of free public concerts interested more people in good music, especially in the 1920's. Then during the 1930's the Federal government supported 162 symphony and concert orchestras made up of unemployed musicians who gave public performances. The greatest influence, however, was that of the radio. The New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra began its Sunday afternoon broadcast concerts in 1930, and millions of Americans had the opportunity to hear the best music to be found anywhere. In 1931 grand opera was broadcast, and the public response was very favorable.

Meanwhile American composers were increasing in importance. Edward MacDowell, a native New Yorker, is considered by many authorities to have been one of the best, but you may be better acquainted with Victor Herbert's light opera "Babes in Toyland" or with the stirring



Courtesy of Mrs. Rose Gershwin

"My people are American, my time is today. Music must repeat the thought and aspirations of the times," said the composer George Gershwin, (p. 560).

marches of John Philip Sousa (sōō'sá), such as his "Stars and Stripes Forever." In the 1940's the work of several new American composers was presented in the concert hall, in the movies, and over the radio.

An interesting development took place in popular music. American composers had been influenced by Negro and Indian folksongs since the time of Stephen Foster. In the twentieth century, however, our composers were influenced increasingly by Negro rhythm. This new rhythm found expression at first as "ragtime," then during World War I as "jazz," and more recently as "swing." Jazz was introduced into Europe by bands of Negro soldiers after the United States entered World War I. From Europe jazz spread all over the world. The Queen of England liked the new rhythm and danced the tango.

American jazz orchestras played in such far-off cities as Cairo, Shanghai, and Tokyo.

At first music conductors looked upon the new rhythm as a fad. Jazz, however, had become respectable by the time George Gershwin composed "Rhapsody in Blue" in 1923. Many song writers such as Irving Berlin became popular for their compositions which were based on jazz rhythm. "Alexander's Ragtime Band" was one of Berlin's favorites. Jazz bands, notably that conducted by Paul Whiteman, played the new kind of music on concert tours in this country and abroad. Jazz was finally recognized by such authorities as Walter Damrosch as a real contribution to world music.

Drama

Another fine art that has made great advance since 1876 is the drama. Theater audiences increased in size and number with the growth of industry and the crowding of Americans into cities. There were three times as many actors in 1900 as in 1880. The quality of acting was also very much improved. The theaters received strong competition from minstrel shows and the circus, and half of the people who went to theaters in the 1890's preferred vaudeville to plays, but drama increased rapidly in popularity.

In 1915 a group of New York actors, authors, and artists joined together to develop "new and artistic methods of acting, producing, and writing for the American stage." They rented a small theater, made their own scenery and costumes, and presented a program of four one-act plays with tickets selling for fifty

cents. The experiment was a success, and the actors rapidly became famous under the name "Theatre Guild" which they adopted in 1919. Better productions were made possible by superior acting ability. The Guild was especially interested in plays written by Americans, such as Eugene O'Neill's "Strange Interlude." During the 1920's the Guild began to send out road companies of actors to other cities and towns. Groups of actors in other parts of the nation had similar organizations. Summer Theater groups became popular in resort centers. More Americans were able to see fine plays and fine acting than ever before.

Theater buildings were improved in quality. They were less likely to be poorly ventilated fire traps with their audiences seated in uncomfortable chairs watching actors move around clumsy, awkward scenery on poorly equipped stages. There were better lighting facilities and finer music. Stage designing reached a new high level in the United States. These changes led to better acting and greater appreciation by the audience.

The drama was greatly influenced by motion pictures and radio, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following Chapter 35. The first important motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation" was produced by David W. Griffith in 1914; the first full-length talking picture was made in 1927; while the first all-colored picture was "Becky Sharp" in 1935. Meanwhile in the 1920's radios came into general use. Demands for actors increased more than ever. Some actors, following the example of Katharine Cornell, confined their

efforts to drama. Others such as James Cagney and Helen Hayes took part in motion pictures and in radio plays in addition to acting on the stage. During the hard times of the 1930's drama received assistance from the government. Federal money made possible the presentation of a thou-

sand different plays to a total audience of nearly forty million people. With the development of television the time may not be far off when the ordinary American citizen by pressing a button will be able to enjoy the best of drama in his own home as thoroughly as if he were in a theater.

BEAUTY IN BUILDINGS

American interest in architecture increased after the World Fair of 1876. Buildings were of no particular style, but of various styles. Sometimes buildings which possessed beauty by themselves were grouped together in a way which was unpleasant. Their owners did not realize that certain styles of architecture would clash, just as certain combinations of color in our clothes do not present a pleasant appearance. Some homes erected for the new American millionaires were notable only because of their size and cost; other houses were extremely beautiful.

The Skyscraper

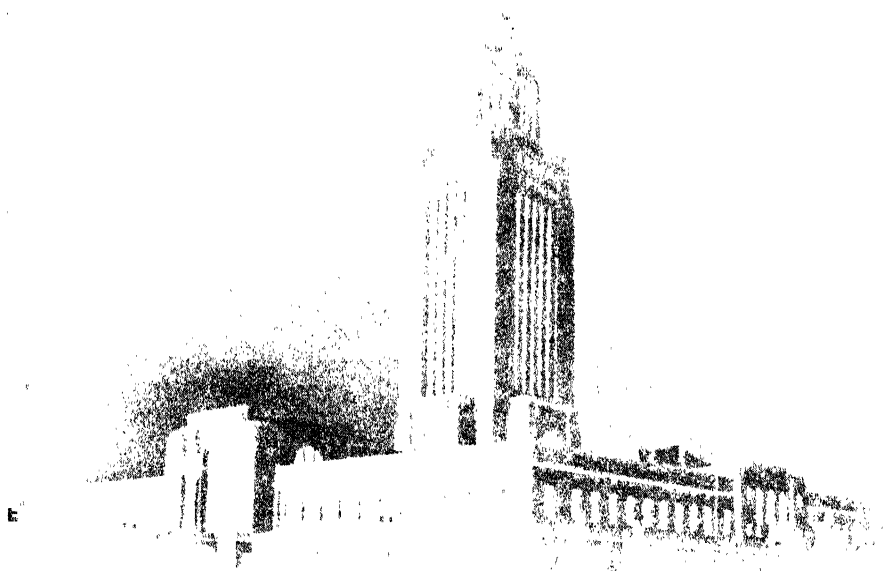
Perhaps the greatest contribution in architecture has been the skyscraper. The need for skyscrapers arose because of the crowded conditions of our large cities and the high price of real estate. Buildings could not be made wider or longer but could be made higher. The production of fine steel to support heavy structures and the invention of elevators made high buildings practical. The first skyscraper was the Home Insurance Building of Chicago. It was built in 1885 and was ten stories high.

The first skyscrapers were heavy in appearance, with cornices, or orna-

mental moldings, along the tops of the buildings, and with a variety of decorations. The architect who, more than any other, was connected with these early skyscrapers was Louis Sullivan (1856-1924). After the twentieth century opened, towers were added to skyscrapers. These towers had points and spires such as are generally associated with the Gothic style. Perhaps the best known of these Gothic skyscrapers is the Woolworth Building of fifty-one stories, erected in New York in 1913. Another Gothic skyscraper is the *Chicago Tribune* Building erected in the 1920's. So many high buildings were erected in our large cities that there was insufficient light. Laws were then passed that buildings above a certain height must be stepped backward from the street line to provide more light. A new type of skyscraper architecture resulted. There were few towers, points, spires, steeples, or domes. The lines were simple, with very little decoration or ornaments. Radio City in New York is an example of the latest style of skyscraper construction.

Public Buildings and Homes

More beautiful public buildings were built than ever before. Some-


Keystone

The tower of Nebraska's striking Capitol at Lincoln has at the top a 32-foot bronze statue of "The Sower." This is a fitting symbol for one of the greatest agricultural states in the Union.

times the post office was the finest building in a community; sometimes the local schoolhouse could take pride in its architecture. The State Capitol of Nebraska is noted for its beauty. Then there are many attractive railroad stations, as in Cincinnati and Los Angeles.

Styles of architecture were changing everywhere. Suburban towns looked more and more like the residential districts of near-by cities. Everywhere, styles of building were becoming more nearly standard. The New England type of architecture ceased to be peculiar to that section alone, and the Midwestern bungalow ceased to be bound to the Midwest.

Frank Lloyd Wright has been outstanding among recent American architects. He was born in Wisconsin

in 1869 but practiced in Chicago after 1893. The homes he built were low, and flat, with horizontal lines. His windows were close together, forming bands the entire length of the house. Rounded bay windows and cupolas were not to be seen. His buildings seemed to fit into the landscape for which they were planned.

Modern houses are small, simple, and plain — as compared with houses of the past. They are constructed in such a way as to serve best the family needs. Kitchens in particular are built to eliminate waste motions and extra steps. Furniture tends to be simple and plain. Rooms have a greater appearance of cheerfulness not only because of added window space but because of lighter woodwork and lighter colored cur-

tains and rugs. Americans are also giving greater attention to the way their furniture should be arranged, and to "home decoration."

Community Appearance

One of the most important changes has been concerned with community appearance. Since 1908 considerable thought has been given to city planning. By 1928 more than 700 communities had made arrangements for zoning which safeguarded residential sections against factories, gas stations, and stores. More trees were planted and cared for. Streets were widened and paved. Telephone and electric wires which had increased in number until they seemed to fill some streets were gathered together and placed underground. One of the greatest improvements has resulted from lighting. In 1879 Charles F. Brush illuminated the public square of Cleveland with electricity, bringing an end to the dim rays from gas lamp-

posts and the yellow glow of kerosene lamps. Since that time outdoor lighting has had many improvements, but the best results have been obtained through use of a gas called neon. Many streets which appear drab and dreary in the noonday sun glitter throughout the night because of neon's dazzling light.

Our vast highway systems are constructed in a manner to please the eye as well as to provide easy and speedy transportation. Over our rivers stretch beautiful bridges. Our parks and parkways are a source of pleasure because of the beauty created by the landscape gardener. An ever-increasing army of Americans take pride in well-kept lawns and attractive flower beds. Indeed, Americans are becoming increasingly interested in all forms of art. We realize that we need good literature and music and beautiful paintings, sculpture, and architecture in addition to such basic needs as food, clothing, and shelter.

Study Activities

1. *A Review.* In Chapter 21 is told the story of literature and art during the first century of the United States. Review that chapter as you begin studying Chapter 34. Combine the time lines given at the beginning of each of the two chapters into a single time-line on the history of literature and the arts in the United States. What date-events would you add to the time line? What would your teachers of literature, art, and music add?

2. *Conversation about Books.* Discuss in class books by Americans written since 1876 which members of the class have read. Each person should be able to report on at least one book or author he especially likes.

3. *Comics.* In Chapter 34 no mention is made of the comics. Comic strips and magazines have been produced only in recent years, and are now extremely popular. Do you think the comics are literature? Are they art? Do you think they contribute to education? As if you were writing a paragraph or two to add to Chapter 34, write an account of the popularity of comics and an explanation of it.

4. *Libraries.* Chapter 34 tells briefly of the history of public libraries in the United States. Libraries are of great importance in the education of Americans. Designate a committee to consult the librarian of the public library in your community, and prepare a history of the

library. Include in your report data about the number and kinds of books in the library, the number of people who use it, and the library's services to the community.

5. *An Art Exhibit.* In co-operation with the teacher of art in your school, arrange an art exhibit. In your art exhibit show reproductions of paintings by American artists since 1876. Prepare explanatory notes about the artists whose works are included in your exhibit. Which of the pictures do you like best? Why?

Can members of your class make a list of the good paintings by American artists which are to be found in your community? If your community is not too large, have pupils list the murals which are to be found in public buildings, and the good, original paintings in the possession of local organizations or individuals. The editor of your community newspaper might be interested in publishing your list of paintings.

The sculptors Saint-Gaudens, French, Borglum, Milles, Lachaise, and Zorach are mentioned in Chapter 34. With the help of your art teacher try to locate pictures of the great pieces of sculpture made by these artists and exhibit the pictures, with explanatory placards about the sculptors.

6. *A Painting by Grant Wood.* The account of Grant Wood given in Chapter 34 indicates that he was at one time a teacher of art. While he was teacher in a high school, a contest was held among the pupils there; the prize was a small picture of two horses painted by Grant Wood. The boy who won the prize was disappointed in it, and his mother put the picture away in the attic. Years later, when Wood had become a famous artist, the picture was remembered and brought down from the attic. Is it true that many people do not "like" paintings until the artist is famous? How can you tell what makes a painting good?

7. *Your Favorite Music.* Take a poll among the class members to find out the favorite piece of music of each pupil. Who were the composers of the various selections? When were the selections written? Why is it that so much "popular" music is quickly forgotten while "classical" music is played and replayed for many decades?

Arrange for class members to listen to broadcasts of symphony orchestras during the time the class is studying Chapter 34.

8. *Movies as Drama.* Make a list of all the movies seen by members of the class during the past month. Then classify the movies under the headings — Excellent Plays, Mediocre Plays, Trash. What makes a movie good drama? What are the best movies the class members have ever seen?

Can your school or your local theater arrange a series of movies to show the history of the development of motion pictures?

9. *The Little Theater.* If there is a Little Theater or a Summer Theater in your community, appoint a committee of pupils to report on its history.

10. *Beauty in Buildings.* Make a list of the five most beautiful buildings in your community. When were they built? Of what architectural style are they? Why do you consider them beautiful?

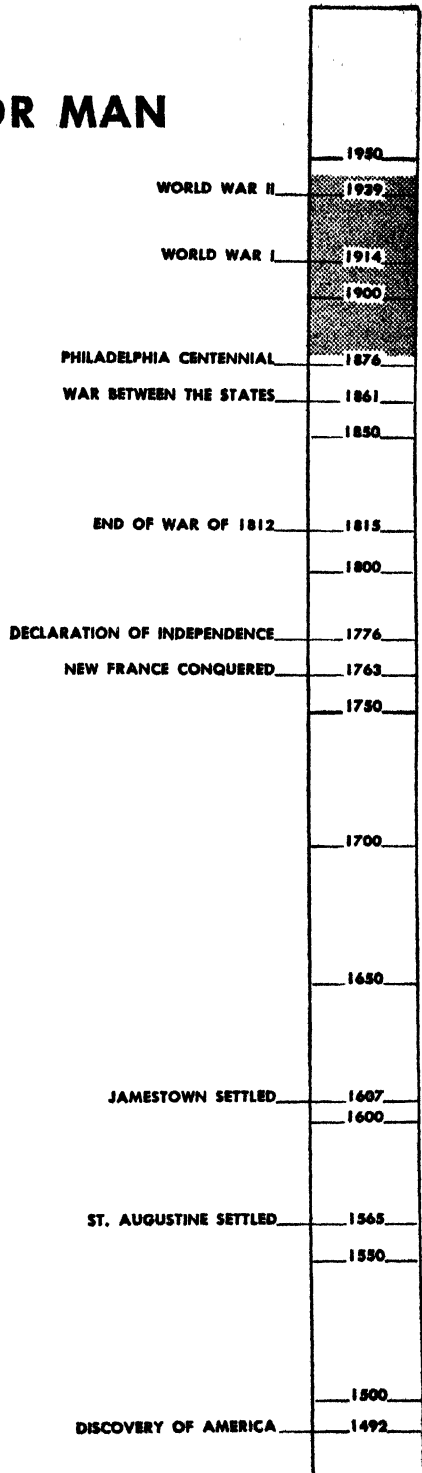
11. *Modern Homes.* As suggested in Chapter 34, a development in recent American architecture is "modern housing." Make a collection of pictures of modern homes. Re-examine pictures which show homes of an earlier period of our nation's history. What homes do you like best? Why?

12. *Community Planning.* Many American communities have "just grown," and are like a hodge-podge. Other communities have been planned very carefully — as, for example, Washington and Philadelphia. Does your community have a plan for its future growth?

CHAPTER 35

SCIENCE AT WORK FOR MAN

1945 ATOMIC ENERGY USED
1941 PENICILLIN FIRST USED
1936 COMPLETION OF BOULDER DAM
1935 SULFA DRUGS INTRODUCED
1920 FIRST RADIO BROADCASTING
1906 PURE FOOD AND DRUGS ACT
1884 TARDEAU LEADS THE WAR AGAINST
TUBERCULOSIS
1879 ELECTRIC LIGHT INVENTED



"Our scientists are preparing to make
man the master of infinite new sources of
power with which to create or to destroy."

David Sarnoff

IN HOMES AND COMMUNITIES

The Electric Light

Thomas A. Edison was one of the greatest inventors our nation has produced. Most of his inventions had to do with electricity. His discoveries were made possible by other American pioneers in science such as Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Henry (see Chapter 20), and by foreign scientists as well. The greatest of Edison's inventions was the electric light. He tried out thousands of different substances to find a suitable material to produce light, and thousands of times he failed. He would not give up, however. He kept on experimenting, eating while he worked and taking but little time off for sleep. At last, in 1879, he was rewarded; a carbonized thread burned for forty-five hours. Edison and his assistants just sat and looked, fascinated as the lamp continued to burn. This light was much superior to the smelly, unsteady, and dangerous kerosene lamps.

In 1907 other inventors produced much better lights with the metal tungsten. These lights burned from one thousand to two thousand hours. In 1938 fluorescent lights came into use. They provided light that was similar to daylight, and which was much superior to the yellow glow cast by the tungsten bulbs. Lamps were built for indirect lighting so that light would be spread evenly around the room instead of causing glare and shadows. By 1940 more than a billion bulbs a year were being sold in the United States. The number of Ameri-

cans who had electric lights increased rapidly. Four times as many farmhouses had electric lights in 1935 as in 1924, and most city homes had electric lights by 1940.

Other Achievements in Electricity

The use of electrical appliances in the home has developed mostly since World War I. The electric flatiron outnumbers any other electrical appliance by at least two to one. No longer is it necessary for a housewife, who has electricity in her home, to heat a flatiron on a stove. Back in the nineteenth century the invention of a flatiron with a detachable handle was considered a great improvement, but electricity made all such improvements seem unimportant. Thanks to the electric iron the housewife's work on ironing day is much cooler, simpler, easier, and more satisfactory.

The most important electrical appliance of the 1920's, in terms of dollars and cents, was the vacuum cleaner. In 1929 it amounted in value to more than forty per cent of all electrical appliances sold. By 1936 there were more than ten million vacuum cleaners in the United States. The modern housewife who owned a vacuum cleaner did not need to use brooms which stirred up the dust and failed to reach much of the dirt. She could make her home really clean by using her vacuum cleaner to pick up the dirt.

There were by 1936 as many electric toasters and electric clocks as there were vacuum cleaners. Due

to the former invention, if the toaster was automatic, breakfast became free from grumbling about burnt toast. Due to the latter invention it was no longer necessary to guess what the correct time might be. The electric range, however, was more important than either of these, even though there were not one seventh as many. These ranges were constantly improved with various devices. These improvements enabled housewives to keep ovens at an even temperature and to leave home with a roast in the oven with the knowledge that the heat would turn off at the correct time. In 1940 a range was produced with two hundred fewer parts and weighing eighty pounds less than previous models. During the same year five-speed cooking units became standard equipment on home ranges. Then, too, many other electrical appliances such as percolators, waffle irons, and roasters came into general use. By 1936 there were six million electric percolators, with new features continually added. For example, in 1940 the use of magnets turned the heat off automatically when the proper temperature was reached. Americans could be reasonably sure how their coffee would taste and certain that they were not consuming much of the drug caffeine.

For every electrical refrigerator produced in 1921 there were 180 in 1929, and 560 in 1937. No longer did the keeping of food depend upon the ice man. No longer was the housewife required to clean sawdust out of her icebox, and empty water from melted ice. Mondays ceased to be dreaded days, due to newer and better washing machines. There had been machines that were run by

hand or by water power as far back as 1876, but they were much less satisfactory than those which used electrical power. Then, too, there were electrical devices that made oil burners operate automatically; electrical water heaters which heated water without requiring a fire in a kitchen stove; and electrical mangles which worked much faster than the ordinary flatiron.

Other Improvements

There were many improvements in the home that were not due to electricity. Millions of Americans who live in large centers of population use gas for cooking and for heating water even now, in spite of the great increase in the use of electricity. One of the most important improvements was the use of aluminum utensils, introduced in the 1890's. Aluminum was lighter and lasted longer than older utensils made of tin or iron. Besides it was free of poisonous materials in its construction. Meanwhile the tin can had proved to be a success and by the 1890's a woman could rejoice that housekeeping, like clothing, was getting to be ready-made. Between 1899 and 1937 the use of canned fruit and vegetables increased 800 per cent. By 1936 a new frankfurter casing made from cellulose could be produced at the length of about 500 miles a day to clothe the 400,000,000 pounds of frankfurters Americans consumed in that year. Many other improvements in foods were also due to our scientists. The development of plastics was so rapid that a great industry was devoted to plastics alone (picture, p. 568).

Meanwhile the bathroom was improved as much as the kitchen. Back



Courtesy, Society of Plastic Industries

Thanks to the researches of the chemist and the skill of industry, we can today enjoy a variety of light, clean, efficient, and pleasing articles made from plastics

in 1850 a few wealthy people could bathe in iron bathtubs. Most Americans, however, took their Saturday-night baths in a wooden bathtub in the middle of the kitchen floor. On such occasions the water was heated on the kitchen range and, after being used, was dumped out into the garden. At the close of the nineteenth century bathtubs were generally constructed of zinc. In the twentieth century zinc was succeeded by porcelain; homes with bathtubs became commonplace; and bathing became a daily habit instead of a weekly event.

At the close of the nineteenth century the most common method of heating homes was by wood-burning stoves set up in the main rooms. Such stoves were unsatisfactory because

the heat was not steady and because of the dirt and dust from wood and ashes. These stoves gradually gave way, especially in city homes, to coal-burning furnaces which heated by hot air, and then by steam or by hot water. Later came the oil burner with its steady heat and cleanliness.

Housewives found more time for recreation because of the many labor-saving inventions. The phonograph was invented by Edison in the 1870's and grew rapidly in popularity. In 1900 three million records were sold. The phonograph became a fixture of the American living room and remained popular even after the coming of the radio in the 1920's.

Most Americans living in villages and cities now obtain purified water from public reservoirs simply by turn-

ing on a faucet instead of carrying water from cisterns, springs, and wells. Sewage is run through filter beds in some places instead of being poured into rivers. Garbage is gathered and fed to hogs or burned in incinerators instead of being allowed to accumulate in city streets. Newer and better fire engines make homeowners more secure against fire.

Great changes took place in transportation in our larger communities. In the latter part of the nineteenth century other large cities followed New York's example in building elevated railways, San Francisco's example in using cable cars, and

Richmond's example in installing electric railways served by overhead trolley wires. Near the end of the century Boston built the first subway; then other large cities built underground transportation routes. In the twentieth century the motor bus appeared, and during the 1920's and 1930's replaced many of the trolleys on the streets.

Some cities own and operate their own transportation systems. Detroit, San Francisco, and Seattle are among the larger cities that had their own street railway systems in the 1940's, and New York City owned many miles of subways.

IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The Automobile and the Airplane

The materials used in our automobiles come from all parts of the world. These materials are transported to various factories to be made into carburetors, speedometers, tires, and the many other parts of the automobile. Then all the parts are transported to huge assembly plants to be fitted together. Here are endless conveyors or chains which carry the automobiles onward as parts are added until the cars are able to leave the plants under their own power. As the automobiles-in-the-making move over the conveyor, certain numbers of minutes are allowed for attaching a transmission gear, an axle, and so on. Each individual employee has his particular job to do. He may hold up his department and possibly the entire plant if he is unable to do his work as scheduled. Henry Ford, who first made automobiles in large

quantities, was able to assemble a machine in 84 minutes by 1914.

Even with the rapid assembling of machines, it was a long time from the smelting of iron ore to the delivery of the finished, painted car. The time required, however, to produce a complete automobile gradually became less and less. By 1935, according to the Ford Motor Company, it was "possible for the iron from ore which arrives at the River Rouge docks Monday morning at 8 o'clock to leave the plant in a finished Ford car by noon the following day."

The automobile industry in 1939 was using 80 per cent of the rubber consumed in the United States, 75 per cent of the plate glass, 68 per cent of the leather, 51 per cent of the malleable iron, 34 per cent of the lead, 23 per cent of the nickel, 18 per cent of the steel, 14 per cent of the copper, and also much cotton, lum-

ber, and aluminum. An automobile could be made for as low as \$400, largely because of the efficient methods and the fine equipment described. The same machine might cost \$100,000 if made entirely by hand without the use of interchangeable parts. It is due to this combination of business and scientific skills that we produce and use most of the world's automobiles.

Similar miracles took place in the aviation industry during World War II. The vast number of airplanes manufactured (Chapter 26) depended upon the use of assembly lines. The plane factories contained not only continuously moving assembly lines but many smaller subassembly lines for parts. Assembly lines were used even for the more complicated planes, such as the Lockheed "Lightning" which contained more than 30,000 individual parts. The aviation industry was justifiably proud of its achievement and hoped "that would-be dictators of the future will not make the fatal mistake of current ones when they base plans of conquest on the assumption that the United States . . . can never get into big production soon enough."¹

Other Achievements in Industry

Such accomplishments would have been impossible but for great achievements in the iron and steel industries and in electricity. The electric furnace is of unusual importance, providing a very high temperature under perfect control. Better steel can be produced by this furnace than in any other way. Some factories use elec-

tricity for one purpose and some for another, but most American industry now depends largely upon this form of power.

The use of bigger and better factory machinery required larger sums of money in industry. The difference in cost between new and old methods can be compared with the increased investment required to write a letter by machine. All that is needed for writing a letter by hand is a bottle of ink, a pen and a penholder, and a sheet of paper. These may be purchased for a total of sixteen cents. To write the same letter by machine a typewriter is required. This typewriter might cost forty or one hundred dollars.

At the same time less and less labor is required of human beings. The huge motor in a mill where steel rails are rolled does as much work as the combined muscles of 176,000 men. The power in the engine room of one of our largest ocean liners is equal to what could be provided by 3,000,000 rowers. Thanks to inventions, by 1940 two men could bake four thousand loaves of bread in an hour.

Thanks also to science practically nothing is wasted. Coal tar used to be considered mainly a nuisance. In our own day it is used in making dyes and many other things: drugs such as aspirin; disinfectants such as the creosol type; perfumes; flavoring extracts; explosives; saccharin which is about five hundred times as sweet as sugar; and such resins as bakelite. Casein, made from skimmed milk, is used in paints for the walls of our homes; in sprays for fruits and vegetables; and in making breads and artificial gems. Cellulose has at least 120 uses, such as making paper, rayon,

¹The article "Lightning Line Brews Triple Trouble for Axis" in the *Aviation* magazine for September, 1943.

paint, films, cellophane, and sausage coverings. The soybean is another product which has a great variety of uses, such as for crackers, automobile dashboards, combs, and brushes. American industry should receive great credit for such achievements. The chemist discovered how to make casein into paint, but it was industry which made this paint at low cost so that people could afford to use it.

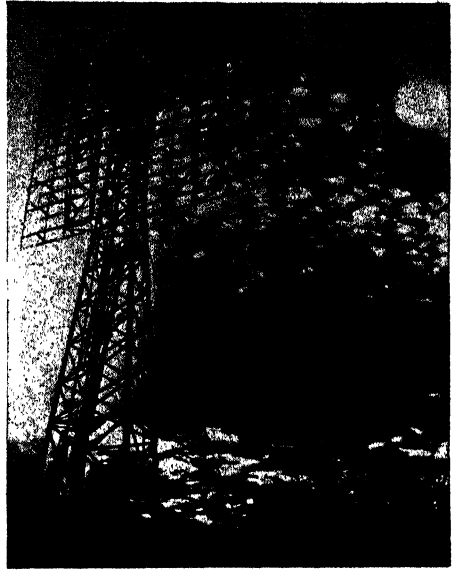
Achievements of Science in World War II

Radar was a weapon of World War II, and is a servant of man in time of peace. It enables us to see in darkness by means of radio waves. A simple radar set sends out these waves, and receives, and times, the echo from any object in its path. During the war, radar enabled aviators to fly safely in darkness and bad weather, to determine whether planes ahead were hostile or friendly, to point guns, and to aim bombs through clouds. Warships were also equipped with radar to point guns and to locate planes and other ships. In time of peace, also, radar removes much of the terror of darkness, and adds greatly to the safety of travel in the air and on the sea.

Another achievement of science during World War II was the use of atomic power, as fully described in the final section of this chapter.

New Farm Machinery

Meanwhile changes occurred in agriculture somewhat like those in industry. During World War I the shortage of farm labor more or less forced farmers to use tractors. These machines immediately became popular, increasing from about 130,000



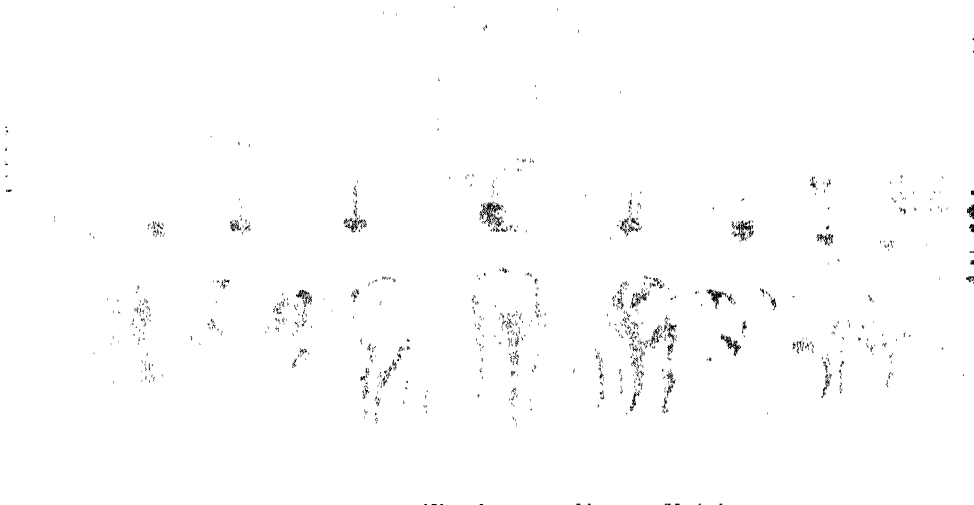
Science Service

Radar, developed during the war, is also of great value for peacetime. This radar sender and receiver was used to make contact with the moon in 1946.

in 1918 to more than a million by 1934. Because of the tractor bigger and better farm machinery could be used than ever before.

At first combined harvester-threshers were drawn by teams of from twelve to twenty horses, but the tractor was much more satisfactory. The combine could now reap the wheat on fifty acres of land, thresh it, and load it in sacks in only one day's time. It can do as much in three fourths of an hour as older machinery could do in from three to five hours, or as could be done in thirty-five to fifty hours without machines. On the farm as in the city, machinery greatly decreased the need for human labor, resulted in greater production and lower prices, and required much greater investments of money.

It would be difficult to find a more interesting piece of farm equipment



Walker Gordon Laboratories

This highly modern and sanitary milking equipment shows the type used by some of the large dairy companies in our country.

than the Rotary Combine Milker. Fifty cows stand on a rotating platform that washes, dries, and milks them almost automatically. The platform turns completely around in twelve and one-half minutes. The fifty cows are completely washed and milked within that time. The milker platform is sixty feet in diameter, and turns at the rate of fifteen feet a minute at the outside edge.

Men in industry and agriculture are becoming more dependent on science and inventions than ever before. Both factory products and food are being made possible at lower prices with less labor. All of us are reaping the benefits of these discoveries and inventions in one way or another.

The frontiers of geography are gone forever so far as the United States is concerned. There will be other kinds of frontiers, however. The frontiers of the future will be frontiers of science; the foremost pioneers on these frontiers will be scientists. Some of these pioneers will blaze new trails in aviation, completing man's conquest of the skies. Some pioneers of science will continue to experiment with plastics. Plastics are now used in the manufacture of a great variety of articles, yet future chemists will doubtless find many other uses. Other pioneers on the frontiers of the future will make new advances in television. Still other pioneers will explore new frontiers of science unknown today.

IN MEDICINE AND HEALTH

The Struggle Against Tuberculosis

Meanwhile as great victories were being won in medicine as had been

achieved by inventors. One of the greatest enemies of man until recent years was the disease called tuberculosis. It marked Dr. Edward Liv-

ingston Trudeau (trōō'dō) as a victim when he was yet a young man. In 1876 he was told that he had but a few months to live. He moved to New York's Adirondack Mountains prepared to die, but instead he recovered so completely that he was finally able to give a strong man a severe thrashing. Up to that time patients suffering from tuberculosis had been shut up in airtight rooms. Doctors did not realize the importance of fresh air, rest, and sunshine in the treatment of that disease.

In 1884 Trudeau erected his first sanatorium for the fight against tuberculosis on a wooded plateau above the Saranac (sār'a-nāk) River. At that time 270 people out of every 100,000 in our nation were dying of the terrible disease each year. This first tiny sanatorium led to others with the result that Trudeau lived to see the death rate lowered to 146 per 100,000. Tuberculosis is no longer an enemy to be feared if treated in time, thanks to Trudeau and other men of medicine.

The Conquest of Other Diseases

Dr. William C. Gorgas made the Panama Canal possible. One of the big reasons why the French had failed in their attempts to build the canal had been the deadly diseases which had mowed down the workers like some giant scythe. We also might have failed had not Dr. Gorgas made Panama a safe place in which to live. Smallpox, the terror of our armies in our fight for independence, has long since ceased to be dangerous because of vaccination. Typhoid fever and diphtheria also have been partly conquered by men of medicine.

Several diseases are now being de-

feated with the use of sulfa drugs and penicillin. Sulfa drugs were first introduced in 1935 and came into general use in 1938-1939. Penicillin, made from a blue mold commonly found on bread and cheese, was first tried on human beings in England in 1941. Before sulfa drugs were available, about 30 per cent of all pneumonia patients died; by 1944 sulfa drugs and penicillin had reduced the death rate to 9 per cent. Both sulfa drugs and penicillin have become of great importance in the treatment of infections. They saved many thousands of lives of wounded soldiers, sailors, and marines. Only 3 per cent of the wounded died in World War II — less than half the rate in World War I.

Just as soon as we solve one problem another rises to take its place. If fewer people die of tuberculosis, smallpox, and pneumonia, they are more likely to perish from the diseases which go with old age. As a result, cancer and heart disease have become more common. Then also new diseases are becoming recognized. One of the most important of these is diabetes. Doctors have learned to fight it with the use of insulin, but like cancer and heart disease it has not yet been conquered. Arthritis still takes a heavy toll in human life and suffering.

One of the greatest accomplishments in medicine has been a large decrease in the death of infants. Even in the ten years from 1928 to 1938 the number of such deaths in the United States declined from 69 to 51 for each 1000 babies. In 1936 the only countries in all the world that had a better record were New Zealand, the Netherlands, Norway,

Sweden, Switzerland, and Australia.

Surgeons have also become able to perform operations which had been considered impossible; they even discovered how to make unusual operations on the heart.

The Fight for Pure Food and Drugs

The government aided the scientist in improving public health. In 1905 Upton Sinclair wrote a book called *The Jungle* which described the unhealthful conditions existing in the Chicago stockyards. He reported that animals were butchered that had died of disease, and that the packing houses were filthy. The book made a great impression on the American people. "Mr. Dooley" mourned in typical fashion: "Dear, oh dear, I haven't been able to ate annything more nourishin' thin a cucumber in a week. . . . A little while ago no wan cud square away at a beefsteak with betther grace thin mesilf. Today th' wurrud resthrant makes me green in th' face. . . . If ye want to ray-joose ye'er butcher's bills buy *The Jungle*." A New York paper published the following rhyme:

"Mary had a little lamb,
And when she saw it sicken,
She shipped it off to Packingtown,
And now it's labelled chicken."

The nation as a whole was more disgusted than amused. Theodore Roosevelt was then in the White House and he, too, was disgusted. A bill was introduced into Congress called the Pure Food and Drugs Act. Its purpose was to protect the public against products which were harmful to health. Some business firms that

had made fortunes by cheating the people howled with rage. They tried to control the newspapers to whom they paid large sums for advertisements. They charged that the government was interfering with their liberty. Finally, however, in 1906, Congress provided some protection to the public against diseased food and harmful or useless drugs. Since that time the public health work established by the Pure Food and Drugs Act has been strengthened.

Science Serves Health in Many Ways

The water in our public reservoirs is frequently tested for germs that could cause disease. Chlorine and other chemicals are added to our drinking water to insure healthier and longer lives. Scientists and inventors have found better ways to dispose of garbage and sewage. Vaccination and inoculation have put an end to many epidemics. Because of refrigeration we are less likely to eat spoiled food. Because of pasteurization we shall probably escape some of the diseases carried in raw milk.

We have a better chance of living until old age than our ancestors did, because of the achievements of our scientists, our doctors, and our inventors. Two thousand years ago, in the days of ancient Rome, the average child could be expected to live only until the age of twenty-two. An American child born in 1860 could be expected to live until the age of forty. The average boy or girl born in the United States today should be expected to live beyond sixty years of age. During that time there will be less disease than during the forty years of our ancestors.

IN COMMUNICATION

Newspapers and Magazines

None of the achievements of science produced more important results than in the field of communication. News could be obtained with greater speed and accuracy due to improvements in the telegraph and the telephone. Newspapers could be published more rapidly in greater quantities and at lower expense due to newer models of printing presses. Because of these scientific advances the number of American daily papers grew from 971 in 1880 to 2226 in 1900. Since then there has been little change in the number of dailies, but the number of readers doubled between 1900 and 1917 and has increased since that time.

In 1876 the greater part of a newspaper's income was from subscription and sales, and the views expressed within its pages were those of the editor. Great changes soon took place, however, in the character of the newspaper business. By the early 1890's the major portion of income was from advertising, and the small newspaper was becoming a huge corporation whose main interest was often profits for investors. This meant that instead of newspapers reflecting the thought of editors they often reflected the opinion of the large advertisers and the owners. If an editor insisted on freely expressing his opinions, which were contrary to the views of the advertisers, the advertisers might decide to use other papers instead; if the paper ceased to be profitable due to loss of advertising, a new editor might be hired who would not offend advertisers.

More and more newspapers were joined together in chains much as the early steel mills and oil refineries had been organized to form trusts. The number of newspapers included in chains doubled within a period of only twelve years from 1923 to 1935. By 1935 those chains served a third of the nation's population. There were many cases of independent newspapers uniting, such as the union of the *New York Herald* and the *New York Tribune* to form the *New York Herald Tribune*. Our second largest city, Chicago, had four morning papers during World War I. Twenty years later its vast population had only one to read, although this was soon increased to two morning papers. The owners of the great newspaper corporations possessed great power because of their great influence on the thoughts and opinions of so many people.

Meanwhile similar changes had taken place in the publishing of magazines. Newer printing inventions had paved the way for good magazines selling at lower prices than before. Nearly a million Americans were buying copies of the *Saturday Evening Post* soon after the dawn of the twentieth century. In the 1930's the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Liberty* each had a circulation from two and a half to three million. Newer magazines appeared, such as *Reader's Digest* in 1922, *Time* in 1923, and *Life* in 1936, and rapidly achieved huge circulations. Like the newspaper publishers, the owners of magazines, and their advertisers, possessed enormous power over the minds of Americans.

Radio and Motion Pictures

Meanwhile, radio had become a success because of a number of scientists and inventors. The first broadcasting station KDKA was opened at Pittsburgh in 1920 in time to announce the election of President Harding, and by 1937 there were nearly seven hundred such stations. By 1942 there were 59,000,000 radios, and American homes possessed more radios than bathtubs. Within a period of only twenty years the radio audience had grown until it included practically the entire population; more Americans were reached by radio than by newspapers.

Meanwhile the various radio stations banded together to form huge networks just as newspapers had joined to form chains. In 1926 the National Broadcasting Company was formed, followed in 1927 by Columbia, in 1934 by Mutual, and in 1942 by American. These great networks of radio stations possessed tremendous power over public opinion. Such power could be fatal to democracy if used unfairly. For this reason the networks tried to be neutral in politics. Speakers on both sides of public questions were given equal amounts of time to present their views to the people.

In certain respects the motion picture industry was a rival of both the newspaper and the radio. Edison discovered a way to produce moving pictures, but his experiments were unsatisfactory at first because he did not possess good film. In 1889 Edison heard that George Eastman had invented a new kind of film for use in Eastman Kodaks. Edison bought a fifty-foot strip of Eastman's

film and discovered that it could be used satisfactorily in his machine. Edison's invention, however, was mainly a peepshow device, and the strip of film lasted only thirteen seconds. Several inventors experimented with projectors which would show the pictures on a screen for an audience, but progress was slow, and full-length pictures were not released until 1910. Many improvements have been made in motion pictures since that time. Movie photographers have learned how to take better pictures, directors have learned how to make more effective use of pictures, and better projectors have shown the films to better advantage. Most of these improvements were made in Hollywood, which is the motion picture capital of the world. Reference was made in the preceding chapter to the development of talking pictures and pictures in color, and to the influence of motion pictures in drama and the theater.

Since 1914 motion pictures have greatly influenced the thinking of Americans. Recently some of the pictures have been concerned with social problems such as the crowds of homeless fruit pickers that wander back and forth across the states. Then, too, the newsreels and such features as "The March of Time" became increasingly popular. By 1942 there were nearly 18,000 theaters in operation with a total of about 11,000,000 seats. The few large companies that control the production of pictures, and the owners of the large chains that show the pictures, thus have huge audiences.

It is now almost impossible for any Americans to be isolated from the remainder of the nation and the world. The newspaper, the maga-

zine, the radio, and the motion picture bring the world into our living rooms and into our local theaters and other places. Individuals living thou-

sands of miles apart have ceased to be strangers. This is one of the greatest of all the wonders that have been created by science.

IN THE WAR ON WASTE

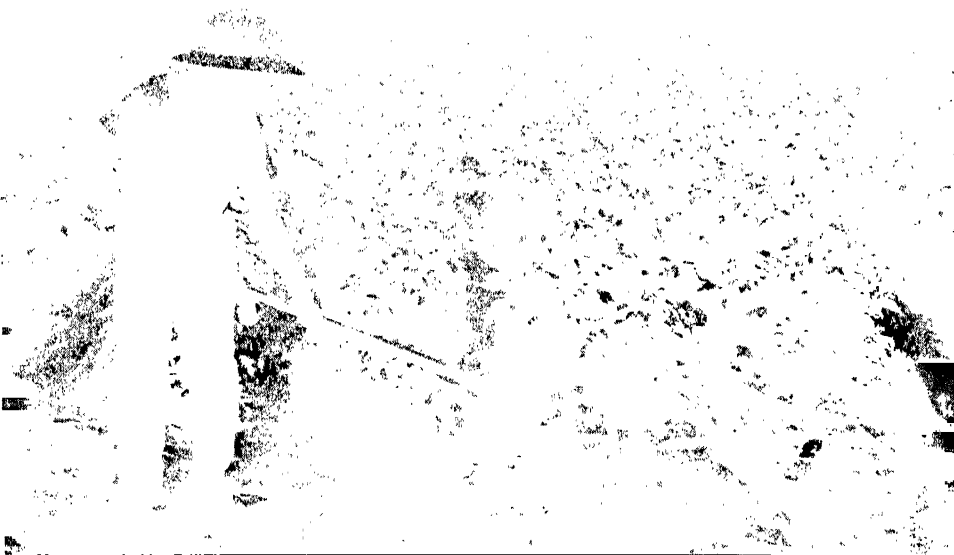
How Should We Use the Nation's Resources?

We have been the most wasteful nation that the world has ever known. Our ancestors felt that our resources were without limit. They burned up huge areas of forests simply to get rid of the trees. The early lumbermen made no effort to plant new trees in the place of those they cut down, and did not try to protect the small trees while felling those that were large. Only one fifth of our forests remain, and we are using these up much faster than new trees can grow. Much the same situation is true of our mineral resources. In our desire to get fortunes as rapidly as possible we threw away rocks rich in minerals merely because we possessed rocks even richer. Even now we use up or waste an average of more than \$1,500,000 worth of minerals each day of the year. Our coal, oil, iron, and copper are limited. Our nation could not have become so wealthy and strong without our vast forests and mineral deposits. The future of our nation is at stake if we continue to throw away what is left.

Making the wisest use of what we possess is called conservation. Our resources seemed so vast that few Americans were greatly concerned over conservation until about the time Theodore Roosevelt became President in 1901. Roosevelt gave his enthusiastic support to Gifford

Pinchot (pín'shō), who was chief of the Division of Forestry and the real leader of the movement for conservation.

Roosevelt alone withdrew from public sale three times as much public land as all the Presidents before him combined. As a result he saved some of the forest land of the Pacific and Rocky Mountain states from the axes of lumbermen, protecting the nation's future. Efforts were made to prevent fires in our forests, and trees were grown in barren places. Vast areas of the West were too dry for farms when Theodore Roosevelt became President. Large dams and reservoirs were built, however, and ditches were dug to bring water to the parched earth. Fine crops were raised where they could not grow before. An area of land about equal in size to the state of Connecticut was reclaimed while Roosevelt was President and during the year after he left office. He also took steps to drain swamp land and safeguard our mineral resources. He realized that floods on our rivers caused much unnecessary loss, and appointed a commission to study that problem. It became necessary to win the cooperation of the states in the conservation movement. Roosevelt called a national conference of Governors in 1908 at the suggestion of Pinchot. As a result forty-one states took action in the war on waste within eighteen months. President Taft's failure to



U S D A Extension Service — Ed Hutton

A 4H club member on a farm in Weld County, Colorado, is irrigating a large potato field. In what other states do farm crops depend on irrigation for their water?

agree with the views of Pinchot was one of the main reasons why Roosevelt opposed Taft's re-election as President in 1912.

Meanwhile various branches of government joined in the war on waste. Bulletins from the nation's capital told how to control blister rust on pines, defeat insect pests, destroy rats, halt animal diseases, secure larger and better crops, prevent erosion of the soil, and benefit Americans in many other ways. The Weather Bureau in particular rendered very valuable service. Its advice assisted the farmer in planting and cultivating his crops. Its reports made possible the use of sea lanes in greater safety, and removed much of the risk of travel in the air.

Harnessing Our Rivers

One of the greatest conquests of waste has resulted from the harnessing

of the raging torrents of our rivers. More and more streams have become better servants of man due to the achievements of our engineers. This victory of man over nature has been made possible largely by the construction of dams.

The highest dam in the entire world is Hoover Dam in the valley of the Colorado River in Arizona and Nevada. Begun (as Boulder Dam) while Hoover was President, it was completed in 1936. Five million barrels of cement were required for this vast concrete structure 660 feet thick at the bottom and 45 feet thick at the top, rising more than 700 feet above the bed of the river. Back of this huge barrier is the world's largest artificial lake, named Lake Mead, 115 miles long and 8 miles wide, where 10,500,000,000,000 gallons of water can be stored. This dam prevents the destruction of lives and

property by floods, makes possible the growing of crops on dry soils, and provides electric power which in very recent times has become so essential to American homes and factories.

More dams were built than ever before after Franklin D. Roosevelt became President, despite the hard times of the 1930's. Included among these were the great Bonneville and Grand Coulee (kōō'lē) dams on the Columbia River. The Bonneville dam crosses the boundary between Oregon and Washington. The Grand Coulee, in Washington, is the largest concrete dam in the world. It holds back a reservoir 151 miles long, to irrigate 1,200,000 acres of fertile land that had been too dry for successful farming.

The greatest conquest of the waterways, however, occurred in the valley of the Tennessee River. This stream drains an area nearly as large as England, made up of sections of seven southern states. This region is rich in natural resources, but its development had been held back by floods, by the lack of electric power, and by the fact that much of the Tennessee River was not navigable. During the 1930's a series of dams were constructed, the most noted being the Norris Dam on the Clinch River which flows into the Tennessee. Floods were prevented, navigation was improved, and by early 1938 some 40,000 homes and farms were released from drudgery by the electricity already produced.

Conquering the Dust Bowl

An equally important battle in the war on waste was fought in the nation's Dust Bowl in sections of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Here the pioneers had plowed

up the soil and conquered the tough sod of the buffalo grass, but they and their children had in turn been conquered by dust. The wind blew away the top soil, which was needed for crops. Seeds planted in the soil that remained would not grow even if they also were not blown away. Drifting soil sometimes killed trees and threatened to cover farm buildings. Thus land which formerly had been covered with buffalo grass was fast becoming desert.

The government led the way in the fierce fight to conquer the Dust Bowl. Farmers were taught better methods of protecting the land. Attempts were made to grow grass to hold the soil in place. Millions of trees were planted in a belt running along the eastern edge of the Great Plains from Texas to Canada. Within a period of only four years the size of the Dust Bowl was reduced from about 15,000,000 acres (greater than any two of our eight smallest states) to an area only one tenth as large.

We Are a Wasteful Nation

Despite all these victories over waste, however, this enemy is far from conquered. We see some waste everywhere we look, even in our own kitchens. Here we may find that a really important part of what we cook is allowed to escape into the air, or is poured down the sink with the water in which our vegetables are boiled. Americans put a larger portion of their food into garbage cans than do any other people in the world. Then too we sometimes throw away food that possesses the greatest value and eat something that is inferior. This is particularly true of the potato, the most valuable part of which is

near the skin and apt to be peeled away.

Perhaps in time to come our scientists will find some use for everything that exists. Perhaps we shall

live to see the day when nothing will be thrown away or cast aside. Perhaps we shall learn to use more wisely the generous gifts of nature instead of wasting them like spendthrifts.

THE DAWN OF THE ATOMIC AGE

Seeking New Sources of Power

The progress which human beings can achieve depends in part upon the sources of power which they possess. Before the rise of factory towns man was dependent for power upon the muscles of human beings, upon animals, and upon the wind and moving water. Later, man succeeded in harnessing steam and the energy contained in coal. Within the last century electricity and gasoline became the servants of man, producing power required for most of our recent inventions. The newer sources of power could accomplish much more than was possible by the muscles of men and animals.

Meanwhile scientists had become convinced that the atom was an even greater source of power. Atoms are extremely small particles which make up all matter that exists in the world. Each atom is so small that five million atoms could be placed in a row on the period at the end of a sentence. It consists of a nucleus surrounded by electrons. Each nucleus is made up of protons and neutrons held together by a tremendous force. If the nucleus of an atom is split in two, a great amount of energy or power is released.

Atomic power was first harnessed for the use of mankind in 1945. One pound of atomic energy was equal to

the energy contained in 10,000,000 pounds of gasoline, possessed as much heat as 20,000,000 pounds of coal, and was as explosive as 15,000 tons of TNT. All other sources of power seemed but dwarfs in comparison. The harnessing of the atom marked the dawn of the Atomic Age, a new era in the history of the world.

The Story of Atom-Smashing

Atomic power was made possible by the combined efforts of the scientists and inventors of many nations. Several important discoveries and inventions were made during the 1930's. Some scientists built giant machines with which to smash tiny atoms. Some of these machines were known as cyclotrons, one of which weighed 225 tons. Other scientists were busy studying, and experimenting with, atoms. They became increasingly interested in the uranium atom, the most complex of all the ninety-two varieties of atoms. In 1939 two German scientists stumbled upon the secret of smashing uranium.

In 1942 the United States, Canada, and Great Britain decided upon a great experiment, the making of atomic bombs. Such an experiment was a tremendous gamble, costing two billion dollars. It required the talents of our leading scientists, the labor of tens of thousands of skilled workers, great quantities of scarce



Acme

The center of the city of Nagasaki in Japan after one atomic bomb had been dropped on it.

materials such as steel, copper, and aluminum, and the time and energy of our nation's leaders. It required great loyalty and rigid secrecy in the "hidden cities" such as Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the huge experiment was being conducted. The experiment was of tremendous importance, however. If Germany or Japan managed to make an atomic bomb before we could, the lights of freedom would be extinguished all over the world.

At last, on July 16, 1945, the American, Canadian, and British scientists were ready to test an atomic bomb. It was early morning on the waste lands of New Mexico. A bomb, resting on top of a hundred-foot steel tower, was ready to be exploded at 5:30. Ten miles away scientists and workmen waited anxiously. Perhaps the bomb would not go off; or perhaps the explosion would kill them all. At 5:30 there came a blinding

flash, a tremendous roar, and wind like a tornado. Then a huge, boiling cloud of several colors rose to more than 40,000 feet. The steel tower vanished completely; where the tower had stood there was a huge crater. The greatest scientific gamble in history had been won. Within a month after this test, an atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima as described in Chapter 29, and several days later another was dropped on the Japanese city of Nagasaki.

Some Results of Smashing the Atom

Atomic power which our scientists and inventors are harnessing for our use has tremendous possibilities. It can be one of our greatest blessings in time of peace. A pellet the size of a vitamin pill could be made to release enough power to run an automobile for a year, or enough heat

to keep a house warm all winter. People everywhere can be benefited if the atom becomes more completely the servant of mankind. Their tasks can be made lighter, their way of life can be made richer, and they can enjoy greater freedom from want. There are many problems to be solved, however, before we can make full use of atomic power.

Atomic power may also bring world peace. The atomic bomb has made war so terrible that a World War III might result in the destruction of the civilized world. No nation can be free from fear unless all nations are free from fear. No nation will feel the need to fight for oil or coal if it can use atomic energy to run its machines.

Study Activities

1. A Review Committee. Appoint a group of three pupils to present a review of Chapter 20, "Science and Invention," to the class as an introduction to "Science at Work for Man." The committee might like to present the review in the form of a conversation or a short play.

2. Improvements. In your notebook, or on the blackboard, place three headings: Home Improvements, Community Improvements, and Farm Improvements. As you read and discuss Chapter 35, list under the proper headings all the improvements mentioned.

3. Science and Industry Work Together. On page 571 is the statement, "The chemist discovered how to make casein into paint, but it was industry which made this paint at low cost so that people could afford to use it." On the basis of class discussion, select five important things you use and show how industry has made them available at a price that many people can afford to pay.

4. Books to Read. You can find many interesting books on recent developments in science. Among them are the following:

Jeanne Bendick, *Electronics for Boys and Girls*, Whittlesey House, 1944.
Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb, *Dr. George Washington Carver: Scientist*, Julian Messner, Inc., 1944.

Ray Hoadley, *How They Make a Motion Picture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1939.

Clarence J. Hylander and Robert Harding, *Introduction to Television*, The Macmillan Company, 1944.

John Langdon-Davies, *Radio: The Story of the Capture and Use of Radio Waves*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1935.

Geraldine Le May, *The Story of a Dam*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1940. (Norris Dam and the work of the TVA.)

William Henry Meadowcroft, *Boy's Life of Edison*, Harper & Bros., 1921.

Alfred P. Morgan, *The Pageant of Electricity*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940.

Creighton Peet, *All about Broadcasting*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1942.

Michael Pupin, *From Immigrant to Inventor*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

Franklin M. Reck and A. C. Reck, *Power from Start to Finish*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1941.

Franklin M. Reck, *Radio from Start to Finish*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942.

W. Maxwell Reed, *America's Treasure*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939.

Hermann Schoenen, *The Story Behind Steel*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944.

William A. Simonds, *Boy with Edison*, Sun Dial Press, 1939.

Kingdon S. Tyler, *Modern Radio*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944.

5. Developments in Radar and Atomic Energy. In recent books on science and in magazines and newspapers look up information on developments in radar and the use of atomic energy. Appoint

three or four pupils to be responsible for conducting class discussion on "Radar" and "Atomic Energy."

6. *A Radio and Motion Picture Round Table.* During the twentieth century the radio and the motion picture have become two very important ways in which we learn much about what goes on in the world. Appoint two pupils to give talks on the growth of the radio and the motion picture. Then have them lead a round-table discussion in which all the class takes part in explaining how the radio and the motion picture are bringing pleasure and information from many parts of the world. The discussion should bring out what improvements might be made as well as the good features of radio and motion pictures.

7. *Conserving Nature's Riches.* On a class map of the United States outline and color

the dams that are mentioned in the text. If you know of others being built today, include them on the map. Appoint a committee to write brief explanations about each dam, and have them paste the dams in position on the map. Appoint a small committee to search through recent geographies, magazines, and current-events papers to report briefly to the class on dams built or being built in other parts of the world.

8. *A Cartoon.* Draw a cartoon showing the main idea of "Science at Work for Man." Make a class or school display of the best cartoons.

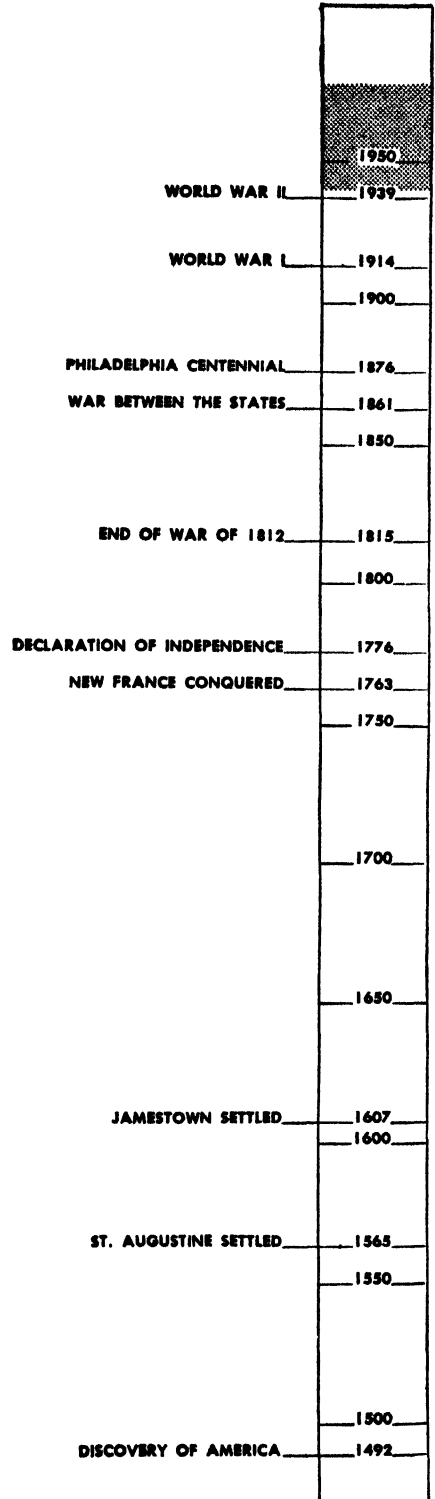
9. *A Summary.* Write a good summary paragraph of "Science at Work for Man." Appoint a class committee to pick out the best paragraphs. You may wish to place them with the display of cartoons.

CHAPTER 36

LET FREEDOM RING

1976 OUR BICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

1941 THE FOUR FREEDOMS STATED BY
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



"Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy."
Walt Whitman

OUR DEBT TO THE PAST

It would be difficult to exaggerate what we owe to those who have lived before us, not only in our native land but in other lands across the seas. What we are now able to achieve has been made possible by the toil, the sacrifice, the courage, and the blood of men and women through the centuries. This remains true whether we think of our democracy, the victories of our scientists, the achievements of our artists, the accomplishments of labor and industry, or any other success. All of our accomplishments, however, would be of little value to us if we were not free. The greatest of all our debts to the past is for our freedom.

The Search for Freedom

Men left Europe and came to our shores in search of greater freedom. Protestants settled in Massachusetts; Jews landed in the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam; Catholics founded Maryland — all sought religious liberty denied to them in the lands from which they came. The English who came here in 1620, the Germans who came here in 1854, and the Russians who came here in the 1890's all desired some kind of freedom. Our nation was a land of opportunity to all who wished to be free. The Statue of Liberty had a message for peoples beyond the seas:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming
shore.

Send these, the homeless, tempest-
tossed, to me:

I lift my lamp beside the golden
door."¹

The Story of the Common Man

The history of the United States has been, and still is, the story of the common man. A king of France said "I am the State," but our Constitution starts with "We the people." Our birth certificate was the Declaration of Independence, which said that "all men are created equal." Ever since that time the people of our nation have toiled and sacrificed to keep and increase their liberty and to make democracy work. Our nation has had great leaders such as Washington and Lincoln, but their labors would have been in vain without the co-operation of various kinds of Americans regardless of race or religion. Washington could not have created an independent nation without the common men in his regiments who were willing to fight in rags, and without enough food and enough ammunition, in order to have freedom. In his *Farewell Address*, Washington told his countrymen, "the independence and liberty which you possess are the work of . . . joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

Through many desperate years the common people were able to prove that democracy would really work. Gradually — with very few exceptions — all men, and finally all women, were allowed the right to vote

¹ The sonnet by Emma Lazarus, engraved on the pedestal of the statue.



Handy Studios

Valley Forge is remembered in our history as one of the examples of the suffering and endurance that led to more freedom for men not only here but in other parts of the world as well. Washington is showing a congressional committee the poor clothing of his men.

and to share in running their government. Meanwhile great reform movements were under way to secure more of the blessings of liberty for all of our citizens. The providing of free education, for example, made it possible for children of rich and of poor to have a more nearly equal start in life. Our government became increasingly concerned over the protection of children and over the care of the old, the sick, the crippled, and all classes of unfortunates. Wealth and position were possible to all Americans, and not restricted to a favored few. The story of America is the story of men who rose "from rags to riches." Lincoln came from a log cabin to hold the highest office in the nation. Inventors such as Morse and Ford, artists such as Grant Wood, and musicians such as Stephen Foster are only

a few of a host of Americans who struggled through poverty and over great obstacles to fame. Such achievements were possible only in a land where freedom of opportunity existed for all people.

The Price of Freedom

A great price was paid for all the freedom we possess today. Some men in Washington's army froze to death in the winter camp at Valley Forge in the Revolutionary War. Women such as Susan B. Anthony endured insults and misunderstanding throughout their lives so that the Declaration of Independence would apply to their sex. (See Article XIX of the Constitution, page xxxvi.) The soldiers of Washington's army would have been warmer and their stomachs much less empty if they had joined

the enemy at Philadelphia; Susan B. Anthony could have had flattery in

place of insults: but to them freedom was above any price tag.

IN SEARCH OF FOUR FREEDOMS

What Is Freedom?

In our own nation and in other nations many victories have been won in the name of freedom. These successes over the centuries are all a part of a slow, resistless, world-wide movement forward. As the poet Lowell said, "Slow are the steps of freedom, but her feet turn never backward." Daniel Webster compared the endurance of liberty to the earth's central fire: "It may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its . . . unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven." The world-wide quality of freedom was well expressed by the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth when he said of liberty, "in whatever part of the world it gains ground, it will be a common gain to all those who desire it."

On the other hand the struggle for freedom has not yet been completely won. We can never rest assured that it has been completely won. It is not only necessary to fight to gain liberty; we must continually struggle to keep it even after we obtain it. Thus we find ourselves in a kind of unending struggle. We may agree with Jefferson that "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." We may also agree with Booker T. Washington that "one might as well try to stop the progress of a mighty rail-

road train by throwing his body across the track as to try to stop the growth of the world in the direction of giving mankind . . . more liberty." Democracy, however, "is never a thing done." It was the privilege of great Americans such as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln to carry forward the torch of freedom on many fronts. In our own day men and women in our own and other lands are striving to carry this torch ever farther in the direction of human liberty.

Four Freedoms

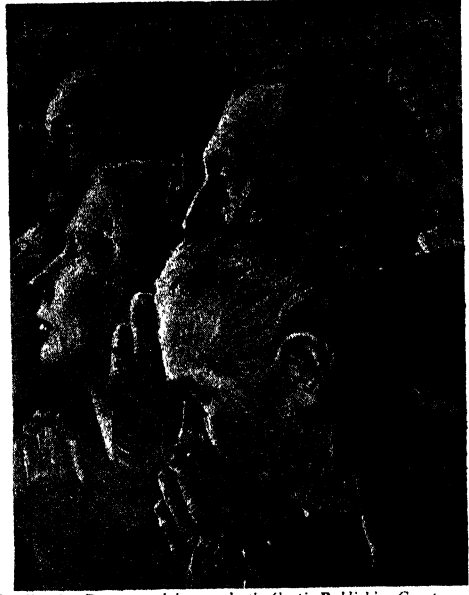
We are mainly concerned with efforts to preserve the Four Freedoms stated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in May, 1941, as World War II approached our shores. First and foremost of the Four Freedoms is that of speech and expression, for there cannot be democracy unless men can say and write what they wish. "Men breathe through their minds as well as through their lungs, and there must be a circulation of ideas as well as of air."¹ Where there is freedom of speech there can be no tyranny; where there is tyranny freedom of speech cannot exist. The best guarantee of democracy is upholding the right of our Peter Zengers to criticize, and of our Thomas Paines to express their opinions.

Second of the Four Freedoms is the right of each man and woman to

¹ Office of War Information pamphlet *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms*, page 5.



Freedom of Speech



Freedom of Religion



Freedom from Want



Freedom from Fear

"The Four Freedoms," as painted by Norman Rockwell. These pictures were widely displayed during World War II.

worship God in his or her own way. In a country ruled by dictators the government owns all of a man, even his conscience. Not only is his body a slave of the nation but his soul itself is in chains. Each man must believe, as well as do, what he is told. In a democracy such a situation cannot endure. Here no one tells us what church we must attend; no government official orders what we shall consider right or wrong.

Third of the Four Freedoms is freedom from want. Until recent times it was taken for granted that there would not be enough of the world's goods for every man; that there would always be some individuals who would have to go without. Now we are no longer sure that this is true. Many people believe that the world can produce enough goods for everybody. A man may have freedom of speech and of religion yet these two freedoms would be of little value if he starved to death. It has been said that "democracy is liberty plus groceries." Both men and nations are likely to become desperate when facing starvation. We are more certain of our own freedom if all men and all nations have freedom from want.

Fourth and last of the Four Free-

doms is freedom from fear itself. Most of us have no desire to harm our fellow man, but we are likely to imagine, either justly or unjustly, that he may harm us. We all tend to fear most what we cannot see, whether we are young children fearing the dark, grown-ups suddenly aroused in the night by a loud rapping at the door, or a nation imagining an attack by its neighbor. Our minds are free and unchained if we can feel unafraid and secure; but we cannot enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of religion, or freedom from want if overcome with fear.

Our Opportunity

To win all this freedom may seem like an impossible assignment. It is a hard assignment but not impossible. As President Roosevelt pointed out in 1941, "The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation, and every other milestone of human progress — all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment — yet they were attained." It is for us to continue along the trails of freedom blazed for us by great Americans such as Jefferson; it is for us to blaze freedom's trails of the future; a glorious opportunity is ours.

SOME PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED

Our nation is faced with many problems, and it is our privilege to help solve them. There are certain obstacles that we must overcome to keep our country strong and free. The future of the United States will depend upon our ability to solve these problems and other problems as they arise.

Wealth: Both Friend and Enemy

Our wealth is of great assistance to us. It helps to defend our freedom against foes which might attack us; it makes possible our fine schools, our hospitals, our art museums, and our libraries; it also enables us to have a higher standard of living. Wealth,

however, can be one of our biggest problems. It holds before us many pleasures which make our bodies weak and soft. It may make us slaves of our own selfishness. It tempts us to put a price tag on freedom itself.

Poor Health

Great numbers of America's young men have been declared by our army doctors to be physically unfit to defend their country. Too few of us obtain the proper amount, or the right kind, of exercise. Wealth tempts us with the automobile so that we do not walk enough, and it beckons us indoors with a motion picture machine when we might better be out skating, skiing, or swimming. We have poor eating habits, and many of us eat too much of the wrong kinds of food. Poor health weakens our defenses from the inside. If we can rid ourselves of it, we shall find it easier to defend ourselves against other enemies.

Waste

Waste is always our enemy. We spend much time doing things that are not of value or that are really harmful, and we spend much money for things that are of no benefit. No other nation on the face of the earth uses its money so foolishly. There is the waste of human lives in accidents which could have been prevented, a waste of food which could have been used instead of being thrown away, and a waste of property by fires which often are due to carelessness.

Selfishness

Another enemy is the citizen who thinks more of his own personal pleasure than the welfare of his country,

his community, or his neighbors. He thinks that the world owes him a living, little realizing or caring that any advance has to be gained by individual struggle and sacrifice. Perhaps he thinks that the best things in life are free even though he cannot prove it. He will be among the first to listen to the false promises of the foe; he will be the first to flee when the going gets tough and the need is greatest; he is willing only to half-fight for what he believes is right. He lacks the proper spirit or morale. Whether in the army or as a citizen his nation is better off without him.

The American home has become weakened with the increase in wealth and selfishness. In our earlier history the various members of the family were more likely to be engaged as a unit in the common task of earning the necessities of life. They were dependent upon one another for their recreation. On the frontier farm it was one for all and all for one. In our own day, however, the family group is likely to have much less in common. The members have their own varied interests which tend to be, especially in recreation, outside the home. Divorces and broken homes have become more common. In our nation in 1870 there was one divorce to every thirty-three marriages, while in 1940 there was one to every six. There has been a similar weakening influence in the churches, because people who are bound up with their own pleasures have little interest in a better world for their fellow men.

Lack of Interest in Government

Another danger we face is a lack of interest in good government. The main interest of foolish citizens is



Wide World

This national party convention illustrates great interest in one purpose of our government. An intelligent interest in selecting candidates and choosing office holders is a privilege and a duty for every American.

what they may be able to get out of their government. They support whoever will promise the most. They even neglect to vote if it interferes in any way with their own personal plans. A dictator is bound to appear under such conditions. In this case the price of selfishness can be the loss of personal liberty. Freedom cannot be

purchased like goods on a grocery counter; it has to exist in the hearts of men. We believe, with Stephen Vincent Benét (bě-nā'), that "freedom is bigger than party, bigger than our own small ambitions. We believe it is worth the sacrifice of ease, the long toil of years, the expense of our heart's blood."

THE UNITED STATES IN 1976

In 1976 the United States will be two hundred years old. That date will mark the end of the second century of our independence. On that occasion there will doubtless be great celebrations as there were in 1876. In those celebrations you yourself will probably take part.

What will the United States be like on its two-hundredth birthday? How will our country differ from the United

States of our own day? A heavy veil is drawn across the doorway to the future. We can see but dimly through that veil, yet the answers to these questions are largely in our hands. The United States of 1976 will be largely what we ourselves make it. Much depends upon how well you will succeed in using your knowledge of the past to make yourself one of the masters of the future.

The rate of growth of our population decreased from 16.1 per cent in the decade 1920-1930 to 7.2 per cent in the decade 1930-1940. It has been estimated that there will be about 150,000,000 Americans at the end of our second century. We shall be a nation of older people because families are getting smaller, and because medical science enables people to live longer. Probably only one American in four will be under nineteen, as compared with one in three today. On the other hand, two out of five will probably be over forty-five years of age, as compared with one out of four today.

Industry is spreading into all parts of the nation, and farming is coming more and more to resemble industry. This trend will probably continue. Americans everywhere will more completely harness nature to their uses, and in turn will find themselves more completely harnessed to machines. It is expected that the foreign groups in our large cities will gradually disappear as separate peoples because most immigration has ceased. The continued use of radio, motion pictures, and television will increase understanding among all citizens.

There is a tendency for science and invention to travel faster than ever instead of slowing down. What the scientific achievements will be in the next quarter of a century cannot be predicted, and can only be guessed at. The only prediction that can be made with much certainty is that by 1976 there will be inventions and discoveries that are now beyond our wildest dreams. There is no reason to believe that American literature and art have exhausted their resources. By 1976 Americans will undoubtedly be sur-

rounded with beauty not now known. Perhaps the American democracy of 1976 will consist of finer citizens than ever before. Perhaps there will be more men and women who place the welfare of the nation and of the world above the narrower, selfish interests of particular states, regions, cities, economic groups, and private advantage. Perhaps more individuals will practice democracy from day to day instead of looking upon the idea of all men being free and equal as something to be packed away in mothballs. "The harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

Perhaps by 1976 we shall experience a deeper love of our native land. Perhaps we shall learn that we cannot get something for nothing and that what our country means to us is roughly in proportion to what we contribute to it. Perhaps we shall agree with a foreign writer that "he who loves not his country loves nothing."

To love our native land does not mean that we should think less of neighboring countries. In the world of 1976 the earth will seem even smaller than today, and all nations will be closer neighbors than ever. The people of all nations will be, in one sense, world citizens. A good citizen in one place will be a good citizen anywhere. The love of country which leads us to build a finer and better America leads us toward a better world. The same is true of those patriots who seek to build a better and finer Russia, China, England, Mexico, Brazil, or Turkey.

By 1976 we shall realize even more than today that no nation can live to itself alone. We must be on good terms with our neighbors in all continents and islands to live in a

pleasant kind of world community. Our neighbors must get along well with one another. That is the only way we can ever obtain freedom from fear. By 1976 the time may be past when any nation can hold its neighbor in slavery, or feast while the other starves. Perhaps the next hundred years will be "the century of the common man" throughout the world.

We can be almost certain of one thing in 1976. On July Fourth of that year at Philadelphia a bell will be rung to celebrate two hundred years of American freedom. Its tones will be heard not only in that city, but with the speed of lightning they will be spread all over the nation, the continent, and the entire world. The

bell's message will re-echo through the Grand Canyon of the Colorado at the same instant as through the man-made canyons of New York City. It will have the same sound to toilers in the sugar-cane fields of the West Indies as to other persons on ships in the icy Arctic. It will know no East nor West, no North nor South.

The sound of the bell will cease, but then over the airwaves will come a voice. The words will be Jefferson's but they will belong to the entire human race regardless of nation, color, or religion. Across the threshold of two hundred years you will hear, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

Study and Review Activities

1. "*Let Freedom Ring*." Chapter 36 is a kind of summary of many of the most important ideas in the book. As you read and discuss this last chapter of the book, you will want to review a great deal what you have been doing and thinking during the time you have become acquainted with the fascinating history of our country. Appoint committees to take charge of the review discussion for the following topics:

- Freedom of Religion
- The Right to Vote
- The Growth of Public Education
- The Care of the Handicapped
- Freedom of Opportunity

Each committee should review the sections in the text pertaining to its topic, plan the class discussion, and display any maps, pictures, and charts that illustrate the discussion.

2. *Defining Democracy*. We say that the outstanding feature of our country is its democracy. After careful consideration

and class discussion, write a definition of democracy. Compare the definitions written by the members of the class and then appoint one pupil to write a good definition of democracy on the blackboard. Do the American people think of democracy and freedom of being the same thing?

3. *The Four Freedoms*. On pages 587-589 is a discussion of the "Four Freedoms" stated by President Roosevelt shortly before the United States became involved in World War II. As you know, we go back to the Colonial period in our history to trace our efforts to achieve freedom of religion and freedom of speech. Freedom from want and freedom from fear are more recent ideas. Appoint two pupils to summarize for the class the information they find in the text which shows what we are doing to achieve freedom from want and freedom from fear. Does the class think Norman Rockwell has shown these freedoms well in his pictures on page 588?

4. *Our Bicentennial Exposition.* It is very likely that in 1976 there will be a Bicentennial Exposition in celebration of the two-hundredth birthday of our nation. There will no doubt be displays of objects in use in 1776, 1876, and of course in 1976. Make three class posters of pictures of some of the things you think will be shown at the Bicentennial Exposition, representative of 1776, 1876, and 1976.

5. *The Time Line.* By now the class time line is completed. Through class discussion select the ten most important dates on it and place a star under each one. Be able to explain why each of the starred dates is among the ten most important in our history.

6. *Favorite Books.* In the reading you have done this year to add meaning and enjoyment to your study of American history, which book has meant most to you? On the blackboard make a list of the titles of the books the class liked best. From the list you may want to make selections for interesting vacation reading and thus continue your acquaintance with the rich history of our country.

7. *Maps and Pictures as Learning Aids.* Many maps and pictures have been included in this book to help make vivid the story of our country. Talk over with the class the maps and pictures and then by a vote decide which maps and pictures have been most helpful in making clear the events and ideas of the story of our country.

8. *Important Ideas.* For the units of this book Mr. Doremus has painted pictures which express important ideas about the history of our country. Make a list of the titles and under each title write a short explanation of the idea so beautifully and vividly expressed with paint and brush.

9. *The Responsibilities of Americans.* Knowledge of our past and present shows us how privileged we of today are because of the struggles and achievements of many who have lived before us. List on the blackboard the responsibilities American citizens have to see to it that our country continues a good place in which to live and to build a better and a finer America.

10. Here are three pictures that stand for, or symbolize, the American way of life: the Liberty Bell, which is in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, the flag,



and the Statue of Liberty. Write a short paragraph explaining why each is a symbol to us Americans. In your paragraph on the flag as a symbol, tell why it has thirteen stripes and forty-eight stars. Do you think the number of stars will ever change?

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

- 1492 Christopher Columbus discovers West Indies.
- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas Demarcation line.
- 1496 Founding of Santo Domingo.
- 1497 John Cabot's explorations.
- 1500 Cabral explores coast of Brazil.
- 1513 Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean.
Ponce de León in Florida.
- 1519-1521 Cortez conquers Aztec empire (Mexico).
- 1519-1522 First voyage around the world, by one of Magellan's ships.
- 1524 Verrazano's explorations in North America.
- 1531 São Vicente settled by Portuguese.
- 1531-1533 Pizarro conquers Peru.
- 1534 Cartier's discovery and exploration of the St. Lawrence River.
- 1539-1542 De Soto's exploration of the Southeast.
- 1540-1542 Coronado's exploration of the Southwest.
- 1565 Founding of St. Augustine by the Spanish.
- 1577-1580 Drake's voyage around the world.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
- 1607 Jamestown settled by the English.
- 1608 Champlain founds Quebec.
- 1609 Henry Hudson explores the Hudson River.
- 1614 Dutch build Fort Orange at Albany, New York.
- 1619 First Negroes imported into an English colony, Virginia.
First representative assembly in America, in the colony of Virginia.
- 1620 Pilgrims found Plymouth.
- 1630 Settlement of Massachusetts under Winthrop.
- 1634 Maryland settled at St. Marys.
- 1636 Settlement of Connecticut Valley under Hooker.
Providence founded by Roger Williams.
Harvard College founded.
- 1638 Delaware settled by Swedes.
- 1639 The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut.
- 1643 New England Confederation formed.
- 1655 Swedish colony (Delaware) taken by Dutch.
- 1664 Dutch possessions taken by the English.
- 1670 Charleston, South Carolina, founded.
- 1682 Pennsylvania settled under William Penn.
La Salle explores the lower Mississippi and claims Louisiana for France.
- 1689-1697 King William's War.
- 1692 William and Mary College founded.

- 1701 Yale University founded.
- 1702-1713 Queen Anne's War.
- 1704 First printed newspaper in the English colonies, the *Boston News Letter*.
- 1733 Georgia settled under Oglethorpe.
- 1735 Zenger libel trial establishes freedom of the press.
- 1744-1748 King George's War.
- 1754 Albany Plan of Union proposed by Franklin.
- 1755 Beginning of the French and Indian War; Braddock's defeat.
- 1756-1763 The Seven Years' War between Great Britain and France.
- 1759 Wolfe captures Quebec.
- 1763 Treaty of Paris; New France ceded to Great Britain.
Proclamation of 1763.
- 1764 The Sugar Act.
- 1765 The Stamp Act passed.
The Stamp Act Congress.
- 1766 The Stamp Act repealed.
- 1767 Townshend Acts passed.
- 1769 Nonimportation agreements.
Daniel Boone enters Kentucky.
Founding of American Philosophical Society.
- 1770 Repeal of the Townshend Acts except tax on tea.
- 1771 Battle of Alamance, May 16.
- 1773 Tea thrown overboard in Boston Harbor (Boston Tea Party).
First steam engine in America.
- 1774 The First Continental Congress, September 5-October 26.
- 1775 The battles of Lexington and Concord, April 19.
The Second Continental Congress, May 10, 1775-March, 1781.
Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold capture Fort Ticonderoga, May 10.
Battle of Bunker Hill, June 19.
Invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold.
- 1776 Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, January.
Congress adopts Declaration of Independence, July 4.
Washington captures the Hessians at Trenton, December 26.
- 1777 Washington wins the Battle of Princeton, January 3.
Articles of Confederation proposed by Congress, November 15.
Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, October 17.
- 1778 American independence recognized by France, Treaty of Alliance, February 6.
George Rogers Clark leads his expedition into the Northwest.
- 1779 John Paul Jones takes the *Serapis*, September 23.
- 1780 British under Cornwallis defeat Gates in the battle of Camden, August 16.
- 1781 Articles of Confederation in force, having been ratified by all thirteen states,
March 1.
Greene inflicts severe losses on Cornwallis at Guilford Court House, March 15.
Cornwallis surrenders to Washington at Yorktown, October 19.
- 1783 Treaty of peace with Great Britain signed at Paris, September 3.
- 1784 American trading ship, *Empress of China*, reaches China.
Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser, first successful daily paper, September 21.
- 1785 Ordinance for land survey and sale.
- 1786-1787 Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts.
- 1787 Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia, May 25.

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

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- 1787 Ordinance of 1787 creating Northwest Territory, and promising its later division into smaller territories and states.
Constitutional Convention completes its work, September 17.
- 1789 First Congress under the Constitution meets at New York, April.
Inauguration of George Washington as President, April 30.
- 1790 Slater's cotton mill.
The capital moved from New York to Philadelphia.
- 1791 Revolt in Hispaniola.
First ten amendments to the Constitution ratified.
- 1792 Captain Robert Gray, in the *Columbia*, discovers the Columbia River, May 11.
- 1793 Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin.
- 1794 Jay Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1795 Pinckney Treaty with Spain secures the free use of the Mississippi.
- 1797 John Adams inaugurated, March 4.
- 1798 Whitney applies idea of interchangeable parts to firearms.
Alien and Sedition acts passed, June 25, July 14.
Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.
- 1800 The capital moved from Philadelphia to Washington.
- 1801 Thomas Jefferson elected President by the House of Representatives in February; inaugurated March 4.
- 1803 Louisiana purchased from France by treaty, April 30.
Marbury vs. Madison decision by the Supreme Court.
- 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark explore the Northwest.
- 1807 Robert Fulton's steamboat runs from New York to Albany.
Embargo Act, December 22.
- 1809 James Madison inaugurated, March 4.
- 1812 War declared on Great Britain, June 18.
- 1813 Perry defeats the British on Lake Erie, September 10.
Harrison defeats the British and the Indians in the battle of the Thames, October 5.
- 1814 The British capture Washington, August 24.
Hartford Convention meets, December 15.
Treaty of peace signed at Ghent, December 24.
- 1815 Jackson defeats the British at New Orleans, January 8.
- 1817 James Monroe inaugurated as President of the United States, March 4.
- 1818 Joint occupation of Oregon by the United States and Great Britain.
- 1819 Florida purchased from Spain.
- 1820 Missouri Compromise.
- 1821 First public high school established, in Boston.
Opening of the Santa Fe trail.
- 1823 First city sewage system installed.
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine announced in the President's message to Congress, December 2.
- 1825 John Quincy Adams, elected by the House of Representatives, inaugurated March 4.
Erie Canal completed at a cost of over \$7,600,000, October 26.
- 1826 Beginning of Lyceum Movement.
Panama Conference.
- 1828 Working Men's Party organized.
Formation of American Peace Society.
- 1829 Andrew Jackson inaugurated, March 4.
- 1830 Webster-Hayne debate in the United States Senate, January.

- 1830 Joseph Henry's electromagnet.
The "Tom Thumb," first successful locomotive in operation in America, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
- 1831 Invention of the reaper by Cyrus McCormick; patented in 1834.
- 1832 Establishment of Perkins Institution for the Blind.
- 1836 Battle of the Alamo.
Texas wins its independence.
- 1837 State educational reforms begun by Horace Mann.
Martin Van Buren inaugurated, March 4.
- 1841 William Henry Harrison inaugurated, March 4.
John Tyler inaugurated as President, April 6.
Dorothea Dix becomes active to secure better care for insane.
- 1842 Dr. Long successfully uses ether in an operation.
Webster-Ashburton treaty signed, August 9.
- 1844 First successful telegraph line completed (Washington to Baltimore).
- 1845 Texas annexed by joint resolution, early in March.
James K. Polk inaugurated as President of the United States, March 4.
- 1846 War with Mexico begins.
Treaty with Great Britain settles northwest boundary, June 15.
Founding of Smithsonian Institution.
Sewing machine patented by Elias Howe.
Hoe invents rotary printing press.
- 1847 Utah settled by the Mormons.
Kelly discovers new way of making steel.
Scott occupies the city of Mexico, September 14.
- 1848 Gold discovered in California, January 18.
Treaty ending the war with Mexico, February 2.
First Women's Rights Convention.
- 1849 Zachary Taylor inaugurated as President, March 5.
- 1850 Battle for free public schools being won.
Millard Fillmore inaugurated as President, July 10.
Compromise of 1850.
- 1852 Publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe.
- 1853 Inauguration of Franklin Pierce, March 4.
Gadsden purchase, December 30.
- 1853-1854 Commodore Perry opens commercial relations with Japan.
- 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, May 30.
- 1857 James Buchanan inaugurated, March 4.
The Dred Scott decision, March 6.
- 1858 The Lincoln-Douglas debates, June and July.
- 1859 Founding of first successful chain store.
- 1860 Lincoln elected President.
South Carolina secedes, December 20.
- 1861 Southern Confederacy founded at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4; Jefferson Davis chosen as President.
Abraham Lincoln inaugurated, March 4.
Fort Sumter fired on, April 12.
Battle of Bull Run, July 21.
- 1862 Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia (Merrimac)*, March 9.
Battle of Shiloh, won by General Grant, April 6, 7.

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

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- 1862 Homestead Act, granting 160 acres each to actual settlers.
First transcontinental telegraph line completed.
- 1863 Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation issued, January 1.
Battle of Gettysburg; Meade defeats Lee, July 1-3.
Grant captures Vicksburg, July 4.
- 1864 Battles of Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor, won by General Lee, May and June.
Sherman takes Atlanta, September 2, and Savannah, December 21.
President Lincoln re-elected.
- 1865 Lee's surrender at Appomattox, April 9, ending the war.
President Lincoln shot by an assassin, April 14; dies a few hours later.
Andrew Johnson inaugurated President, April 15.
- 1866 Laying of the Atlantic cable completed.
- 1867 Reconstruction Act.
Patrons of Husbandry (Grangers) organized by Oliver H. Kelley.
Alaska purchased for \$7,200,000.
- 1869 Ulysses S. Grant inaugurated as President of the United States, March 4.
First transcontinental railroad route completed, May 10.
Organization of the Knights of Labor by Uriah S. Stephens.
Westinghouse secures patent for airbrake.
- 1871 Tweed Ring in city of New York overthrown.
- 1874 Chautauqua Movement begins.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union organized.
- 1876 Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.
Invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell; first publicly shown at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.
Founding of American Library Association.
The Hayes-Tilden disputed election.
- 1877 Elmira Reformatory receives first inmates.
Rutherford B. Hayes inaugurated as President, March 5.
- 1878 Founding of New York Symphony Orchestra.
- 1879 Edison invents the first good electric light.
- 1881 James A. Garfield inaugurated, March 4.
Clara Barton founds American Red Cross.
Chester A. Arthur inaugurated as President, September 20.
Beginning of the American Federation of Labor.
- 1882 First Chinese Exclusion Act, May 6.
- 1884 Trudeau erects his first sanatorium to fight tuberculosis.
- 1885 Grover Cleveland inaugurated, March 4.
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act passed, February 4.
- 1889 Benjamin Harrison inaugurated, March 4.
Pan-American Union begun at Washington.
- 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act passed.
- 1893 Grover Cleveland's second inauguration as President, March 4.
First Ford automobile.
- 1897 William McKinley inaugurated, March 4.
- 1898 Battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana Harbor, February 15.
War with Spain declared.
Spanish fleet at Manila destroyed by Dewey, May 1.
Hawaiian Islands annexed, August 12.

- 1898 Treaty with Spain, granting us the Philippines, signed at Paris, December 10.
- 1899 John Hay announces American "open door" policy in Orient, September.
United States participates in The Hague Peace Conference.
United States, Germany, and Great Britain divide the Samoan Islands.
- 1901 William McKinley's second inauguration, March 4.
Theodore Roosevelt inaugurated as President, September 14.
- 1903 Department of Commerce established.
Panama revolts against Colombia, November 3.
United States negotiates treaty with Panama, November 18.
Orville and Wilbur Wright make first successful airplane flight, December 17.
- 1906 Pure Food and Drugs Act passed.
- 1909 William Howard Taft inaugurated, March 4.
- 1913 Woodrow Wilson inaugurated, March 4.
- 1914 First important movie.
Federal Trade Commission established.
Clayton Antitrust Act.
Panama Canal completed.
Outbreak of World War I; President Wilson proclaims neutrality.
- 1915 *Lusitania* sunk, with loss of more than 100 American citizens, May.
- 1917 United States declares war on Germany, April 6.
- 1918 American troops aid the French at Château-Thierry, May 31-June 1.
American forces capture Belleau Wood, June 11.
American troops take St. Mihiel salient, September 12.
Americans advance in the battle of the Argonne, September 26.
Armistice signed, November 11.
- 1919-1920 The Senate rejects the invitation for our country to join the League of Nations.
- 1920 First radio broadcasting station established.
- 1921 Warren G. Harding inaugurated as President, March 4.
Immigration restricted.
- 1921-1922 Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments.
- 1923 Calvin Coolidge inaugurated as President, August 3.
- 1924 Immigration further restricted.
Robert Dollar's liners provide round-the-world tours.
- 1927 Charles A. Lindbergh makes solo flight across the Atlantic, May 20-21.
- 1928 The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact signed, August 27.
- 1929 Herbert Hoover inaugurated, March 4.
Stock market crash, October 24.
- 1931 Japan invades Manchuria.
- 1932 Reconstruction Finance Corporation established, January 22.
- 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated, March 4.
Tennessee Valley Authority created, May 18.
Securities Act, June 16.
National Recovery Act, approved by the President June 16.
- 1934 Italy attacks Ethiopia.
Independence promised to the Philippines.
- 1935 Supreme Court declares the National Recovery Act unconstitutional, May 27.
Wagner Act.
Social Security Act, August 14.
Committee for Industrial Organization founded by John L. Lewis; reorganized
as the Congress of Industrial Organizations in November, 1938.

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- 1938-1939 Hitler begins to make conquests.
- 1939 France and Great Britain declare war against Germany, September 3.
Neutrality Act of 1939, November 4.
- 1940 Naval and air bases acquired from Great Britain, September 2.
Selective Service and Training Act, September 16.
- 1941 President Roosevelt inaugurated for a third term, January 20.
Lend-Lease Act, March 11.
Penicillin first used on human beings.
Atlantic Charter drawn up by Roosevelt and Churchill, August 9-10.
Attack on Pearl Harbor begins Japanese war on the United States, December 7.
War against the United States declared by Germany and Italy, December 11.
- 1942 Naval battle of Coral Sea, May 7-8.
Battle for Midway Island, June 6.
American forces landed in North Africa, November 7.
Battle of Guadalcanal, November 13-15.
- 1943 Sicily invaded, July 10, and Italy invaded, September 3.
- 1944 American and British forces began the invasion of France, June 6.
U. S. forces took the Marianas Islands, June-July.
World financial conference at Bretton Woods, July. Dumbarton Oaks Conference, August.
American forces took Leyte in the Philippines, December 25.
- 1945 President Roosevelt inaugurated for a fourth term, January 20.
Recovery of most of Luzon, and other Philippine Islands, January-May.
Battle of Iwo Jima, February 19-March 16.
Act of Chapultepec, February-March.
Death of President Roosevelt, and inauguration of Harry S. Truman as President, April 12.
Okinawa campaign ended, June 21.
San Francisco Conference of United Nations, April 25 to June 26.
Unconditional surrender of Germany, May 7.
United States Senate overwhelmingly approves United Nations Charter, July 28.
Atomic bombs used against Japan, August 6.
Unconditional surrender of Japan, August 14-September.
- 1946 Atomic Energy Commission provided for by Congress, June 4.
Philippine Republic made independent, July 4.
Nazi leaders convicted at Nuremberg, October 16.
Republican victory in election of members to the Eightieth Congress, November 5.
United Nations site in New York approved, December 14.
- 1947 Senate passes Greek-Turkish aid bill, April 22.
Marshall Plan for Europe announced, June 5.
Taft-Hartley labor law enacted, June 23.
Department of National Defense consolidates Army and Navy, July 26.
Hemisphere Defense Treaty signed at Rio de Janeiro, September 2.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

From a facsimile of the original parchment

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776
THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION
OF THE THIRTEEN
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty,

to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Nat-

uralization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mer-

cenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —

WE, THEREFORE, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things

which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

[Signatures of representatives of the thirteen States, added August 2, 1776.]

NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton*

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

*Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry*

RHODE ISLAND

*Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery*

CONNECTICUT

*Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott*

NEW YORK

*William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris*

NEW JERSEY

*Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark*

PENNSYLVANIA

*Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross*

DELAWARE

*Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas M'Kean*

MARYLAND

*Samuel Chase
William Paca*

Thomas Stone

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton

VIRGINIA

*George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jun.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton*

NORTH CAROLINA

*William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn*

SOUTH CAROLINA

*Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jun.
Thomas Lynch, Jun.
Arthur Middleton*

GEORGIA

*Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton*

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

From the Constitution in the Department of State, except the headings in bold-faced type, which are inserted for the reader's convenience

Preamble. We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. Congress

Legislative powers vested. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. House of Representatives

1. **Composition; term; election.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. **Qualifications.** No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. **Apportionment of representatives and direct taxes.** Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.¹ The actual enumeration shall

be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. **Filling vacancies.** When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. **Officers; impeachment.** The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. Senate

1. **Composition; term.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen [by the legislature thereof]² for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. **Classification.** Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as

¹Modified by the 14th and 16th Amendments.

²Superseded by the 17th Amendment.

may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]¹

3. **Qualifications.** No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. **President of Senate.** The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. **Other officers.** The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. **Trial of impeachments.** The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. **Judgment in case of conviction.** Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. Both Houses

1. **Regulation of elections.** The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be pre-

¹ Superseded by the 17th Amendment.

scribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. **Meeting of Congress.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, [and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.]²

SECTION 5. The Houses Separately

1. **Admission of members; quorum.** Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. **Rules of proceeding.** Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. **Journal.** Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. **Adjournment.** Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

1. **Pay and privileges of members.** The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective

² Superseded by the 20th Amendment.

Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. **Holding other offices prohibited.** No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments thereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. Method of Making Laws

1. **Revenue bills.** All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. **How bills become laws.** Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. **The President's approval or disapproval (veto power).** Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the

Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. Powers Granted to Congress

1-17. **Enumerated powers.** 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies through the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. **Implied powers.** To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.¹

SECTION 9. Powers Forbidden to the United States²

1-6. **Prohibitions on Congress.** 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

¹ The so-called "Elastic Clause" of the Constitution.

² For other powers forbidden to the United States, see Amendments 1 to 10.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. **Public money, how drawn.** No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. **Titles of nobility prohibited.** No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. Powers Forbidden to States

1. **Absolute prohibitions on the states.** No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. **States not to levy duties.** No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. **Other prohibitions on the states.** No State shall, without the consent of Congress,

lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. President and Vice-President

1. **Executive power vested; term of President.** The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. **Electors.** Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Former method of electing President and Vice-President.¹ [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from

the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]

3. **Time of elections.** The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. **Qualifications of the President.** No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. **Provision in case of the President's disability.** In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. **The President's salary.** The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

¹ This paragraph is superseded by the 12th Amendment.

7. **Oath of office.** Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. Powers of the President

1. **Military powers; reprieves and pardons.** The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. **Treaties; appointments.** He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. **Filling vacancies.** The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. Other Powers and Duties

Messages; extra sessions; receiving ambassadors; execution of laws. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he

shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. Impeachment

How officers may be removed. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. Federal Courts

Judicial power vested; judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. Jurisdiction of United States Courts

1. **Federal courts in general.** The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State;¹ — between citizens

¹ The 11th Amendment restricts this clause to apply only to suits by a state against citizens of another state.

of different States, — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. **Supreme Court.** In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. **Rules respecting trials.** The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason

1. **Treason defined; evidence necessary.** Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. **How punished.** The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

RELATIONS OF THE STATES

SECTION 1. Credit to Acts, Records, and Court Proceedings

Interstate comity. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. Duties of States to States

1. **Privileges of citizens of states.** The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. **Extradition.** A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. **Fugitive slaves.** No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹

SECTION 3. New States and Territories

1. **New states, how formed and admitted.** New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. **Power of Congress over territory and property.** The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. Protection to the States

Republican government; protection against invasion and rebellion. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

¹This clause was practically superseded by the 13th Amendment.

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENTS

How the Constitution may be amended.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. **Validity of debts recognized.** All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. **Supreme law of the land.** This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. **Official oath.** The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

RATIFICATION OF THE
CONSTITUTION

When the Constitution should go into effect. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go: Washington —

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia.

(Signed also by thirty-eight other delegates, from twelve states.)

AMENDMENTS TO THE
CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES I-X¹

BILL OF RIGHTS

ARTICLE I

Freedom of religion, speech, the press, and of assembly and petition. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

Right to bear arms. A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

Quartering of troops. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

¹ The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE IV

Protection against search. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

The individual guaranteed protection in trials and the right to his life, liberty, and property. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

Rights of an accused person in criminal cases. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

Suits at common law. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Bail, fines, punishment. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

Regarding rights not enumerated. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Powers reserved to states and the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI¹

STATES NOT TO BE SUED

Amendment to Article III, Section 2, Clause 1. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII²ELECTION OF PRESIDENT
AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Amendment to Article II, Section 1, Clause 2. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—The president of the Senate shall, in the

¹ Adopted in 1798.² Adopted in 1804.

presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [before the fourth day of March next following,]¹ then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII²

SLAVERY ABOLISHED

SECTION 1

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

¹ Changed by 20th Amendment.

² Adopted in 1865.

SECTION 2

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV³

PROTECTION OF FREEDMEN, ETC.

SECTION 1

Definition of citizen; states shall not abridge privileges of citizens. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2

Apportionment of representatives. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3

Loss of political privileges. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State,

³ Adopted in 1868.

who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4

Public debts. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV¹

NEGRO SUFFRAGE

SECTION 1

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI²

INCOME TAXES

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among

¹ Adopted in 1870.

² Adopted in 1913.

the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII³

ELECTION OF SENATORS

Amendment to Article 1, Section 3, Clauses 1 and 2. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

[ARTICLE XVIII³]

PROHIBITION

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX⁴

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied

³ Adopted in 1919, repealed in 1933.

⁴ Adopted in 1920

or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XX¹

PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of senators and representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to

act shall be selected, and such persons shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Sec. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Sec. 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Sec. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI¹

REPEAL OF PROHIBITION

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

¹ Adopted in 1933.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT	STATE	BORN	DIED	INAUGURATION	ELECTED BY	VICE PRESIDENT	STATE	SECRETARY OF STATE
George Washington.....	Va.....	1732	1799	April 30, 1789	Whole people.....	John Adams.....	Mass.....	Thomas Jefferson, E. Randolph, T. Pickens, John Marshall
John Adams.....	Mass.....	1735	1826	March 4, 1797	Federalists.....	Thomas Jefferson.....	Va.....	T. Pickens, John Marshall
Thomas Jefferson.....	Va.....	1743	1826	March 4, 1801	House of Rep. Republicans.....	Aaron Burr.....	N. Y.....	James Madison
James Madison.....	Va.....	1751	1836	March 4, 1809	Republicans.....	George Clinton.....	N. Y.....	Robert Smith, James Monroe
James Monroe.....	Va.....	1758	1831	March 4, 1817	Republicans.....	Elbridge Gerry.....	Mass.....	John Quincy Adams
John Quincy Adams.....	Mass.....	1767	1848	March 4, 1825	House of Rep. Democrats.....	Daniel D. Tompkins.....	N. Y.....	Henry Clay
Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn.....	1767	1845	March 4, 1829	House of Rep. Democrats.....	John C. Calhoun.....	S. C.....	Martin Van Buren, E. Livingston,
Martin Van Buren.....	N. Y.....	1782	1862	March 4, 1837	Democrats.....	Martin Van Buren.....	N. Y.....	Louis McLane, John Forsyth
William H. Harrison.....	Ohio.....	1773	1841	March 4, 1841	Whigs.....	Richard M. Johnson.....	Va.....	John Forsyth
John Tyler.....	Va.....	1790	1862	April 6, 1841	Whigs.....	John Tyler.....	Ky.....	Daniel Webster
James K. Polk.....	Tenn.....	1795	1849	March 4, 1845	Democrats.....	George M. Dallas.....	Pa.....	Daniel Webster, H. S. Legaré, A. P. Upshur, J. C. Calhoun
Zachary Taylor.....	La.....	1784	1850	March 5, 1849	Whigs.....	Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y.....	James Buchanan
Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y.....	1800	1874	July 10, 1850	Whigs.....	William R. King.....	Ala.....	John M. Clayton
Franklin Pierce.....	N. H.....	1804	1869	March 4, 1853	Democrats.....	John C. Breckinridge.....	Ky.....	Daniel Webster, Edward Everett
James Buchanan.....	Pa.....	1791	1868	March 4, 1857	Democrats.....	Hannibal Hamlin.....	Maine.....	William L. Marcy
Abraham Lincoln.....	Ill.....	1809	1865	March 4, 1861	Republicans.....	Andrew Johnson.....	Tenn.....	Lewis Cass, J. S. Black
Andrew Johnson.....	Tenn.....	1808	1875	April 15, 1865	Republicans.....	Schuyler Colfax.....	Ind.....	William H. Seward
Ulysses S. Grant.....	Ill.....	1822	1885	March 4, 1869	Republicans.....	Henry Wilson.....	Mass.....	William H. Seward
Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Ohio.....	1822	1893	March 5, 1877	Republicans.....	William A. Wheeler.....	N. Y.....	Hamilton Fish
James A. Garfield.....	Ohio.....	1831	1881	March 4, 1881	Republicans.....	Chester A. Arthur.....	N. Y.....	William M. Evarts
Chester A. Arthur.....	N. Y.....	1830	1886	Sept. 20, 1881	Republicans.....	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	Ind.....	J. G. Blaine, F. T. Frelinghuysen
Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y.....	1837	1908	March 4, 1885	Democrats.....	Levi P. Morton.....	N. Y.....	Thomas F. Bayard
Grover Cleveland.....	Ind.....	1833	1901	March 4, 1889	Republicans.....	Adlai E. Stevenson.....	Ill.....	J. G. Blaine, J. W. Foster
Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y.....	1837	1908	March 4, 1893	Democrats.....	Garret A. Hobart.....	N. J.....	W. O. Gresham, Richard Olney
William McKinley.....	Ohio.....	1843	1901	March 4, 1897	Republicans.....	Theodore Roosevelt.....	N. Y.....	John Sherman, Wm. R. Day, John Hay
Theodore Roosevelt.....	N. Y.....	1858	1919	Sept. 14, 1901	Republicans.....	Charles W. Fairbanks.....	Ind.....	John Hay, Elihu Root
William H. Taft.....	Ohio.....	1857	1930	March 4, 1909	Republicans.....	James S. Sherman.....	N. Y.....	Philander C. Knox
Woodrow Wilson.....	N. J.....	1856	1924	March 4, 1913	Democrats.....	Thomas R. Marshall.....	Ind.....	Wm. J. Bryan, Robert Lansing, Bainbridge Colby
Warren G. Harding.....	Ohio.....	1865	1923	March 4, 1921	Republicans.....	Calvin Coolidge.....	Mass.....	Charles E. Hughes
Calvin Coolidge.....	Mass.....	1872	1933	August 3, 1923	Republicans.....	Charles G. Dawes.....	Ill.....	Charles E. Hughes, F. B. Kellogg
Herbert Hoover.....	Calif.....	1874	.....	March 4, 1929	Republicans.....	Charles Curtis.....	Kan.....	Henry L. Stimson
Franklin D. Roosevelt.....	N. Y.....	1882	1945	March 4, 1933	Democrats.....	John N. Garner.....	Texas.....	Cordell Hull
Harry S. Truman.....	Mo.....	1884	.....	April 12, 1945	Democrats.....	Henry A. Wallace.....	Iowa.....	Edward R. Stettinius
						Harry S. Truman.....	Mo.....	James F. Byrnes, G. C. Marshall

TABLE OF THE STATES

STATE	ADMISSION	PREVIOUS STATUS	AREA SQ. MILES	POPULA- TION 1940	CAPITAL	REPRE- SENTA- TIVES IN CON- GRESS 1943- 1952
Alabama..... 22	Dec. 14, 1819	Territory	51,998	2,832,961	Montgomery	9
Arizona..... 48	Feb. 14, 1912	Territory	113,956	499,261	Phoenix	2
Arkansas..... 25	June 15, 1836	Territory	53,335	1,949,387	Little Rock	7
California..... 31	Sept. 9, 1850	Unorganized territory	158,297	6,907,387	Sacramento	23
Colorado..... 38	Aug. 1, 1876	Territory	103,948	1,123,296	Denver	4
Connecticut.... 5	.....	Original state	4,965	1,709,242	Hartford	6
Delaware..... 1	.....	Original state	2,370	266,505	Dover	1
Florida..... 27	March 3, 1845	Territory	58,666	1,897,414	Tallahassee	6
Georgia..... 4	.....	Original state	59,265	3,123,723	Atlanta	10
Idaho..... 43	July 3, 1890	Territory	83,888	524,873	Boise	2
Illinois..... 21	Dec. 3, 1818	Part of Illinois Territory	56,665	7,897,241	Springfield	26
Indiana..... 19	Dec. 11, 1816	Indiana Territory and part of Michigan Territory	36,354	3,427,796	Indianapolis	11
Iowa..... 29	Dec. 28, 1846	Part of Iowa Territory	56,147	2,538,268	Des Moines	8
Kansas..... 34	Jan. 29, 1861	Part of Kansas Territory	82,158	1,801,028	Topeka	6
Kentucky..... 15	June 1, 1792	Part of Virginia	40,598	2,845,627	Frankfort	9
Louisiana..... 18	April 30, 1812	Territory of Orleans	48,506	2,363,880	Baton Rouge	8
Maine..... 23	March 15, 1820	Part of Massachusetts	33,040	847,226	Augusta	3
Maryland..... 7	.....	Original state	12,327	1,821,244	Annapolis	6
Massachusetts.. 6	.....	Original state	8,266	4,316,721	Boston	14
Michigan..... 26	Jan. 26, 1837	Part of Michigan Territory	57,980	5,256,106	Lansing	17
Minnesota..... 32	May 11, 1858	Part of Minnesota Territory	84,682	2,792,300	St. Paul	9
Mississippi..... 20	Dec. 10, 1817	Territory	46,865	2,183,796	Jackson	7
Missouri..... 24	Aug. 10, 1821	Part of Missouri Territory	69,420	3,784,664	Jefferson City	13
Montana..... 41	Nov. 8, 1889	Territory	146,997	559,456	Helena	2
Nebraska..... 37	March 1, 1867	Territory	77,520	1,315,834	Lincoln	4
Nevada..... 36	Oct. 31, 1864	Territory	110,690	110,247	Carson City	1
New Hampshire.. 9	.....	Original state	9,341	491,524	Concord	2
New Jersey..... 3	.....	Original state	8,224	4,160,165	Trenton	14
New Mexico..... 47	Jan. 6, 1912	Territory	122,634	531,818	Santa Fe	2
New York..... 11	.....	Original state	49,204	13,479,142	Albany	45
North Carolina.. 12	.....	Original state	52,426	3,571,623	Raleigh	12
North Dakota.. 39	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	70,837	641,935	Bismarck	2
Ohio..... 17	Feb. 19, 1803	Part of Northwest Territory	41,040	6,907,612	Columbus	23
Oklahoma..... 46	Nov. 16, 1907	Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory	70,057	2,336,434	Oklahoma City	8
Oregon..... 33	Feb. 14, 1859	Part of Oregon Territory	96,699	1,089,684	Salem	4
Pennsylvania... 2	.....	Original state	45,126	9,900,180	Harrisburg	33
Rhode Island... 13	.....	Original state	1,248	713,346	Providence	2
South Carolina.. 8	.....	Original state	30,989	1,899,804	Columbia	6
South Dakota... 40	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	77,615	642,961	Pierre	2
Tennessee..... 16	June 1, 1796	Territory South of the Ohio	42,022	2,915,841	Nashville	10
Texas..... 28	Dec. 29, 1845	Independent state	265,896	6,414,824	Austin	21
Utah..... 45	Jan. 4, 1896	Territory	84,990	550,310	Salt Lake City	2
Vermont..... 14	March 4, 1791	Semi-independent state	9,564	359,231	Montpelier	1
Virginia..... 10	.....	Original state	42,627	2,677,773	Richmond	9
Washington..... 42	Nov. 11, 1889	Territory	69,127	1,736,191	Olympia	6
West Virginia... 35	June 19, 1863	Part of Virginia	24,170	1,901,974	Charleston	6
Wisconsin..... 30	May 29, 1848	Part of Wisconsin Territory	56,066	3,137,587	Madison	10
Wyoming..... 44	July 10, 1890	Territory	97,914	250,742	Cheyenne	1

INDEX

The pronunciation marks used in this index are: *ä* in *fäte*, *ä* in *vácation*, *ä* in *cäre*, *ä* in *cät*, *ä* in *madäm*, *ä* in *fär*, *ä* in *dänce*, *ä* in *sofä*; *ë* in *më*, *ë* in *rëturn*, *ë* in *mët*, *ë* in *moment*, *ë* in *uppër*; *ï* in *fïne*, *ï* in *pïñ*; *κ* = *ch* in German *ich*; *ñ* in *boñ* (the *ñ*, like *ng*, gives a nasal quality to the preceding vowel, but, unlike *ng*, is itself silent); *ö* in *böne*, *ö* in *öbey*, *ö* in *nöt*, *ö* in *cönnect*, *ö* in *örder*, *ö* in *möön*, *ö* in *fööt*; *th* in *then*; *ü* in *üse*, *ü* in *ünite*, *ü* in *üp*, *ü* in *circüs*, *ü* in *ürge*, *ü* in *menü*, as pronounced in French.

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